

SEVERAL
CONFERENCES

Between a

Romish Priest,

A

Fanatick-Chaplain,

AND A

D I V I N E

OF THE

Church of England,

CONCERNING THE

IDOLATRY

OF THE

CHURCH of *ROME*:

Being a Full ANSWER to the Late
DIALOGUES of T. G.

The Sixth Volume.

By the Right Reverend Father in God
Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. Late Lord Bishop of *Worcester*.

L O N D O N: Printed for *Henry and George Mortlock*, at the *Phoenix*
in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. MDCCX.

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Farmer-Chaplain

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The P. R. F. A. C. H.

P R E F A C E.

THE following Discourses contain a full and Distinct Answer to the late Dialogues of T. G. wherein the Reader may perceive what an easy Victory, Truth, when it stands its Ground, will obtain over Wit and Subtilty. When the Man who fell in the Olympick Games endeavoured by his Eloquence to persuade the Spectators he was never down, it is possible he might meet with some weak, and others partial enough to believe him; but the Judges could not but smile at their folly who did not discern the difference between the firmness of the ones standing and the others artificial rising; the one might shew more art and dexterity, but the other had more strength, or some other advantage. I shall leave the Reader to judge in these Combats who maintains his Ground best, and who seeks chiefly to avoid the disreputation of losing it. He that keeps close to his Adversary, declines no difficulty, uses no reproachful language, or disingenuous dealing, hath certainly greater assurance of the Goodness of his Cause, and more Hopes to prevail, than he that studies for Shifts and Evasions, avoids the strongest Arguments, and flies out into Impertinent Cavils, and Personal Reflections; which are great Signs that the Man is conscious of the Badness of his Cause, and despairs of Success by any other Means. And the Author of these Discourses desires that his Adversary and himself may stand or fall according to these Measures.

As to the manner of Writing here used, viz. by way of Dialogue, it is that which his Adversary led him to; and possibly, where the Decency of it is well observed, it may make Controversy go down more pleasantly than otherwise it would. For there appears more Life and Vigor in a Discourse carried on by several Persons of different Humours and Opinions, than in one continued deduction of Reason. And the Author declares he intended no Reflection on any Sober Party of Men among us in the Representation made of the Army-Chaplain, who bears the Third Part in the Conferences; but only to shew the Ad-

The PREFACE.

vantage the Popish Party takes from the Weak and Peevish Exceptions which some Men have made against the Church of England, and how they insinuate themselves into them on the account of their Prejudices against it, and have made use of their Indiscreet Zeal to compass their own Ends.

Which is so far from being a Romance or Fiction, that besides the Footsteps which may be yet traced of these Transactions, by the Means and Instruments which were employ'd about them; we find that one of the most Busy Factors of the Roman-Church, when he most confidently deny'd the other Parts of the late Horrid Design, did not stick to avow and own this, That they did hope to prevail at last by joining their Strength with the Obstinate Dissenters, in procuring a General Toleration; which was all the Visible Design they were carrying on when these Discourses were written: Since which the face of Things have been so much alter'd among us, and the Times appear'd so busy and dangerous, that it was thought more advisable to respite the Publishing of these Controversial Discourses till Mens Minds were a little calmed, lest the Author of them should seem guilty of the Impertinent Diligence of Archimedes, viz. of drawing Lines in the Dust, when the Enemy was ready to destroy us.

Had the Author had any Occasion to have run away from the Argument under debate between him and his Adversary, he did not want a Fair Opportunity in the present State of Things, to have put him in mind of something very different from an Irenicum. But he desired me to acquaint the Reader that he does so perfectly abhor this Impertinent and Disingenuous Way of Writing, especially about Matters of Religion, that he could neither be provok'd nor tempt'd to it, no not by so great and fresh an Example as he had all along before his Eyes.

May that Wise and Gracious God, who hath hitherto defeated the Cruel and Malicious Designs of our Church's Enemies, still preserve it under the Shadow of his Wings, and continue it a Praise in the Earth.

THE

First Conference,

*Concerning the Sense of the Church of ENGLAND,
about the Idolatry of the Church of ROME.*

Rom. P. **Y**OU are well met at this Auction of Books; I have been present at many of them beyond Sea; but I never was at one in *England* before. How go the Prices of Books here?

Fan. Ch. Very dear methinks, by the Books I have bought; but I find they are so caught up by our Brethren, that if we will have them, we must pay dear for them.

R. P. May I know what they are, Sir?

F. C. Only some few choice Pieces which I have picked out of this great Catalogue; such as, *Nepthali or the Groanings of the Church of Scotland*; *Cooks Monarchy no Creature of God's making*; but the things I most value are the *Pamphlets*, such as *Sermons before the Long Parliament* in several Volumes. And a rare *Collection of Authors about Liberty of Conscience*.

R. P. Are there so many Books to be had about *Liberty of Conscience*?

F. C. Yes; a great many have written for and against it.

R. P. Who are they who have written for it?

F. C. To tell you the truth, some of the same who wrote against it heretofore; but they are now more enlightned; as those who wrote against Separation when time was, are now the greatest Advocates for it. For, there are some providential Truths, which vary according to Circumstances. Do not we see the Papists, who were thought the greatest Enemies to Toleration in the World, now plead most vehemently for it? and are even angry with us for not acting sufficiently in this Cause against the *Church of England*. But because I take you for a Friend by your enquiring after these Books, I must tell you, it is yet a disputable Point among us, how far we may joyn with *Antichrist*, to promote the Interest of *Christ*: And some insist on that Place to prove the Unlawfulness of it, *Be ye not unequally yoked*; others again prove it lawful, because it is said, *Tet not altogether with the Fornicators of this World*———or with *Idolaters*: Whence they observe, that they may joyn with them in some Things, or for some Ends; but *not altogether*, i. e. they must not joyn with them in their *Idolatries*, but they may against the *Church of England*.

R. P. This is too publick a Place to talk of these Matters in; but may we not withdraw into the next Room; for I have a great Mind [to set you right in this main Point of present Concernment. And if the *Papists* should be found not to be *Idolaters*, a great Part of your Difficulty is gone. Do you think, it is not fit for you to be better informed in this Matter, when a Thing of so great Consequence depends upon it, as your Deliverance from the Persecution of the *Church of England*?

which you know, we have all sighed and groaned for, a long time. It is in vain for any of you to expect Favour from thence, as long as she is able to stand. For if the *Bishops* were never so much inclined to it, how could they possibly give ease to you without destroying themselves? And since the dissenting Parties are so different among themselves in their Light and Attainments, it is impossible to please any one Party, without displeasing all the rest. *Comprehension* is a mere Snare and Temptation to the Brethren, being a Design to prefer some, and to leave the rest in the Lurch. Let us all joyn our Strengths together, to pull down this Church of England, and then, though there be a King in Israel, every one may do what seemeth good in his own Eyes.

F. C. I doubt you are not well seen in Scripture; for the Text is, *In those Days there was no King in Israel, and every one did what seemed good in his own Eyes*: Whence you may observe a special Hint by the by, that *Toleration* agrees best with a *Common-wealth*. But this to your self: and you might justly wonder at this Freedom with you; but that I remember you many Years ago, when you and I preached up the Fifth Monarchy together in the Army. Those were glorious Days! Ah the Liberty we then enjoyed! Did we then think, the good Old Cause would ever have ended thus? Well! It is good to be silent in bad Times. But methinks you and I however may retire and talk over Old Stories, and refresh our Memories with former Out-goings together. For here is little at present for us to do.

R. P. Whereabouts are they now in the Catalogue?

F. C. Among the *Fathers*; those *Old-Testament Divines*. What Lights have we seen since their Days! We need not trouble our selves about them. But I observe the Church of England Men buy them up at any Rate. What Prices do they give for a *Justin Martyr*, or *Epiphanius* or *Philo*, who they say was a mere Jew? How must they starve their People with the *Divinity* of these Men? How much of the good *Divinity* of the late Times might they have for the Money? We cannot but pity their Blindness. But I see we cannot be here so private as we wished; for yonder sits a *Divine* of the Church of England, who I suppose, is the Person who bought so many *Fathers* at the last Auction, as though he had a Mind to write against the *Papists*.

R. P. Sit you by a while; and we will talk of our Matters another time. I have been much abroad since you and I were first acquainted, and have lately brought over a new Book from *Paris*. You shall see how I will handle him; and if you will put in upon Occasion, you shall find by this Experiment, what Success our united Forces would have against the Church of England.

F. C. Do you begin; and you shall see how I will second you, when Occasion offers it self.

R. P. Sir, I perceive the *Divines* of the Church of England, do buy up the *Fathers* very much at Auctions. I wonder that any who read the *Fathers* can be for the Church of England.

Pr. Div. And I do more wonder at you for saying so. For therefore we are for the Church of England, because we read both *Scripture* and *Fathers*.

R. P. To what Purpose is all this Charge and Pains, if there be an Infallible Church?

P. D. Therefore to good Purpose; because there is no one Church infallible.

R. P.

R. P. Is there not a *Catholick Church*?

P. D. Do you think I have forgotten my Creed?

R. P. Which is that *Catholick Church*?

P. D. Which of all the Parts is the Whole? Is that your wise Question? Do not you know the Christian Church hath been broken into different Communions ever since the Four General Councils, and continues so to this Day? What do you mean by the *Catholick Church*?

R. P. I mean the *Church of Rome*.

P. D. Then you ask me, which is the *Church of Rome*? But what need you ask that, since you know it already?

R. P. But the *Roman Church* is the *Catholick Church*.

P. D. You may as well say, *London* is *England*, or *England* the *World*. And why may not we call *England* the *World*, because the rest of the *World* is *divided* from it; as you the *Roman Church* the *Catholick Church*, because the other *Churches* are separated in Communion from it?

R. P. I mean the *Roman Church* is the *Head* and *Fountain* of *Catholick Doctrine*; and other *Churches* are pure and sound, as they do agree with it.

P. D. Your Proposition is not so self-evident, that the bare knowing your meaning, must make me assent. I pray first prove what you say, before I yield.

R. P. Was not the *Church of Rome* once a Sound and *Catholick Church*?

P. D. What then? so was the *Church of Jerusalem*, of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*; and so were the Seven *Churches of Asia*. Were all these *Heads* and *Fountains* too?

R. P. But *S. Paul* speaks of the *Church of Rome*.

P. D. He doth so; but not much to her Comfort; for he supposes *she* may be broken off through *Unbelief*, as well as any other *Church*.

R. P. Doth not *S. Paul* say, that the *Roman Faith* was spoken of throughout the *World*?

P. D. What then I beseech you? Doth it follow that Faith must always continue the same any more than that the *Church of Philadelphia* must at this Day be, what it was when *S. John* wrote those great Commendations of it? These are such slender Proofs that you had as good come to downright begging the Cause, as pretend to maintain it after such a manner. The *Faith of Rome* was not more spoken of in the *Apostles Days*, than its Errors and Corruptions have been since.

R. P. These are general Words; name me one of those Errors and Corruptions.

P. D. For this time, I will name the publick and allowed *Worship* of your *Church*, which after all your Shifts and Evasions I cannot excuse from *Idolatry*.

R. P. How is that? *Idolatry*? God forbid. I did not expect this Charge from a *Divine* of the *Church of England*. I was prepared to receive it from my old *Fanatick Acquaintance* here; he would have thundered me with the *Texts* of *Antichrist*, and the *Whore of Babylon*, and have quoted half the *Book of the Revelations* against me, before this time, if we had not espyed you in the Room. But I perceive though your *Artillery* may be different, your Charge is the same. I pray tell me how long is it since you of the *Church of England* have maintained this Charge? For I have been often told, that only one late *Defender* of your *Church*, hath advanced Two new Charges against

the Church of Rome, viz. *Fanaticism* and *Idolatry*, and that the true Sons of the Church of England disown them both.

P. D. Whoever told you so hath deceived you ; but it is not the only thing they have deceived you in. I never yet saw so much as a tolerable Answer to the Charge of *Fanaticism*. And for that of *Idolatry*, the Author you mean, hath proved beyond Contradiction, that it hath been managed against the Church of Rome, by the greatest and most learned Defenders of the Church of England, and the most genuine Sons of it, ever since the Reformation.

R. P. But have not you seen what T. G. hath said to all that, and how he hath shewed that his Witnesses were incompetent ?

P. D. I have both seen and consider'd all that T. G. hath said, and compared it with Dr. *Stillington's* Reply in the General Preface to his Answers. And I must declare to you, that if the Sense of a Church may be known by the concurrent Sense of her most eminent Divines, or by her most Authentick Acts, as by the Book of Homilies, Forms of Prayer and Thanksgivings, Rubricks, Injunctions, the Judgment of Convocation, even that of MDCXL, Dr. St. hath made it evident, that the Charge of *Idolatry* is agreeable to the Sense of the Church of England.

R. P. You thought T. G. would have quitted this Post upon Dr. St.'s second Charge ; but you are mistaken in him ; for I have brought over a Book of Dialogues from Paris, wherein T. G. undertakes again to prove this to be only the Charge of *Fanaticks*, and not of the Church of England, nor of the Genuine Sons of it.

F. C. It is true ; we whom you call *Fanaticks* do charge the Church of Rome, or rather the Synagogue of *Antichrist*, with *Idolatry* ; for, Is it not said, *And they worshipped the Beast* ? But you must know for your comfort, that we do likewise charge the Church of England with it. For what are all their Bowings, and Kneelings, and Crossings, but vain Imaginations ? and the Worship of them is as bad as the Worship of Images. And do not they make an Idol of the Common Prayer ?

P. D. This is not fair, Gentlemen ; but one at once I beseech you. As to your Charge of the Church of England, I shall be ready to answer it, when you can agree to bring it in. I now desire to know, what Evidence T. G. brings to prove the Charge of *Idolatry* not to be agreeable to the Sense of the Church of England. Hath he brought other Homilies, other Injunctions, other Rubricks, other Convocations, or at least other Divines, generally received and owned for the Genuine Sons of this Church, who have from time to time freed the Church of Rome from *Idolatry*, and looked upon the Charge, not only as unjust but pernicious and destructive to the Being of a Church ? Nay, can he produce any one Divine of the Church of England, before the Convocation MDCXL, that ever said any such thing, or did wholly acquit the Church of Rome from this Charge ? If not, let him not think we have a new Church made after another Model, and upon new Principles, or that those can be esteemed the genuine Sons of it, who contradict the Sense of the Church ever since the Reformation. If there be any such among us, they ought first to be proved to be true Sons of our Church, before their Testimony be allowed ; which if I be not mistaken, will be much harder, than to prove the Charge of *Idolatry* to be agreeable to the Sense of it. But what Method doth T. G. take in this Matter ?

R. P.

R. P. T. G. like a wary Man disputes in *Masquerade*. For he doth not think fit to appear in his own Person ; but he brings in a *Conformist* and a *Non-conformist* arguing the Point. And the *Conformist* speaks T. G's Sense in acquitting the *Church of Rome* ; and the *Non-conformist* vindicates Dr. St. and makes a pitiful Defence of him.

P. D. It was very wittily done. And the *Scene* was well enough laid, if the Plot were only to represent Dr. St. as a secret Enemy to the *Church of England*, as I suppose it was. But to what purpose are all those Personal Reflections : And some repeated over and over, with so much Appearance of Rancor and Ill Will, as doth not become a Man of any common Ingenuity ? Can the *Catholick Cause* be maintained by no other Arts than these ? Methinks T. G. might have let the little *Whifflers* in Controversy, such as the *Author* of the *Address to the Parliament*, and of that precious Pamphlet called *Jupiter, Dr. St's Supreme God*, &c. to have made a Noise at they know not what ; crying out upon him as an *Enemy to the Church of England*, (because he defends her Cause to their great Vexation) and as a *Friend to Pagan Idolatry*, (because he hath laid open the Folly of yours.) These are such weak Assaults as expose your Cause to the Contempt of all wise Men ; who expect Reason should be answered with Reason, and not with Calumnies and Reproaches : Which in my Apprehension Dr. St. ought to rejoice in as the Marks of Victory ; for while they have any other Ammunition left, no Enemies will betake themselves to Dirt and Stones. When I read through the *First Part* of T. G's *Dialogues*, and observed how industriously he set himself to bespatter his Adversary, and raked all the Kennels he could for that Purpose, (especially that of the *Patronus bonæ fidei*, &c.) I could not but think of an Animal, which being closely pursued and in great Danger, gets himself into the most convenient Place for Mire and Dirt, and there so lays about him with his Heels, that no one dares to come near him. It was certainly with some such Design that T. G. hath at last taken Sanctuary in a Bog ; hoping his Adversary will never pursue him thither. But notwithstanding this Project of his, we will try, whether in spite of his Heels we cannot bring him to Reason. Therefore I pray let us set aside all rude and unbecoming Reflections, and calmly consider, how T. G. proves that the Charge of *Idolatry* is not agreeable to the Sense of the *Church of England*.

R. P. Hold Sir ; You are a little too nimble, T. G. saith, his *Inten-* Dial. p. 13.
tion was only to shew, that Dr. St. had not sufficiently proved it to be the Sense of the *Church of England*, from the Testimony he then produced, whatsoever he might or could do from other Acts or Authors of that Church. And he elsewhere saith, that T. G. did not dispute ex professo, whether it were the Sense of the *Church of England*, that the *Church of Rome* is guilty of *Idolatry* or no ? Nor, whether Dr. St. dissented from the Sense of his Church ? but what he undertook to shew was no more than that two parts of the Authors there cited by the Dr. were Puritans, or Puritanically inclin'd, by the Confession of other Divines of the *Church of England* ; and therefore according to Dr. St's own Measures (if they were good,) their Testimonies ought to be looked on as incompetent to prove what he asserted ; and for the other Six, that what they charged with *Idolatry*, was not the Doctrine of the *Church of Rome*, but some things which they conceived to be great Abuses in the Practice of it. And this, he saith, is the true State of that Controversy. Pag. 10.

P. D. If it be so, I cry T. G. Mercy. For, I thought he designed to prove this Charge of *Idolatry* not to be agreeable to the Sense of the Church

Cath. no 1.
dol. p. 197.

Dial. p. 62.

Preface to
Cath. no 1.
dol.

Church of England. But you say *T. G.* now denies it ; and if I were as *Dr. St.* I would thank him for it. For, would any Man say this, that thought it could ever be proved to be against the Sense of the *Church of England* ? And what could have been more material to his Purpose than this, if it could have been done ? Well fare *T. G.*'s Ingenuity for once ! that finding it impossible to be done, he now denies that he ever attempted the doing it. But the first Question in a Fray is, *how fell they out* ? we shall better judge of *T. G.*'s Design by the Occasion of it. *Dr. St.* affirmed that in the Charge of *Idolatry* he did not contradict the Sense of the *Church of England.* Did he, or did he not ? If he did not, *Dr. St.* was in the right : If he did, why did not *T. G.* shew it ? But after this yielding up the main Point in Effect, it is easy to prove that *T. G.* did design to shew, as well as he could, that the Charge of *Idolatry* was against the Sense of the *Church of England* ; but finding it would not do, he now disowns it. For (1.) Doth not *T. G.* appeal to the *Articles* of the *Church of England* for the most Authentick Declaration of her Sense ? and because the *Church of Rome* is not there charged with *Idolatry*, doth he not hence dispute *ex Professo*, that it was against her Sense ? To what Purpose was that ingenious Criticism, of being rather repugnant to the Word of God ; which he interprets as tho' the Composers of our *Articles* had done their Endeavour to find a Command against the Worship of Images, but could not. What do you think of this Argument ? what did *T. G.* intend to prove by it ? Is it not as clear as the Sun, that it was to shew that the Charge of *Idolatry* was against the Sense of the *Church of England* ? Why then is *T. G.* ashamed now of it, and denies he had any such Design ? There must be some more than ordinary Cause of a Man's denying what he once so openly avowed to do. Nay, in these very *Dialogues*, after repeating his former words, *T. G.* saith, *Thus clearly hath T. G. evinced the Sense of the Church of England in this matter.* Say you so ? and yet never designed to dispute *ex Professo*, whether it were the Sense of the *Church of England* or not ? Who is it, I pray, hath the Knack of saying, and unsaying ; of affirming and denying the very same thing in a few Leaves ? or did *T. G.* never intend any such thing ; but the *Church of England* of her own accord, knowing *T. G.*'s good Affections to her, stept into the Court, and declared her Sense ? Have we not the best natured *Church* in the World that is so kind to her Enemies, and expresseth her Sense to be on their side, whether they will or not ? Our Church then is like the Countryman's River which comes without calling ; alas ! what need *T. G.* dispute *ex Professo*, what her Sense is ; she offers her own Testimony, and desires to be heard in the *Dispute* whether *T. G.* will or not. Let any man judge by these Words what *T. G.*'s Design was then, whatever he thinks fit to own now. (2.) He shews, *That if it had been the Sense of the Church of England in the Articles, that the Church of Rome were guilty of Idolatry in the Worship of Images, Adoration of the Host, or Invocation of Saints, all those who denied it, would have incurred Excommunication ipso facto, as appears by the Canons.* What was *T. G.*'s Design in this, if it were not to prove the Charge of *Idolatry* to be against the Sense of the *Church of England* ? Is this only to shew the Witnesses *Dr. St.* produced to be incompetent ? What a Benefit it is, for a Man to forget what he hath no mind to remember ! And then to deny as stoutly as if the thing had never been done. (3.) Is it not *T. G.* who in Terms asserts, *That Dr. St. betrayed his Church in advancing such a Medium, as contradicts the Sense of that Church,* (mark that.) *It is true,*

true, he adds, if it be to be taken from the Sentiments of those who are esteemed her true and genuine Sons. Was it T. G.'s Design then, not to dispute what was the Sense of the Church of England; nor whether Dr. St. dissented from it? I will not meddle with that, whether T. G. be a competent Judge who are the true and genuine Sons of the Church of England. No doubt, in his Opinion, those who come nearest the Church of Rome are such; and advance such Speculations as lay the Charge of Schism at her own Door. But true Sons are no more for laying Division to the Charge of their Mother, than the true Mother was for dividing the Son. Those are certainly the most genuine Sons of our Church, who own her Doctrine, defend her Principles, conform to her Rules, and are most ready to maintain her Cause against all her Enemies. And among these there is no difference, and there ought to be no distinction. But if in any frame a Church of their own Heads, without any regard to the Articles, Homilies, and current Doctrine of our Church, and yet will call that the Church of England, and themselves the only genuine Sons of it, I do not question T. G. and your Brethren would be glad to have them thought so, to lessen our Number and impair our Interest; but none that understand and value our Church, will endure such a pernicious Discrimination among the Sons of the same Mother; as though some few were fatally determined to be the Sons of our Church, whatever their Works and Merits were; and others absolutely cast off, notwithstanding the greatest Service. I should not mention this, but that I see T. G. insinuating all along such a Distinction as this; and crying up some Persons on purpose as the only genuine Sons of the Church of England, that he might cast Reproach upon others; and thereby foment Animosities among Brethren. But whose Children those are who do so, I leave T. G. to consider.

R. P. Whatever T. G.'s Intention was, yet you cannot deny that he hath proved Two parts in Three to be incompetent Witnesses, according to his own Measures.

P. D. Not deny it? I never saw any thing more weakly attempted to be proved, as Dr. St. hath shewed at large in his Preface. Bishop White being rejected as a Puritan, because condemned by that Party. Bishop Jewel, because King Charles said he was not infallible. Bishop Bilson, because of his Errors about Civil Government, though a stout Defender of the Church of England. Bishop Davenant, because he was none of the Fathers. Bishop Usher, because his Adversary gives an ill Character of him. By this you may judge, what powerful Exceptions T. G. made against Two parts in Three of the Witnesses.

R. P. T. G. saith, That Dr. St. rather waved the Exceptions by pretty facetious Artifices of Wit, than repelled them by a downright Denial, out of the Affection Catharinus hopes he bears still to the Cause, which had been honoured by such Learned and Godly Bishops as Jewel, Downham, Usher, the two Abbots and Davenant: Which are recorded among the Puritans by the Patronus bonæ fidei. Dial. p. 9.

P. D. You might as well have quoted Surius & Cochlaeus for your Church; as this Patronus bonæ fidei for ours. For he is an Historian much of their Size and Credit. But of him we shall have occasion to speak hereafter: T. G. filling Page after Page out of him. Let the Reader judge whether Dr. St. did not shew T. G.'s Exceptions to be vain and frivolous, and consequently these remain Substantial and Competent Witnesses. And as to the Cause of the Church of England, which these learned

learned and pious Prelates *defended* and *honoured*, Dr. St. will rejoice to be joined with them, though it be in suffering Reproach for the sake of it.

Dial. p. 14. R. P. Let us pass over these single *Testimonies*, and come to the most material Proofs which D. St. used, and T. G. declares, *he is not yet convinced by them; that the Charge of Idolatry was the Sense of the Church of England.*

P. D. With all my heart. The *First* was from the *Book of Homilies*, not barely allowed, but subscribed to, as containing godly and wholesome Doctrine very necessary for these times; which owns this Charge of Idolatry not in any doubtful, or single Passage, but in an elaborate Discourse intended for the Teachers, as well as the People. To which he added, that the Doctrine of the Homilies is allowed in the Thirty nine Articles; which were approved by the Queen; confirmed by the Subscription of both *Houses of Convocation*, A.D. 1571. And therefore he desires T. G. to resolve him, whether Men of any common Understanding would have subscribed to the *Book of Homilies* in this manner, if they had believed the main Doctrine and Design of one of them had been false and pernicious? If, saith he, any of the Bishops had at that time thought the Charge of Idolatry unjust, and that it had subverted the Foundation of Ecclesiastical Authority, would they have inserted this into the Articles, when it was in their Power to have left it out? And that the Homilies contained a wholesome and godly Doctrine, which in their Consciences they believed to be false and pernicious? He might as well think, he saith, that the *Council of Trent* would have allowed *Calvin's Institutions*, as containing a wholesome and godly Doctrine, as that Men so persuaded would have allowed the *Homily against the peril of Idolatry*. And how is it possible to understand the Sense of our Church better, than by such Publick and Authentick Acts of it, which all Persons, who are in any Place of Trust in the Church, must subscribe and declare their Approbation of? This Homily hath still continued the same, the Articles the very same, and if so, they must acknowledge this hath been and is to this Day the Sense of our Church. And to what T. G. saith, *that this doth not evince every particular Doctrine contained in the Homilies to be godly and wholesome, because the whole Book is subscribed to as containing such Doctrine*; he answers, that there is a great deal of Difference to be made between some particular Passages and Expressions in these Homilies, and the main Doctrine and Design of a whole Homily: And between subscribing to a whole Book as containing godly and wholesome Doctrine, though Men be not so certain of the Truth of every Passage in it; and if they are convinced that any Doctrine contained in it is false and pernicious. Now those who deny the Church of Rome to be guilty of Idolatry do not only look on the Charge as false, but as of dangerous Consequence; and therefore such a Subscription would be shuffling and dishonest. From these things laid together, in my mind Dr. St. hath not only clearly proved that the Charge of *Idolatry* was not only owned by the Composers of the *Homilies*, but by all who have honestly subscribed to the *Articles* from that time to our own. And I would be glad to hear what Answer T. G. gives to all this.

Dial. p. 15. R. P. He answers, first by repeating what he said before; and then by shewing that Subscription is no good Argument, considering what had been

been done and undone in that kind in the Reigns of K. Henry VIII. Edward VI. Q. Mary, and Q. Elizabeth, not to speak of latter Times.

P. D. What is this, but in plain Terms to say the Subscribers of our Articles were Men of no Honesty or Conscience; but would say or unsay, subscribe one thing or another as it served their turn? If this be his way of defending our Church, we shall desire him to defend his own. But yet, this doth not reach home to the Doctor's Argument, which proceeded not merely on their Honesty, but their having common Understanding. For here was no Force or Violence offered them, they had the full Power to consider the Articles, and to compose the Homilies; and would Men of common Sense put in things against their own Minds, and make, and approve, and recommend Homilies which they did not believe themselves? This evidently proves the Composers of the Homilies, and Convocation at that time, did approve the Doctrine of these Homilies, for it was in their Power not to have passed them. Thus far it is plain that was the Doctrine of the Church then; and why should we suppose any Subscribers to take them in any other Sense, than the Church did then mean them? Nay, Dr. St. challenged him, to produce any one Divine of our Church, who through the long Reign of Q. Elizabeth did so much as once question the Truth of this Charge. Doth T. G. upon so long Consideration of this Matter, name any?

R. P. Not any that I find.

P. D. But that will be best seen by considering Dr. St.'s Second Argument of the Sense of the Church of England in this matter, viz. from the current Doctrine of the Church ever since the Reformation; the Injunctions of Edward VI. of Cranmer, of Q. Elizabeth; the Form of Thanksgiving, A. D. 1594.

R. P. To this T. G. answers, *That this was a Heat in the Beginning of the Reformation; but after the Crown was settled upon K. James, whose Title was unquestionable both at Rome, (at Home I suppose he means) and abroad, the dangerous Consequences of the Charge of Idolatry, began to be more calmly and maturely considered; and were so thoroughly weighed in the time of K. Charles I. that as Heylin saith, Bishop Laud hindered the reprinting the Books containing Calvinian Doctrines. Which evidently shews, saith he, That that Party never looked upon the Expressions of Idolatry contained in those Injunctions, as the Dogmatical Sense of the Church of England.*

P. D. A very likely Story! that our Church should vary in its Doctrine, because K. James his Title to the Crown was unquestionable. It seems before, the Church of Rome was guilty of Idolatry, because Q. Elizabeth's Title was not owned by the Pope. What a fine Insinuation is couched under all this? Viz. That our Church depended wholly on the Queen's Pleasure, and fitted Her Doctrines to serve Her Turn; and when that was over, the Tide turned, and that was pernicious Doctrine now, which was wholesome before; and wholesome now, which was pernicious before: And yet there were the same Articles, the same Homilies, the same Subscriptions which were before.

R. P. But he quotes a Doctor of your own Church for what he saith, P. Heylin, and delivers it in his Words.

P. D. P. Heylin speaks not one Word in that Place of the Charge of Idolatry; (although T. G. seems to represent it so) but of those who reviled the Church of Rome it self, and all the Divine Offices, Ceremonies, and Performances of it. Which it is plain, he there speaks of the Gene-

vian Party; for but just before he mentions the Geneva Bible, and the dangerous Positions contained in the Annotations printed with it. Now these Persons, whom he there speaks of, looked upon the Church of Rome as a mere Synagogue of Satan, and no true Church; and all the Offices and Ceremonies of it to be so defiled, that no Use could be made of them; and on that Account they rejected our Liturgy and Ceremonies, as taken from the Church of Rome. Although therefore, saith he, Q. Elizabeth might suffer such things to be printed in her time; yet B. Laud would not allow the reprinting of them; because Q. Elizabeth might out of State Policy suffer the violent Transports of irregular Zeal, by reason of her personal Quarrels with the Pope; yet now those Reasons being over, B. Laud would not suffer them to come abroad again. But that this Expression cannot be understood of the Charge of Idolatry, I prove by these Arguments. (1.) P. Heylin himself preaching before K. Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, did in plain Terms charge the Worship of Images with most gross Idolatry, as appears by the Words cited at large in Dr. St.'s general Preface. What saith T. G. to this?

P. 34.

R. P. I do not find a particular Answer to this; but I suppose he reckons him with those Six of whom he saith, That they do not charge the Church of Rome it self, but the Opinions of School Divines and Abuses in Practice.

P. D. That cannot be, for P. Heylin goes farther; saying, That they, who observe the manner of their Worship of Images, with what Pilgrimages, Processions, Offerings, with what Affectations, Prayers, and humble Bendings of the Body they have been, and are worshipped in the Church of Rome, might very easily conceive, that she was once again relapsed into her ancient Paganism.

R. P. He saith, They might conceive so; but he doth not say, they might justly conceive so.

P. D. This is very subtle, and like T. G. himself. But I pray observe, P. Heylin, when he gives an Account of the Worship of Images, saith, When the Doctrine, which first began in the Schools, came to its Growth, what Fruits could it bear, but most gross Idolatry; greater than which, was never known among the Gentiles? Mark that for your Satisfaction. What Fruit could the Doctrine bear, and that after it came out of the Schools to its Growth. And when he saith, They might conceive that Rome was once again relapsed into her ancient Paganism: The meaning is, Those that saw their Worship of Images in modern Rome, and compared it with what was done in old Rome, would see no Difference; the Idolatry was so gross in both, that if there were nothing else to make a Distinction, a Man might easily conceive Rome was relapsed into her Ancient Paganism.

R. P. But what other Argument have you to prove that P. Heylin could not speak this of the Charge of Idolatry?

Necessary
Introd. to
the History
of B.
Laud. p. 14.

P. D. Because in his Introduction he owns the Doctrine of the Homilies as to this Point of Idolatry; and that the Compilers of the Homilies were the more earnest in this Point of removing or excluding Images, the better to wean the People from the Sin of Idolatry, in which they had been trained up from their very Infancy. And after, he adds, the People of this last Age, being sufficiently instructed in the Unlawfulness of worshipping such painted Images, they may be lawfully used in Churches, without Fear of Idolatry. What can this signifie, if he did not take the Worship of Images to be Idolatry? And therefore he could not look upon this as a Heat in the Beginning of the Reformation; and which was quite spent in the time of

of B. Laud; since not only P. Heylin, but the Archbishop himself saith, that the Modern Church of Rome is too like Paganism in the Worship of Images, and driven to scarce intelligible Subtilties, in her Servants Writings that defend it; and this without any Care had of Millions of Souls unable to understand her Subtilties or shun her Practice. And in his Defence against the Charge of the Commons, he said, That he had written against the Adoration and superstitious Use of Images as fully as any Man whatsoever. What think you now Sir? was this a Heat in the Beginning of the Reformation; and when Men in Archbishop Laud's time, more duly weighed the Consequences of this Charge, they grew both cooler and wiser? What Evidence doth T. G. produce for this? When the very Person he produces for it, is so far from it, that he saith the contrary; and are we not like to meet with very hopeful Demonstrations in the Scientific Way from him? But I have one Argument yet more, to prove there was no such Change as to this Matter, in Archbishop Laud's time; which is from the Convocation, A. D. 1640. wherein no one questions the Influence and Direction of Archbishop Laud, and the Concurrence of those of his Party, as T. G. calls them; and yet in that very Book of P. Heylin's, he might have seen that Canon, wherein they acknowledge the Idolatry of the Mass: And T. G. could not pretend any Ignorance of this; for Dr. St. had quoted this very Canon to this Purpose, to shew that this was the Sense of Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy in Convocation so lately; and so long after the first Heats of the Reformation. But what Answer doth T. G. give to this, which is so material a Testimony, and so destructive to all he saith, upon this matter?

Confere-
rence with
Fisher. p.
277.

History of
his Tryal.
p. 472.

Cypr. Angl.
p. 435.

R. P. I do not remember he takes notice of it; but if you please I will look, for I have his Book about me.

P. D. Not take Notice of it? It is impossible. What! doth he pretend to answer, and pass by the plainest and strongest Arguments, as if they had never been brought? This is a very Satisfactory Way of answering, and becoming the Ingenuity of T. G. But I pray Sir look again, I am afraid you wrong him. I suppose you never read Dr. St.'s Books, but only the Answers to them; and then I do not wonder you applaud the Answers, if they leave out the hardest Arguments.

R. P. You have a little startled me with this Omission: I have turn'd over all the Leaves, which relate to this matter, very carefully, and I cannot find One Word about it; surely it was an involuntary Omission.

P. D. How could that be involuntary, when it was produced and urged with great Force, to shew that this was no Puritanical Charge; no Heat at the Beginning of the Reformation; no private Opinion of particular Persons, but the Sense of our whole Church representative, even in A. D. 1640.

R. P. I confess, I know not what to say more for him, but that it was an Omission.

P. D. No Sir, that is not all; for there is a Fault of Commission too; for he doth not only leave out this, but he advances an Hypothesis, which he might easily see the Falshood of, from this single Testimony; viz. that the Charge of Idolatry was only a Heat in the Beginning of the Reformation, which was disowned in the Time of K. Charles and Archbishop Laud; when at the same time he could not but see the plainest Evidence to the contrary by the Convocation of A. D. 1640. Is your Cause to be supported only by such Tricks as these?

Dial. p. 28.

R. P. You are too like Dr. St. whom T. G. charges with being too Tragical upon such slight Occasions; and flinging and laying about him unreasonably for a thing of nothing; as when T. G. mistook Robert Abbot for George.

P. D. Call you this a *thing of nothing*? Methinks it is rather making *nothing* of a very substantial *thing*. As to the other Mistake, I suppose we shall hear of it e're long. I pray let us proceed in Order.

R. P. Dr. St.'s third Argument is from the Rubrick at the End of the Communion; the Words are these, *Whereas it is ordained in this Office, for the Administration of the Lords Supper; that the Communicants shall receive the same kneeling.*

F. C. Hold there I pray; what! *receive the Communion kneeling*! Give me leave to come in now; for I perceive you are hard pressed, and we ought to give friendly Assistance to one another against these Church-of-England-men; and therefore I will prove them guilty of Idolatry in receiving the Sacrament kneeling.

P. D. This will be a Digression; but I always owe so much Service to the Church of England, as to be ready to defend it from so unjust a Charge; therefore to your Business.

F. C. Mr. Case in his Sermon before the Long Parliament at a General Fast, on such a Day saith thus—

P. D. I pray, Sir, speak to the Point: I am not now at leisure to hear Mr. Case's Sermon repeated.

F. C. I hope you will not interrupt me.

P. D. Not, when you speak to the Business: Do you understand what Idolatry is?

F. C. That is a Question to be asked indeed; as though I did not know what *the Cup of Fornication* means, that is Idolatry; and to bow at the Name of Jesus, and to bow to the Altar, that is Idolatry; do you think I do not know what Idolatry is? Methinks you should have more Reverence for a Man of my Years, than to ask me such a sawey Question; have I preached this Thirty Years and more in the Army, and in private Congregations, and live to be asked such a Question by you? Sir, I knew what Idolatry was before you were born.

P. D. Then I hope you can tell me, now I am of Age to understand it.

F. C. Why, have I not told you already?

P. D. I pray, Sir, let us talk calmly, and understand one another; which we shall never do unless we agree what is Idolatry. I pray give me the Definition of it.

F. C. The Definition! When I was a young Man as you are, I had as many Definitions in my Head as any Body; but we that are upon constant Duties of another Nature cannot trouble our Heads with Definitions, or such idle Notions. But alas! we grow old, and such things are soon forgotten. I remember in my younger Days, I read Bucanus, Polanus, and Amesius; nay, there was not a good System of Orthodox Divinity to be had, but I read it, and noted it: But I lost my Notes in the time of the Wars, and could never recover them.

P. D. This is a little off from our Business; I hope you are better at Application of the Point, than at Explication of it. What is it in the Church of England you do charge with Idolatry?

F. C. Kneeling at the Sacrament.

P. D. For what Reason?

F. C.

F. C. Stay a little: I thought I had my Arguments at my Fingers Ends; but see how strangely good things slip out of our Memories! But now I remember, I have some short Notes about me, which I took out of Mr. Gillespie's *Idolatry of the English Popish Ceremonies*; and let me tell you, he was a mighty Man in his Days against the Church of England; and this Book of his did great Execution upon the Bishops in Scotland. I can remember, how much it affected the Brethren in England, and how we compared him to one of Davids Worthies, that killed the Giants of the Philistines.

P. D. Sir, at this Rate of Talking, it will be Night before you come to the Question; methinks you seem to have nothing to say against us of the Church of England.

F. C. I nothing to say against you! who ever heard me, without having something to say against you? I tell you Sir, I look upon your Church as the younger Sister to the Whore of Babylon: Never a Barrel the better Herring; only we can have Liberty of Conscience with one, and not with the other. It is all one to me to bow to an Image, and to bow to the Altar; to worship Images, and to kneel at the Sacrament.

P. D. I am in hopes you are now coming to the Point, I pray keep there without any farther rambling.

F. C. Call you this rambling? You know Amefius saith, even in controverted Points, much Respect ought to be had to the Experience of God's People; I tell you, I have found it thus with me, and you ought rather to hear me teach you, than dispute with me.

P. D. All this shall not serve; I must have your Arguments since you urge me thus.

F. C. Why look ye now, d'ye see how petulant and malapert these Divines of the Church of England are. But since nothing will satisfy you, but arguing, I have an Argument ready for you will do your Business.

To worship the Bread is Idolatry;

But to kneel at the Sacrament is to worship the Bread.

Ergo.

P. D. I am glad to find you come to any kind of Reasoning. I deny, that in kneeling at the Sacrament, we do worship the Bread; for our Church expressly declares the contrary in this Rubrick.

F. C. What do I care for your Church, or her Rubricks? I say you do worship the Bread, and prove it too.

That which you kneel before and look towards, when you worship, you do give the Worship to:

But you kneel before and look towards the Bread when you worship.

Ergo.

P. D. I begin to be afraid of you now; for you do not only prove by this Argument kneeling at the Sacrament, but reading the Common Prayer to be Idolatry: For if that which we kneel before and look towards when we worship, must be the Object of our Worship, it is plain we must indeed make an Idol of the Common Prayer; for every time we read it we kneel before it, and looks towards it when we worship.

F. C. Look you to that, I always took the Common Prayer for an Idol, but I did not think I had proved it now.

P. D. I shall endeavour to undeceive you in this Matter. Since we are not pure Spirits, but must worship God with our Bodies, by kneeling and looking towards something in our Acts of Worship; we must not deter-

mine

mine that to be the *Object* of our *Worship* which our Bodies are bended towards, or we look upon in our *Worship*, unless there be some other *Reason* for it; for then *Idolatry* would be necessary and unavoidable. For we cannot kneel with our Eyes open, but we must look upon some Creature, which according to your way of arguing, must be the *Object* of our *Worship*. I pray Sir, without being angry, give me leave to ask you, whether a Man kneeling in the Fields and praying with his Eyes lifted up to *Heaven* be an *Idolater* or not?

F. C. I think not.

P. D. Yet he kneels towards some Creature, and looks upon some Creature when he worships; therefore you must prove by some other way, that we do make the *Bread* the *Object* of our *Worship*. But this we utterly deny; and say *the doing it is Idolatry and to be abhorred of all faithful Christians*. And will you make us worship it, whether we will or no?

F. C. But you use the same Postures which the *Papists* do, and yet you charge them with *Idolatry*.

P. D. Because this is a thing many of you stumble at, I will make the Difference of our Case and theirs plain to you. In all Moral Acts we are to have a great Regard to their *Circumstances*, from whence they take a different Denomination. He that kills a Man by Accident, and he that kills a Man out of Malice, do the very same thing as to the Substance of the *Act*; yet no Man will say it is the same *Act* upon a Moral Consideration. We kneel, and the *Papists* kneel: But we declare *when we kneel, we intend no Adoration to the Elements*: But the *Papists* cannot deny that they do give proper *Adoration* to that which is before them; which we say is *Bread*, and they say, *the Body of Christ under the Species of Bread*; and yet not merely to the invisible *Body of Christ*, but taking the *Species of Bread* as united to that *Body of Christ*, and so directing their *Worship* to these Two together as the proper *Objects of Divine Adoration*. And to make this evident to you, their *Adoration* is performed at the *Elevation* of the *Host*; and at the carrying it about in *Processions*, and at the exposing it on their *Altars*; and not merely in the *Participation* of it. Whence it is observable, that the *Church of Rome* doth not strictly require kneeling at the *Participation*, which it would do, if it looked on the kneeling at receiving as a proper *Act of Adoration*. The *Rubricks* of the *Mass* do not, that I can find, require the *Priest* to kneel in the *Act of receiving*; and the *Pope* when he celebrates, receives sitting. *Espenceus* saith, in the *Church of Lyons*, many of the *People* did not receive kneeling; and upon Complaint made about it, they were by the Advice of Two *Cardinals* left to their old Custom. And I wonder your Brethren have not taken notice of the Difference of kneeling at the *Elevation* of the *Host*, and in the *Act of receiving* it; the one was required by the *Constitution of Honorius*, and was intended for an *Act of Adoration* to the *Host*: The other was derived from the *Ancient Church*, which altho' it did not always use the same *Posture of Adoration* that we do; yet it is sufficient for our purpose, if they received the *Sacrament* in the same *Posture in which they worshipped God*. And this I could easily prove, if this were a Place or Season for it.

F. C. Well Sir, I do not love *Disputing*; I pray go on with your former Adversary.

R. P. Sir, I thank you for the Diversion you have given us; if you please I will now return to the Place where we left; I was about to tell

tell you the Answer T. G. gives to Dr. St's Third Argument from the Rubrick at the end of the Communion. The Words are, *It is here declared that by kneeling no Adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine, there Bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very Natural Substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians; and the Natural Body and Blood of Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the Truth of Christ's Natural Body to be at one time in more Places than one.* About which Dr. St. charges T. G. first with Ignorance in saying, *It was not yet above a Dozen Years since it was inserted into the Communion Book; whereas he might have found it above a hundred Years before in the Liturgy of Edw. VI.* To which T. G. answers, *That the various Fate of this Rubrick, first in not being annexed till the second Liturgy of Edward VI. and being cast out again in the Year 1562; and then admitted again almost a hundred Years after, is no Eviction to him, that the Charge of Idolatry is the dogmatical Doctrine of the Church of England.*

Dial. p. 19.

P. D. If this were all the Declaration our Church had made of her Sense, and the Intention of this Rubrick were only to declare this Point of Idolatry, there were some Probability in what T. G. suggests. But I have shewed already, how fully our Church hath declared her Sense about Romish Idolatry by other ways; and the Design of this Rubrick was not to express her Sense of Idolatry, so much as to give Satisfaction to those who scrupled the Lawfulness of Kneeling. For which Cause it was first put in, and afterwards not thought necessary to be continued, when Persons were better satisfied about the Intention of our Church. But when after long Disuse and violent Prejudices the Dissenters were grown unacquainted with the Design and Intention of our Church, there was the same Reason for inserting it again, which held at first for putting it in. And what now hath T. G. gained by this Observation? If it had been, as he imagined, what he had gotten in one Point, he had lost in another: For then it would appear, that there was no such Heat in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Days; if they were willing to leave out such a Declaration of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, at that time when Queen Elizabeth's Title was the most disputed at Rome; so that from hence appears the Vanity of T. G.'s former Observation, and how far they were from taking things into our Liturgy out of Spite to the Pope; nay, so far were they from this, that in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth, that Petition in the Litany was left out, which had been inserted by Henry VIII. and continued in both Liturgies of Edward VI. *From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable Enormities, Good Lord——* And this he might have found in the same Historian. And was not the Title of Head of the Church, taken by her Father and Brother, so qualified and explained then, as might prevent any occasion of Quarreling at it by the most captious Persons? Do these Passages look like doing things on purpose to provoke and exasperate, and out of pure spite to the Pope; or like putting in things on purpose to heighten the Differences, when T. G. himself confesses, *they left out this Rubrick; and it is evident they did leave out some of the most provoking Expressions?*

Cypr. Ang.
p. 418.

R. P. I see you cannot bear the Charge of intemperate Heat on the beginning of the Reformation.

P. D.

P. D. I cannot bear such an unreasonable and unjust Imputation as this is ; and I have a particular Esteem for the *Wisdom, Learning and Piety* which was shewed in the *Ecclesiastical Part* of our Reformation. But how doth T. G. take off the Charge of *Idolatry* in this Rubrick ?

R. P. He saith, *he takes the meaning of it not to be, the denying Adoration to be due in regard of Christ's Body being present spiritually, but truly in the Sacrament ; but only that no Adoration ought to be done to any Corporal Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood, as the Word Corporal is taken to signify the Natural Manner of a Body's being present.* For which he gives these Reasons, (1.) *Because those Words in the Second Liturgy of Edward VI. No Adoration ought to be done to any Real or Essential Being of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood, are now changed into [any Corporal Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood.]* (2.) *Because the Protestant Divines do yield the Real Presence of Christ's Body, for which he quotes Bishop Taylor and Bishop Cosins ; and he desires Dr. St. so to explain these Words, as not to undermine the constant Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Real Presence, and leave us nothing but pure Zuinglianism in the Place of it.*

P. D. I am so much his Friend, that at this time I will undertake this Task for him. First, We must consider the Words of the Rubrick. (2.) How this Sense of it can be reconciled with the Real Presence as owned by the Church of England.

(1.) For the meaning of the Rubrick, We are to consider that the Rubrick denies *Adoration to be intended, either unto the Sacramental Bread and Wine, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood.* And after, it gives Two distinct Reasons for denying *Adoration* to either of these. 1. *To the Sacramental Bread and Wine, for this Reason, because they remain still in their very Natural Substances ; and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.* 2. *To the Corporal Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood ; because the Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here, it being against the Truth of Christ's Natural Body, to be at one time in more Places than one.* You see, here are Two plainly distinct Reasons given for denying *Adoration* to the Elements, and to the Natural Body of Christ. The former is said to be *Idolatry* ; the latter to be *absurd and unreasonable, it being repugnant to the Truth of Christ's Body to be in more Places than one at one time.* So that the Sense of the Rubrick lies in these Two Propositions.

1. That it is *Idolatry* to give *Adoration* to the Elements remaining in their Natural Substances.

2. That it is absurd to believe *Christ's Natural Body to be present, because then it must be in more Places than one, which is repugnant to the Truth of a Body.* These things to my Apprehension are the plain and natural Sense of this Rubrick.

R. P. But we do not give *Adoration* to the Sacramental Elements, but to the Body of Christ.

P. D. I do believe I can prove that you give *Adoration* to the Sacramental Elements, as they make up one entire Object of *Adoration* with the Body of Christ ; but that is not my present Business ; which is to shew the Sense of our Church, which lies in these particulars. 1. That the Sacramental Elements do remain in their Natural Substances after Consecration. 2. That, to adore them so remaining is *Idolatry, and to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.* No one questions the former to be the Sense of our Church ; the only Question lies in the latter, whether that be

Idola-

Idolatry or no? It is no question, that to give Divine Adoration to any Creature is *Idolatry*; and it is so acknowledged on all sides; the only Question then can be, whether the *Substance of Bread and Wine* be a Creature or not? And this is no Question with any Man in his Wits: Therefore to give Adoration to the *Substance of Bread and Wine* is *Idolatry*. No Demonstration in *Euclid* is plainer than this.

R. P. But I tell you, we do not worship the Creature, but the Body of Christ.

P. D. I tell you again, if there be a Creature you do worship it; for you give Adoration to what is before you, be it what it will; if it be a Creature you adore it.

R. P. But we say, it is not a Creature we worship.

P. D. Do not you give Adoration to that which is consecrated, whether it remains a Creature or not after Consecration? At the Elevation of the Host, at the Carrying it about, at the Exposing of it on the Altar, you worship that which was consecrated, do you not?

R. P. We worship that which was Bread before Consecration, but after is no longer so, but the Body of Christ.

P. D. But if it should remain Bread after Consecration, what do ye adore then? Is it not the Substance of the Bread?

R. P. Yes, but we believe it is not the Bread.

P. D. That is not the Question, what you believe; for they that believed God to be the Soul of the World, worshipped the Parts of it upon a Supposition, which if it had been true would have justified their Worship every Jot as well at yours can do you, and yet they were gross Idolaters for all that. Nay, I will say more to you, there never were Idolaters in the World, that did not proceed upon a false Supposition; and it may be not so unreasonable as yours. This cannot therefore excuse you, if your Supposition proves false; as no doubt it is; that the Substance of the Bread doth not remain after Consecration. But I now ask you what your Adoration is, in the Opinion of those Persons who do firmly believe the Sacramental Elements to remain in their Natural Substances. Is it not the giving Divine Worship to a Creature? And is not the giving Divine Worship to a Creature, *Idolatry*? So that according to the Sense of our Church the Worship of the Host must be *Idolatry*.

R. P. But what have you got by all this? For we confess our selves, That if the Substance of Bread and Wine do remain after Consecration, we are as great Idolaters as they that worship a red Cloth.

P. D. Upon my Word, you had need then to be well assured, that the Substance of Bread and Wine do not remain; and yet I must tell you, we can be certain of nothing in the World, if we are not certain that the Substance of Bread and Wine do remain after Consecration. For if we are certain of nothing by our Senses, but of the outward Accidents (which is all your best Men do say in this Case) we cannot be certain of any visible Substance in the World; for no bodily Substance can be discerned, but by our Senses; and so all Foundation of Certainty by Sense is destroyed. Nay, farther, it takes away all Certainty by Reason; for it confounds the clearest Maxims of it, by overthrowing all Mathematical Proportions of great and small, whole and parts; by destroying all Notions of Distance and Place; by jumbling the Notions of Body and Spirit. And lastly, it takes away all Certainty by Revelation, which can never come to us, but upon the Supposition of the Certainty of Sense and Reason.

R. P. O Sir, I see what you would be at ; you would fain draw me into a Dispute about *Transubstantiation*, upon *Principles of Reason* ; I beg your Pardon, Sir. This is a Matter of *Faith*, and must be stoutly believed, or else we are gone. No more of this, Sir ; to your Business of *Idolatry*, I pray.

P. D. I was only giving you some Caution by the by, how much you are concerned to look about you ; but since you are resolved to shut your Eyes, I return to the Sense of our *Church* about the *Idolatry* of the *Mass* ; and it follows necessarily from our former Discourse, that since our *Church* believes the Substance of the Elements do remain, and that your Worship doth really fix upon that *Substance* ; whatever your Intentions be, it is really *Idolatry*.

R. P. However this only proves it to be *Material Idolatry*, and not *Formal*.

P. D. I have often heard of this Distinction, but I could never be satisfied with it : For what is *Material* and *Formal Idolatry* ?

R. P. *Material Idolatry* I take to be *Mistaken Worship* ; i. e. I do give Divine Worship to a false Object ; but I do not intend to give it to a false Object of Worship, but to a true one.

P. D. Then *Formal Idolatry* must be giving Divine Worship to a false Object of Worship, knowing it to be a false Object. And where are there any such *Idolaters* to be found in the World ? Did not the Heathens believe that to be God which they worshipped ? And is not God a true Object of Worship ? only they mistook that to be God which was not ; and so were only *Material Idolaters* : Even those that worshipped their *Images for Gods*, were only mistaken ; for they had a good Intention only to worship God, but they unhappily took their *Images for Gods*. And I must needs say, they who took the *Sun, Moon and Stars for Gods*, and worshipped them as such, were very excusable in comparison of those who take a *Piece of Bread for God*, or that which appears like it.

R. P. You are very severe, methinks ; but do you think there is no Difference among *Idolaters* ?

P. D. Yes, I tell you there is, but not much to your Comfort. The grosser Men's Error is, the more Means to convince Men of it ; the more Wilful their Blindness and Continuance in it, the more Culpable they are in their *Idolatry*, and consequently the less Excusable.

R. P. But may not a Man innocently mistake ? as if in the Dark, a Child should ask Blessing of one that is not his Father, would his Father have Reason to be angry with him ?

P. D. Not for once, or if it were in the Dark ; but if he should see him every Day go very formally to a *Joynt-Stool* in the *Hall*, or to a *Brown Loaf* in the *Buttery*, and there very solemnly down upon his Knees to them, and beg their Blessing ; tell me what you think the Father would say to such a Mistake ? Would he excuse him, saying, Alas poor Child, he intended all this to me, only he mistook the *Brown Loaf* or a *Joynt-Stool* for me !

R. P. Forbear such Comparisons ; for we have Divine Revelation, *This is my Body* ; and we believe his Word against all you can say in this Matter.

P. D. But what will you say, if by the Confession of many of the best and most learned of your own Divines, *You have not Divine Revelation for it* ; and that those Words cannot prove, *that the Substance of Bread doth not remain after Consecration*, which is the thing we now enquire

quire after? And if it were not to go off from our present Business, I would undertake to prove this evidently to you.

R. P. However we have the *Authority* of our *Church* for it.

P. D. You had as good say, you are resolved to believe it; for the *Authority* of your *Church* can never persuade any Man that is not.

R. P. When you are gotten to this Point of *Transubstantiation*, it is hard to get you off. It is the fore Place of our *Church*; and you are like *Flies in Summer*, always busy about it. I pray return to your *Rubrick*, for you seem to have forgotten it.

P. D. No, I have been pursuing it hitherto.

R. P. But what say you to *T. G.*'s Reasons, why this must be understood of a *Corporeal Presence* of *Christ's Natural Body*, because you else overthrow the *Doctrine* of a *Real Presence* which hath been accounted the *Doctrine* of the *Church* of *England*.

P. D. To this I answer, (1.) The *Rubrick* saith expressly, That it is against the *Truth* of *Christ's Natural Body* to be at one time in more Places than one. It doth not say against the *Corporeal Presence* of his *Natural Body*, but the *Truth* of it: From whence it follows, that our *Church* believes the true *Natural Body* of *Christ*, which was born of the *Virgin*, suffered on the *Cross*, and ascended into *Heaven*, can be but in one Place; which is declared in the foregoing Words, And the *Natural Body* and *Blood* of our *Saviour Christ* are in *Heaven* and not here; i. e. in *Heaven* exclusively from being in the *Sacrament*. Which are not true, if the same *Natural Body* of *Christ* could be at the same time in *Heaven* and in the *Host*.

R. P. How then can your *Divines* hold a *Real Presence* of *Christ's Body*, as *T. G.* saith they do?

P. D. You had heard if you had staid till I came to my Second Answer, which is, That notwithstanding this, our *Church* doth hold, that after *Consecration*, the *Elements* do become the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*, and so there is a *Real Presence* of *Christ's Body*; but not of his *Natural* but of a *Mystical Body*. I will endeavour to make this out to you, because you look strangely upon me, as if I were big of some mighty *Paradox*. When *Paschasius Radbertus* did first broach the *Modern Doctrine* of the *Roman Church*, about the same *Body* of *Christ* being in the *Sacrament*, which was born of the *Blessed Virgin*, in the *Western Church*, he met with great *Opposition* therein from the most learned *Divines* of that Age; amongst the rest, there lived then in the *Court* of *Carolus Calvus* a Man very *Eminent* for his *Learning*, called *John Scotus*, or *Erigena*. This Man at the Request of *Carolus Calvus* delivered his *Opinion* directly contrary to *Paschasius*; for whereas he asserted, That the very same *Body* of *Christ* which was born of the *Blessed Virgin*, was invisibly present under the *Accidents* of *Bread* and *Wine*; *Scotus* denied, that the *Elements* were in any *Real Sense* after *Consecration* the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*; the *Sacrament* being only a bare *Commemoration*, or *figurative Representation* of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*. So *Hincmarus*, who lived in that Age delivers his *Opinion*; which was afterwards taken up by *Berengarius*, as appears by *Lanfrank's Answer* to him. And *Ascelinus* in his *Epistle* to *Berengarius* shews, that *John Scotus* out of *Opposition* to *Paschasius*, set himself to prove from the *Fathers*, that what was consecrated on the *Altar* was not truly and really the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*. These Two opposite *Doctrines* being thus dispersed, and a *Schism* being likely to break out upon it, as appears both by *Ratramnus*, and the *Anonymous Author*, published by *Cellotius*, (and extant in MS. in the Cot-

Hincmar:
de præ-
dest c. 31.
Lanfranc.
de Corp.
& Sang.
Christ. c. 4.

ton Library) *Carolus Calvus* sends to *Ratramnus* (an Eminent Divine of that Age, being employed by the *Gallican Church* to defend the *Latins* against the *Greeks*) to know his Judgment in this Matter. He (who is better known by the Name of *Bertram*) gives in his Preface an Account to his Prince of both these Opinions, and rejects them both, as against the Sense of the *Fathers* and *Doctrine* of the *Church*. In the first Part of his Book, he disputes against *Scotus* who would allow no Mystery ; and in the Second against *Paschasius* who contended, That the same Body of Christ was in the Sacrament, which was born of the Blessed Virgin: This, he saith, was the State of the Second Question, Whether that very Body of Christ which sits at the Right Hand of God, be received by Believers in the Sacramental Mystery ? And he proves the Negative at large from the Testimonies of the *Fathers* ; shewing, That they did put a difference between that Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, and suffered on the Cross, and that true but Mystical Body of Christ on the Altar ; and so from the Testimonies of *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustin*, *St. Hierom*, *Fulgentius* ; from the *Scriptures* ; and from the *Offices* of the *Church* ; he concludes Point-Blank against *Paschasius*, That it was not the same Body of Christ in the Sacrament which was born of the Blessed Virgin. But then against the Opinion of *Scotus*, he delivers his Mind fully in Answer to the first Question, saying, If there were nothing in the Sacrament but what appeared to the Senses, it was unfitly call'd a Mystery ; and there would be no Exercise for Faith ; no Change at all wrought in the Elements ; the Sacrament would fall short of Baptism, and the Manna in the Wilderness : And lastly, to what purpose did Christ promise his Flesh to be the Food of his People ? which being not to be understood carnally and literally, must have a spiritual Signification ; so that, though as to their outward Appearance the Sacramental Elements are Figures ; yet according to the invisible Power and Efficacy they are the Body and Blood of Christ. And this he shews to have been the Sense of the *Fathers* and *Christian Church*. This Opinion of *Ratramnus*, *Paschasius* in his Epistle to *Frudegardus*, calls the Doctrine of those who deny the Presence of Christ's Flesh in the Sacrament ; but do hold an invisible Power and Efficacy in and with the Elements ; because, say they, there is no Body but what is visible and palpable. And whoever will read that Epistle of *Paschasius* will find the Expressions he answers, the very same that yet occur in the Book of *Bertram*. Of the same Opinion with *Ratramnus* in this Matter, was *Rabanus Maurus*, the greatest Divine accounted of his Age, who wrote his Epistle to *Egilo*, against them who had lately broached that Doctrine, (mark that) that the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, was the very same which was born of the blessed Virgin, and suffered on the Cross, and rose from the Dead. And this appears from his Epistle to *Heribaldus* still Extant ; wherein he saith, he declared in what Sense the Sacrament was the Body of Christ. Besides, the Anonymous Author published by *Cellotius*, (the only Person about that time who appeared in behalf of the Doctrine of *Paschasius*, and very inconsiderable in comparison of his Adversaries) confesseth the Opposition made to *Paschasius* by *Rabanus* and *Ratramnus*, and endeavours to excuse his Simplicity in asserting, that the same Flesh of Christ was upon the Altar, which was born of the Virgin, by a new and extravagant Supposition of the Sacrament being the Medium of uniting Two Real Bodies of Christ ; viz. of his Flesh and of his Church, and therefore that must be a Real Body of Christ too ; which is so remote from justifying *Paschasius's* Doctrine, that *Cellotius* himself is ashamed of him. This same Do-
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ctrine of Rabanus and Ratramnus is expressly owned by the Saxon Homilies, which deny the Sacrament to be a mere Commemoration; according to the Opinion of Joh. Erigena; but say, that after Consecration the Bread becomes the Body of Christ after a spiritual and mystical manner; and in the Saxon Code of Canons it is expressly determined, *not to be that Body of Christ which suffered on the Cross.* And this I assert to be the very same Doctrine, which the Church of England embraced upon the Reformation, as most consonant to Scripture and the Fathers; which although it doth declare against the natural Body of Christ being in more Places than one, even that Body of Christ which is in Heaven; yet in the Articles it declares, *That the Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten; so that to the faithful Receivers, the Bread consecrated, and broken, becomes the Communion of the Body of Christ; and the Cup of Blessing, the Communion of the Blood of Christ.* And so in the Catechism it is said, *That the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's Supper; i. e. that after Consecration such a divine Power and Efficacy doth accompany the Holy Sacrament, as makes the Elements to become the Spiritual and Mystical Body of Christ; as the Church is Really but Mystically the Body of Christ, because of his Spirit dwelling in them.* So the Apology of our Church saith, *That in the Lord's Supper there is truly exhibited the Body and Blood of Christ; because that is the proper Food of our Souls, as Bread and Wine tends to the Nourishment of our Bodies.* And if the time would permit, I could not only more largely prove this to be the Sense of our Church, but that it is the true and genuine Sense of the Fathers, both of the Greek and Latin Church. And thus I hope, I have done that which T. G. thought so impossible a thing, *viz. to explain this Rubrick, so as not to undermine the Doctrine of the real Presence asserted by the Church of England, nor to leave nothing but pure Zuinglianism in the Place of it.*

R. P. I was afraid of a Paradox, and it appears; not without Reason; for I never met with any one yet, who explain'd the Doctrine of Bertram, and the Church of England; after this manner; and all that attempted it talked so in the Clouds, that Transubstantiation it self did not seem more hard to understand: But I remember P. de Marca hath proved, that the Book of Bertram was the same which was written by Joh. Scotus; and therefore your Hypothesis is utterly overthrow'n.

P. D. I have read and considered that faint Attempt of that Great Man, which seemed to be designed for no other End, but to make us believe, that Bertram's Book was burned for Heretical, at the Synod of Vercelles. But if any one will impartially consider the Book of Bertram, and compare it with the Account given of the Opinion of Joh. Scotus by the Writers against Berengarius, they will find De Marca's Opinion without the least Colour of Probability.

R. P. But Card. Perron, Mauguin, Cellotius and Arnaud, all say, That Bertram in the first Part disputes against the Stercoranists, who were a sort of Hereticks who held, *That the Body of Christ in the Eucharist was passible, corruptible and digestible, and in all things just as the Bread appeared to our Senses; and asserted, That all the Accidents of the Bread were founded Hypostatically in the Body of Christ, and not to have any proper Subsistence of their own.*

P. D. These were a notable sort of Hereticks, if they could be found; but it appears by the Enemies of Berengarius, that this opprobrious Name was fixed by them on all those who asserted the Substance of the Bread to remain

remain after Consecration, and it would be very strange, if Bertram should confute that which himself asserts: For he saith, *The Sacramental Elements do pass into the Nourishment of our Bodies*. But if any were liable to this Accusation, it must be Paschasius; if P. de Marca's Observation of him be true, *That he held both Substance and Quantity of the Bread and Wine, to be turned into the Body of Christ*; from whence it follows, that must be the Subject of all those Accidents, which were in the Bread before; which is the very sink of Stercoranism. Nay, I am very much deceived, if Pope Nicholas II. in the Recantation prescribed to Berengarius, did not fall into the Filth of it far more than Rabanus or Heribaldus; for he asserts therein, *That the Body of Christ is truly and sensibly handled, and broken by the Hands of Priests, and ground by the Teeth of Believers*. But what Place could be fitter for this Heresy, than the *Sedes Stercoraria*? And Guilmundus striving to help Pope Nicholas and his Council out, falls into the same Heresy himself; for he shews *That Christ's Body may be handled and chewed in the Sacrament*; if so, it must be the Subject of the Accidents of the Bread and Wine. Which according to Perron and his Followers, is plain Stercoranism.

Guilm. de
sacr. l. 1.

R. P. But do not you fall into another Heresy, viz. of Impanation?

P. D. A Man had need look to his Words, when Heresies are so common, and buz so about a Man's Ears. And some think they confute a Man with a vengeance, if they can find out some Heresy with a hard Name to fasten upon him. But if you did know wherein the Heresy of Impanation lay, you would never charge this Doctrine of our Church with it. For I find Two distinct Ways of Impanation, and this Doctrine is liable to neither of them. 1. By Union of the Bread to the Body of Christ; and by that to the Divinity, which was the way of Joh. Parisiensis. 2. By an immediate Conjunction of the Divine Nature to the Bread; not merely by Divine Efficacy and Power, but by an Hypostatical Union: Which is the Opinion, not without ground, attributed to Rupertus Tuitiensis; and is liable to this great Absurdity, that all that befalls the Bread may be attributed to the Person of Christ, which Bellarmine saith, *it is Blasphemy to imagine*. And then it might be said, *That the Bread is God, that the Word is made Bread, and that God is both Bread and Wine*. But all which the Doctrine of our Church implies, is only a real Presence of Christ's invisible Power and Grace so in and with the Elements, as by the faithful receiving of them to convey spiritual and real Effects to the Souls of Men: As the Bodies assumed by Angels might be called their Bodies, while they assumed them; or rather as the Church is the Body of Christ, because of his Spirit quickning and enlivening the Souls of Believers; so the Bread and Wine after Consecration are the real, but the Spiritual and Mystical Body of Christ. If any one yet thinks, that some at least of our Divines have gone farther than this, let them know, it is the Doctrine of our Church I am to defend, and not of every particular Divine in it; and if any do seem to speak of the Presence of the very same Body which is in Heaven, I desire them in the first Place to reconcile that Doctrine with this Dogmatical Assertion at the End of this Rubrick; that it is against the Truth of Christ's natural Body, (not against the corporal Presence of it) to be at one time in more Places than one. Let Men imagine what kind of Presence they please of the same Body, I only desire to know, whether to be in Heaven, and to be in the Sacrament, be to be in the same or distinct Places? If the Places be distinct, as no doubt Heaven and Earth are, then our Church declares, *That it is contra-*

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ry to the Truth of Christ's Natural Body to be in more Places than One at one time.

R. P. But cannot God annihilate that Cylinder of Air between the Body of Christ in Heaven, and the Sacrament on the Altar, and so make them both to be in one Place?

P. D. This is a very idle and extravagant Question; because, if it be granted, it only proves that there is nothing between Christ's Body in Heaven, and the Host; but it doth not prove the Host to be that Body of Christ; and withal, since so many Thousand Hosts are consecrated in a Day, you must suppose so much Air annihilated, as lies between Christ's Body and all those Hosts; but can any Man imagine God should annihilate so much Air every time a Priest consecrates? And I remember a good Saying of Cajetan, *Non est disputandum de divina potentia ubi de Sacramentis tractatur*; we must not dispute of God's absolute Power about the Matter of Sacraments; because these are so often celebrated, that we are to suppose no more than an ordinary Power to be employed about them. And suppose we should grant a thing possible by God's absolute Power, he saith, *It is Folly to assert all that to be in the Sacrament, which God can do*. However, this doth not reach this Rubrick, which supposes distinct Places, and saith, *It is contrary to the Truth of Christ's natural Body to be in more Places than One at one time*.

Cajet. in
Aquin. 3 p.
9.75 art. 1.
Q. 2. Q. 3.

R. P. But may not all this be understood, as T. G. suggests, of the natural manner of a body's being present in more Places than one, viz. that it is repugnant to the Truth of Christ's natural Body to be naturally present, or in a corporeal manner, in more Places than one; but it may be naturally present but in one Place; i. e. by way of Extension or Quantity; but it may be present in more Places after another manner?

P. D. I think you have strained for this, and it is your last Effort. To which I answer, (1.) It yields no Advantage to T. G.; for supposing that some of our Divines did hold it possible, that the same Body might be present in several Places after a different manner; yet how doth it hence follow, that the Rubrick doth not charge them who worship the Substance of Bread and Wine with Idolatry? (2.) Supposing the Church did fix this Charge upon those who worship the Body of Christ as present, I desire to know whether another kind of Presence would excuse from Idolatry? i. e. supposing that to worship Christ's Body as corporeally present be Idolatry, it would not be Idolatry to worship the very same Body as present after another manner? Which is all one, as to ask, whether, if it be Idolatry to worship a Man with his Cloaths on, it be likewise Idolatry to worship him with his Cloaths off? If it be the very same Body, let the manner of its being present be the same or different, it doth not alter the Nature or Reason of Worship. Only of the Two, it seems more unreasonable to worship an invisible Body than a visible one; for in a visible Body, he that worships is sure of something that he sees, but when he fancies an invisible Body present, he fancies something, which if it were, must be seen; and yet though he cannot see it, he resolves to worship it. (3.) It is altogether as unreasonable to believe, that a Body may be present in several Places after a different manner, as after the same manner. For wherever a Body is really present, let it be with Extension or without, it is so in that Place as not to be in another; i. e. the Body of Christ being in the Host on the Altar, is so there, as not to be on the Floor, or any other Place about it; for otherwise it could not be said to be only under the Accidents: I then ask, on what Account the same Body cannot be present

present in Two places at once after the same manner, and yet may be after a different manner? Aquinas saith, it doth imply a contradiction for the same Body to be in several Places at once after the same manner, i. e. by way of Extension or Quantity; because, it is necessary for the same thing to be undivided from it self; but that which is in several Places must be divided from it self. But as Conink well observes, this Argument proves it as impossible for the same Body to be in several Places after a different manner; for it is never the less divided from it self by being in one Place after another manner than in the other: Tea it will be more divided, because it will be after two several ways repugnant to each other. And it is much more easie to conceive, that a Body should be in two several Places after a natural manner, than to be so in one Place; and in another, after such a spiritual manner, as is very hard to be understood. It is much more repugnant, saith Mæratius, for the same Body to be extended and not extended, than to have a double Extension. If it be repugnant to the finite Nature of a Body, to be in more Places than one, because then it might be present in all Places; this, saith Lugo, will hold against a Sacramental Presence; for that comes nearer to a Divine Imensity for a Body to be in more Places without Quantity, than with it. Suarez and Gamachæus say, This comes nearer to ubiquity, because a Sacramental Presence supposes the Body to be whole in every Part, which a Natural doth not. And they grant, that all the Contradictions which follow upon being present in several Places after a Natural Manner, will hold if the one be Natural and the other not: i. e. That the same Body may be above it self and below it self, within it self and without it self; and may move with Two contrary Motions upwards and downwards, forwards and backwards; it may be hot in one Place and cold in another; it may be alive in one Place and dead in another; and which is the highest Contradiction, one would think, by Force of this Principle, a Man may be damned in one Place and saved in another. And no less a Man than Isambertus hath defended the possibility of this, upon this Principle; For, saith he, a Man as in one Place may be killed in a mortal Sin, and so be damned; whereas in another Place he may have Contrition (and Absolution) and so be saved. But Vasquez asks an untoward Question, Suppose such a Man be reduced to one Place, whether shall he be saved or damned? For he cannot then be both; and there is no more Reason he should be put out of the State of Grace by the State of Sin, than out of the State of Sin by the State of Grace. Such horrible Contradictions do Men run into, rather than let go an absurd Hypothesis: And Suarez confesseth, that a Sacramental Presence is liable to the same Contradictions, because that supposeth a Capacity for Acts of the Mind under it. (4.) I say, that asserting a Body to be present Naturally in one Place, and Spiritually and indivisibly in more, doth involve more Contradictions in it, than to be present in several Places after a natural Manner. For the very manner of a Body's being present indivisibly carries Contradictions along with it peculiar to it self. For wherever there is a Body, there must be Quantity, and wherever there is Quantity, there must be divisibility; how then can a Divisible Body be indivisibly present? If they say, it is after the Manner of a Spirit, that doth by no Means salve the Contradiction; for how can a Body be after the Manner of a Spirit? And if it can, how can the Notion of Body and Spirit be differenced from each other? If actual Extension may be separated from a Body, why not Quantity it self? Why may not Divisibility be separated from a Line? And Two and Two not make actually Four; supposing that they retain their intrinsic Aptitude to do it? What becomes

Aq. 4. dist.
44. q. 2.
ar. 2.

Conink de
sac. qu. 75.
art. 3.

Mærat. de
sac. disp.
24. §. 1.

Lugo de
Sacram.
disp. 5. §. 1.

Suarez in
3. p. disp.
48. art. 1.
§. 4.
Gamach. in
3. p. qu.
76. c. 4.

Isambert.
qu. 75. disp.
3. art. 8.

Vasq. in 3.
p. disp. 109.
c. 4. art. 6.
n. 28.

comes of the *Differences* of greater and less, since that which is greater may be contained under the less; and so the very same thing will be greater or less, greater and not greater than it self? What Notion can we have of *Distance*, since here a *Body* is supposed to have all its *Organical Parts*, *Head*, *Breast*, *Legs* and *Feet*; and yet no *local Distance* between *Head* and *Feet*?

R. P. I see it is a dangerous thing to give you but a Hint about *Transubstantiation*; if you but once take the Scent, you run on so fast, that it is a very hard matter to take you off. I did not think this *Rubrick* could have held us thus long; but I see you were resolved to have two or three Throws at *Transubstantiation* in passing, though I warned you before about it.

P. D. No Sir, It was *T. G.*'s fixing such an absurd Sense upon our Church, as though she made it *Idolatry* to *Worship Christ's Body* as present after a corporeal Manner, and not after another, which made me insist so long upon this.

R. P. What faith my *Fanatick Acquaintance* to all this? What! Sleeping?

F. C. Only a Nod or two: I hearkened a while, but I found you were about hard and unfavoury Notions; truly it was to me no awakening Discourse.

R. P. Come, come we will keep you waking; we are now come to the *Puritan Cause*.

F. C. Ay, Ay, there is some *Life* in that.

R. P. What think you, was *Robert Abbot Bishop* of *Salisbury* a *Puritan* or not?

F. C. What! a *Bishop* a *Puritan*! A good one I warrant you: A *Puritan* in *Lawn Sleeves*! A *Puritan* with *Cross* and *Surplice*! You know well what belongs to a *Puritan*, do you not? I tell you, there never was a true *Puritan* but abhorred these things with all his Heart. What do you tell me of a *Bishop* of *Salisbury* for a *Puritan*? I say again, if he had been so, he would have taken his *Lawn Sleeves* and thrown them into the *Fire*.

P. D. But I pray, Sir, how comes in this *Discourse* about *Bishop Abbot*?

R. P. I will tell you: Among other *Divines* produced by *Dr. St.* to prove the Charge of *Idolatry* maintained against the Church of *Rome* in *K. James* his time, one was *Bishop Abbot* in his Answer to *Bishop. T. G.* takes this to be *Archbishop Abbot*, and excepts against him as an *Abbet-tor of the Puritan Party*; and tells from *Dr. Heylin*, that on that Account it was thought necessary to suspend him from his *Metropolitanical Visitation*: *Dr. St.* makes Sport with his suspending a *Bishop* of *Salisbury* from *Metropolitanical Jurisdiction*, and tells what strange things those of the Church of *Rome* can do with *Five Words*; and upbraids *T. G.* with *Ignorance* of our Church; and in truth, is too *Tragical* upon such a slight Occasion. Now *T. G.* proves, that it was only a *Mistake of the Person*, and not of his *Quality*; although *Dr. St.* faith, That he was never till now suspected for a *Puritan*.

P. D. Are you sure of that?

R. P. Yes, *T. G.* faith so, more than once.

P. D. However it is good to be sure. These are *Dr. St.*'s Words. The two first he excepts against, are the Two *Archbishops*, *Whitgift* and *Abbot* as *Puritanically inclined*; but as it unhappily falls out, one of them was

never mentioned by me, and the other never till now suspected for a Puritan. I pray advise T. G. to read a little more carefully, before he confutes: Is it not plain, that he means, *Archbishop Abbot was never mentioned by him, and Archbishop Whitgift was never till now suspected for a Puritan?* It could be no Want of Understanding in T. G. to make him thus misconstrue his Words.

R. P. But he proves, he was *Puritanically inclined*; and takes off his Testimony.

P. D. How doth he prove that?

R. P. From Dr. Heylin, whose *Histories* serve us to many a good Purpose; for he saith, *He was a Calvinian, though a moderate one; that he was an Enemy to Bishop Laud in the University; that he commends Mr. Perkins, and wrote his last Book of Grace and Perseverance of the Saints.*

P. D. Very wonderful Proofs! As though many of the stiffest Defenders of our Church against the Puritan Party, had not been inclining to Calvinism (as it is called) in the Point of Predestination; especially in that moderate way, wherein R. Abbot asserted it! As though it were not possible, for Men to be zealous for our Liturgy and Ceremonies, if they held the Doctrine of Election and Perseverance! But we do not want those of the Highest Order of our Church at this Day, who are eminent for Learning, and Piety, and Zeal for the Church; who would take it very ill from T. G. upon the Account of those Opinions, to be thought Enemies to the Church of England; as no doubt the Puritans were. But T. G. runs on with this perpetual Mistake; when his own Author Dr. Heylin hath told him whom he means by Puritans, viz. the Nonconformists; for speaking of Dr. Buckeridge, Bishop Laud's Tutor, he saith, *That he opposed the Papists on One Hand, and on the Other the Puritans, or Non-conformists.* These are very pitiful Shifts to overthrow Bishop Abbot's Testimony, when Dr. Heylin himself saith of him, *He was so moderate a Calvinian, that he incurred the high Displeasure of the Supralapsarians, who had till then carried all before them.* But what saith T. G. to those whom he yields not to have been *Puritanically inclined*, and yet charged the Church of Rome with Idolatry?

Cypr. Angl.
p. 48. 1. ed.

p. 66.

R. P. He saith, *They do not impugn the Doctrine it self of the Church of Rome, or the Practice conformable to that Doctrine, but such things as they conceived to be great Abuses in the Practice of it.*

P. D. That will be best tryed by Particulars; the First of these is no less a Person than K. James, who calls the Worship of Images, Damnable Idolatry; and Dr. St. shews that K. James takes off their Distinctions and Evasions, and saith, *Let them therefore that maintain this Doctrine answer it to Christ at the latter Day, when he shall accuse them of Idolatry.* And then I doubt if he will be paid with such Sophistical Distinctions. Is all this, saith Dr. St. nothing but to charge them with such Practices which they detest? Doth he not mention their Doctrine, and their Distinctions? Did not K. James understand what he said, and what they did? What saith T. G. to this?

R. P. Not a Word that I can find.

P. D. Let us then see what he doth take Notice of.

R. P. A very notable thing I assure you. He saith, *They only found Fault with some Abuses committed in our Church, and did not think Men by vertue of the Terms of her Communion forced either to Hypocrisy or Idolatry, as Dr. St. doth; so that it is not the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, if truly stated out of the Decrees of her Councils, or Practice agreeable to that Doctrine,*

Dial. p. 30.
to 38.

Doctrine, which these Divines impeach as Idolatrous ; but the Opinions of some School-Divines, or Abuses they conceived to be committed in the Practice of it. And for this he instanceth in the Decree of the Council of Nice about the Worship of Images.

P. D. Who doth not know T. G. to be a Man of Art ? and to understand the way of fencing in the *Schools* as well as another ? Was it not skilfully done in this Place to run to the *Point of Images*, when we had been so lately upon the *Idolatry in Adoration of the Host*, as it is declared in our *Rubrick* ? For the *Constitution* of the *Church of Rome* is plain to all Persons about *Adoration of the Host*, at the *Elevation* of it, and *carrying it about* ; but in the Matter of *Images* they endeavour to *palliate* and *disguise* their allowed *Practices* as much as may be. I answer therefore on behalf of Dr. St. (1.) That when he speaks of what Men are obliged to do by *vertue of Communion with the Church of Rome*, he speaks of the things *strictly required* by the *Rules* of that *Church* ; and since our *Church* declares the *Mass* *Idolatrous*, he doth not in the least recede from the Sense of our *Church* in the *Disjunction* he useth, either of *Hypocrisy*, or *Idolatry* ; and I have some Reason to believe that was the thing he aimed at chiefly, when he spoke of the *Terms of Communion* ; because he had often heard of some Persons who live in the *Communion* of that *Church*, who being not obliged to make the same *Professions* which *Ecclesiastical Persons* are, do content themselves with doing the same *external Acts* which others do ; but with a *very different Intention* ; who look upon *Transubstantiation*, and many other *Doctrines* as *foolish* and *ridiculous* ; and yet think they may join with those who do believe them in all *external Acts of Worship*, rather than break the Peace of the *Church* they live in : Such Persons would say, they *never worshipped the Host*, and therefore excuse themselves from *Idolatry* ; but Dr. St. saith, they *cannot then excuse themselves from Hypocrisy*, because they seem to give the same *Worship* which the other doth. (2.) As to the *Idolatry* committed in the *Worship of Images*, we shall consider that in its proper Place ; but yet by *vertue of Communion with the Church of Rome*, all Persons are (1.) bound to declare the *Worship of Images* lawful as it is practised in that *Church*. (2.) To *worship Images* upon occasion offered, as in *Processions*, &c. (3.) To *worship the Cross* as it *represents Christ*, with that *Worship* which is proper to his *Person*. That which concerns us now, is to give an account of the Judgment of these *Persons*, how far they suppose the *Church of Rome* to be guilty of the *Idolatry* committed in it. As to K. James, we have seen already how far T. G. is from answering his *Testimony* ; the next is Isaac Casaubon, and he saith, *The Church of England did affirm the Practices of the Church of Rome to be joyned with great Impiety*. So that he speaks the Sense of our *Church*, and not barely his own ; and surely when he wrote by King James his *Direction and Order*, and had so great Intimacy with Bishop Andrews, and other learned Men of our *Church*, he would declare nothing to be her *Sense* which was contrary to it. And as to his own private Opinion, I could tell T. G. somewhat more, *viz.* that when he was violently set upon by all the Wit and Industry of Card. Perron, and disobliged by some Persons of his own *Communion* at Paris, he set himself seriously to consider the *Terms of Communion* in that *Church*, and whether he might with a safe Conscience embrace it ; and I have seen in his own *Hand-Writing* the Reasons which hindred him from it ; and the first of them was the *Fear of Idolatry, which he saw practised in the Worship of Images and Saints.*

Which is as full a Proof as may be, that he did not think any Person could embrace the Communion of that Church without *Hypocrisy* or *Idolatry* as to the Worship of *Images* and *Saints*. The Third is Bishop *Andrews*, who not only charges the Church of *Rome* with *Idolatry*; but he saith, *That in their Breviaries, Hours, and Rosaries, they pray directly, absolutely and finally to Saints; and not merely to the Saints to pray to God for them, but give what they pray for themselves*: To this *T. G.* saith, *they profess they do no such thing*; as though we were enquiring what they professed, and not what Bishop *Andrews* charged them with. If *Idolatry*, according to Bishop *Andrews*, be required in the *Authorized Offices* of *Devotion* in their Church, how can the Members of it be excused either from *Hypocrisy* or *Idolatry*? The Fourth is Dr. *Field*, who chargeth the *Invocation of Saints* with such *Superstition* and *Idolatry* as cannot be excused: The Fifth Dr. *Jackson*, who saith *the Papists give Divine Honour to Images*. The Sixth Archbishop *Laud*, who not only affirms the *Modern Church of Rome* to be too like to *Paganism* in the *Adoration of Images*, but condemns *the praying to Angels* as *the Idolatry* condemned by the *Council of Laodicea*; as Dr. *St.* shewed from his *MS. Notes* upon *Bellarmino*. To these Dr. *St.* added in his *General Preface*, the *Testimonies* of Archbishop *Bancroft*, Bishop *Montague*, *Pet. Heylin*, and Mr. *Thorndike*; which Three last were the very Persons *T. G.* did appeal to; and the Last of them did declare, *That the Practice of Idolatry was such in the Roman Church, that no good Christian dare trust his Soul in the Communion of it*; which is all one as to say, they must be guilty of *Hypocrisy* or *Idolatry*.

R. P. But *T. G.* saith, *They only reprove some Practices as Idolatrous, or at least in danger to be such; but Dr. St. acknowledges that they excuse the Church of Rome from Idolatry although not all who live in the Communion of it*.

P. D. Doth he indeed say so? or is this another Piece of *T. G.*'s *Fine-ness*? His Words are these: *And although it may be only an Excess of Charity in some few learned Persons to excuse that Church from Idolatry, although not all who live in the Communion of it*: And then produces the Seventeen *Testimonies* to shew he did not differ from the *Sense* of the Church of *England*, or the eminent *Defenders* of it ever since the *Reformation*; and do you think that among his *Testimonies*, he would produce any, whom he thought to free the Church of *Rome* from *Idolatry*? no certainly; but I suppose that Clause referred to Mr. *Thorndike* and some few others; and as to Mr. *Thorndike*, he afterwards produced the Passage before-mentioned out of some *Papers* written by him a little before his Death. What saith *T. G.* to that?

R. P. Not a Word more; but I find he makes use of Mr. *Thorndike*'s Name on all *Occasions*, as if he favoured our side against the Church of *England*, and Dr. *St.* And the Man who manageth the *Dialogue* against him, is brought in as one of Mr. *Thorndike*'s *Principles*. I pray tell me was not he a Man in his *Heart* of our Church, and only lived in the *external Communion* of *Tour's*.

P. D. Dr. *St.* hath given a just Character of him, when he calls him a *Man of excellent Learning and great Piety*; and since so ill Use is made of his Name in these *Disputes*, and such *Dishonour* done to his *Memory*, I shall but do him right, to let you understand what his Judgment was of the Church of *Rome*: Which he delivered in a Paper to a *Lady* a little before his Death, from whom it came immediately to my *Hands*, and is the same Paper Dr. *St.* doth refer to.

1. The Truth of the Christian Religion, and of the Scripture is pre-supposed to the Being of a Church.

And therefore cannot depend upon the Authority of it.

2. The Church of Rome maintains the Decrees of the present Church to be Infallible, which is false; and yet concerns the Salvation of all that believe it;

Therefore no Man can submit to the Authority of it.

3. The Church of Rome in St. Jerom's time, did not make void the Baptism of those Sects which did not baptize in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;

But that Baptism is void, and true Baptism necessary to Salvation.

Therefore the Church of Rome may err in Matters of Salvation.

4. The Church of Rome may err in Schism, following the wrong Cause. If you except only things necessary to Salvation to be believed. This shews that Infallibility only in things necessary to Salvation is not enough. It is destructive to Salvation to follow the wrong Cause in Schism.

Instance. The Schism with the Greek Church for Appeals to Rome.

For there is evident Tradition to the contrary.

5. The Church of Rome enjoins Apocryphal Scriptures to be esteemed Canonical Scriptures.

But this Injunction is contrary to Tradition and Truth, and concerns the Salvation of all that receive it.

6. The Church of Rome in St. Jerom's time did not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews for Canonical Scripture, as now it doth, and as in truth it is;

Therefore the Church of Rome may err in declaring the Authority of Scripture.

7. The Church of Rome doth err in teaching, that Attrition is turned into Contrition by submitting to the Power of the Keys;

But this Error is destructive to the Salvation of all that believe it.

Therefore it may err in Matters necessary to Salvation.

That it is an Error. Because of the Condition of Remission of Sins, which is Before the Being of a Church; and therefore cannot depend on the Authority of the Church.

8. The Church of Rome enjoineth to believe Transubstantiation, and to profess that which is false. For there is Scripture and Tradition for the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist; but neither Scripture, nor Tradition for Transubstantiation, viz. for abolishing the Elements;

But the Church of Rome enjoins to believe it.

Therefore it enjoins to believe that for which there is neither Tradition nor Scripture. Witness the Fathers that own the Elements after Consecration.

9. The Council of Trent enjoineth to believe, that Christ instituted a new Passover to be sacrificed as well as represented, commemorated, and offered in the Eucharist, *de Sacrific. Missæ, cap. 1.* which is false;

For the Sacrifice of Christ's Cross is commemorated, represented and offered as ready to be slain in and by the Eucharist; but not slain, and therefore not sacrificed in it, and by celebrating it.

And

And therefore when it is said there, c. 11. *quod in Missa Christus incruentè immolatur*, if it be meant *properly*, it is a *Contradiction*; for that which hath Blood is not sacrificed, but by shedding the Blood of it; if *figuratively*, it signifies no more than that which I have said, that it is represented, commemorated and offered as slain.

And therefore all Parts agreeing to this, the *Church of Rome* requiring more is guilty of the *Schism* that comes by refusing it. For the Propitiation of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is the Propitiation of Christ's Cross purchased for them that are qualify'd.

10. The *Council of Trent* commends the Mass without the Communion, *cap. 6.*; wherein it erreth;

For the Communion being the restoring of the Covenant of Baptism after Sin, the Want of it without the Desire of it, is to be lamented not commended, as destructive of the Means of Salvation.

11. There is neither Scripture nor Tradition for praying to Saints departed, or any Evidence that they hear our Prayers.

Therefore it evidences a Carnal Hope, that God will abate of the Covenant of our Baptism, which is the Condition of our Salvation, for their Sakes.

12. To pray to them for those things which only God can give (as all Papists do) is by the proper Sense of their Words downright Idolatry.

If they say their meaning is by a Figure only to desire them to procure their Requests of God; How dare any Christian trust his Soul with that Church, which teaches that which must needs be Idolatry in all that understand not the Figure?

13. There is neither Scripture nor Tradition for worshipping the Cross, the Images, and Reliques of Saints;

Therefore it evidences the same Carnal Hope, that God will abate of his Gospel for such Bribes. Which is the Will-worship of Masses, Pilgrimages, and Indulgences to that Purpose.

14. Neither Scripture nor Tradition is there for the removing any Soul out of Purgatory unto the Beatifical Vision before the Day of Judgment;

Therefore the same Carnal Hope is seen in the Will-worship of Masses, Indulgences, Pilgrimages and the like for that Purpose: And that destructive to the Salvation of all that believe that the guilt of their Sins is taken away by submitting to the Keys before they be contrite; and the Temporal Penalty remaining in Purgatory paid by these Will-worships.

15. Both Scripture and Tradition condemn the Deposing of Princes, and acquitting their Subjects of their Allegiance, and enjoining them to take Arms for them whom the Pope substitutes.

And this Doctrine is not only false, but in my Opinion properly Heresy; yet practised by so many Popes.

The Church may be divided, that Salvation may be had on both sides. Instances. The Schisms of the Popes. The Schism of Acacius. The Schism between the Greeks and the Latins.

I hold the Schism for the Reformation to be of this kind.

But I do not allow Salvation to any that shall change, having these Reasons before him; tho' I allow the Reformation not to be perfect in some Points of less moment, as Prayer for the dead, and others.

Remember always that the Popish Church of England can never be Canonically governed being immediately under the Pope.

16. There

16. There is both *Scripture* and *Tradition* for the *Scriptures* and *Ser-*
vice in a *known Tongue*; and for the *Eucharist* in both *Kinds*.

How then can any Christian trust his Soul with that *Church*, which
hath the Conscience to bar him of such Helps provided by God?

These are all his own Words without Addition or Alteration. And
what think you now of Mr. *Thorndike*? Was this Man a secret Friend to
the *Church of Rome* do you think? Who saith so plainly, that a Man
cannot embrace the Communion of that *Church* without Hazard of his
Salvation.

R. P. I did little think by the Use *T. G.* on all Occasions makes of
him, that he had been a Man of such *Principles*. But I think *T. G.* had
as good have let him alone, as have given Occasion for producing such
Testimonies of the Thoughts which a Man of his *Learning* and *Fame* had,
concerning the *Church of Rome*. However, you see, he holds the *Presence*
of the *Body and Blood of Christ* in the *Eucharist*; and can you reconcile
this, to what you asserted to be the *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*?

P. D. Yes, very well. If you compare what he saith here, with
what he declares more at large in his Book, wherein you may read these
remarkable Words to this Purpose. *If it can any way be shewed, that the*
Church did ever pray that the Flesh and Blood might be substituted instead of
the Elements under the Accidents of them, then I am content that this be
accounted henceforth the Sacramental Presence of them in the Eucharist. But
if the Church only pray, that the Spirit of God, coming down upon the Ele-
ments, may make them the Body and Blood of Christ, so that they which re-
ceive them may be filled with the Grace of his Spirit; then is it not the
Sense of the Catholick Church, that can oblige any Man to believe the abo-
lishing of the Elements in their Bodily Substance; because supposing that they
remain, they may nevertheless come to be the Instrument of God's Spirit to
convey the Operation thereof to them that are disposed to receive it, no other-
wise than his Flesh and Blood conveyed the Efficacy thereof upon Earth:
And that I suppose is Reason enough to call it the Body and Blood of Christ
Sacramentally, that is to say as in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. And in
two or three Places more he speaks to the same Purpose.

Laws of
the Ch.
Ch. 4. p.
30.

R. P. Hold, Sir, I beseech you; you have said enough; you will
fall back again to *Transubstantiation* in spite of my Heart.

P. D. What? When I only answer a Question you asked me?

R. P. Enough of Mr. *Thorndike*; unless he were more our Friend,
than I find he was. I pray what say you to Archbishop *Whitgift*?

P. D. Hath *T. G.* persuaded you, that he is turned Puritan, above Se-
venty Years after his Death, who never was suspected for it while he
was living, nor since, till the transforming Days of *T. G.*?

R. P. You may jeer as you please; but *T. G.* tells a notable Story of
the *Lambeth Articles*, and how *Q. Elizabeth's Black Husband* was like to
have been divorced from her upon them, and how *K. James* would not
receive them into the *Articles* of the *Church*. And all this, as well as
many other good things, he hath out of one *P. Heylin*. Is the Man
alive, I pray, that we may give him our due thanks for the Service he
hath done us upon many Occasions? For we have written whole *Books*
against the *Reformation*, out of his *History* of it; and I find *T. G.* relies
as much upon him as other good *Catholicks* do on *Cochlaeus*, and *Surinus*;
or as he doth at other times on the *Patronus bonæ Fidei*.

Dial. p. 44
&c.

P. D. Dr.

P. D. Dr. Heylin was a Man of very good Parts and Learning, and who did write History pleasantly enough; but in some things he was too much a *Party* to be an *Historian*; and being deeply concerned in some Quarrels himself, all his Historical Writings about our Church do plainly discover which side he espoused: Which to me doth not seem to agree with the Impartiality of an *Historian*. And if he could but throw Dirt on that which he accounted the *Puritan Party*, from the Beginning of the *Reformation*, he matter'd not though the whole *Reformation* suffered by it. But for all this he was far from being a Friend either to the Church or Court of Rome; and next to *Puritanism*, I believe he hated *Popery* most; so that if he had been alive, and you had gone to thank him for the Service he had done you, in all probability you had provoked him to have written as sharply against you as ever he wrote against the *Puritans*. But what is all this to *Archbishop Whitgift's being suspected for a Puritan*? Dares *P. Heylin* suggest any such thing? No, he knew him too well: And saith, *That by his Contrivance the Puritan Faction was so muzzled that they were not able to bark in a long time after.* Had he then any Suspicion of his being *Puritanically inclined*? And as to the *Lambeth Articles*, they only prove that he held those Opinions contained in them, and recommended them to the University to suppress the Disputes which had been there raised concerning them. And what then? doth this render him suspected for a *Puritan* at that time? When many of the greatest *Anti-Puritans* were zealous Defenders of those Opinions. In all *Q. Elizabeth's* time and after, the Name of *Puritans*, signified the Opposers of our Government, and the Service and Orders of our Church; and some have undertaken to name the Person, who first applyed this Name to the Assertors of these Doctrinal Points, towards the latter End of *K. James*. This is certain, (which is most material to our Purpose) that when *K. Charles I.* publish'd his Declaration to prevent unnecessary Disputations about these Points, he saith, *That they did all agree in the true usual literal Meaning of the said Articles of our Church; and that even in those curious Points in which the present Differences lye, Men of all Sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them; which is an Argument again, none of them intend any Desertion of the Articles established.* And which is a certain Argument, that even at that time no Man was charged with Disaffection to the Church of England meerly on the Account of these Doctrinal Points.

Cypr. Angl.
p. 62.

Cypr. Angl.
p. 189.

R. P. But what was it which *Archbishop Whitgift* saith; for *T. G.* saith, even that will involve him more in the Suspicion of *Puritanism*.

P. D. His Words are these, *I do as much mislike the Distinction of the Papists, and the Intent of it, as any Man doth; neither do I go about to excuse them from wicked and (without Repentance, and God's singular Mercy,) damnable Idolatry.* This is enough to *Dr. St.'s Purpose*; and afterwards he saith, *He placeth the Papists among wicked and damnable Idolaters.* Is not this Home, do you think?

R. P. But doth not he say, *That one kind of Idolatry is, when the true God is worshipped by other Means and Ways than he hath prescribed or would be worshipped?* And according to *Dr. St.* this is the Fundamental Principle of those who separate from the Church of England, that nothing is lawful in the Worship of God, but what he hath expressly commanded: Therefore according to *Dr. St.* himself, *Archbishop Whitgift* was a *Puritan*.

Dial. p. 46,
47. &c.

P. D. It is notably argued, I confess; and thence it follows, if *Archbishop Whitgift* had understood the Force of his own Principle, he must have

have separated from the Church of England. But is it not plain to the common Sense of any Man that Archbishop Whitgift writing on behalf of our Ceremonies, and against this very Principle in T. G., his Words could not bear that meaning; and therefore Dr. St. had great Reason to say, that his meaning in those Words was, *against his express Command*, as appears by the Application of them? So that either you must make Archbishop Whitgift so weak a Man as to overthrow the Design of his whole Book, or this must be his meaning which Dr. St. assigns.

R. P. But Dr. St. himself makes the charging Papists to be Idolaters, *a distinctive Sign of Puritanism*. Dial. p. 47.

P. D. Are you in earnest? I pray, when and where? For then I am sure he contradicts himself; for his Design is to prove just the contrary. Name me the Page, I beseech you, that I may judge of it.

R. P. Why, doth he not say, *That it is the Fundamental Principle of Puritanism, that nothing is lawful in the Worship of God, but what he hath expressly commanded?*

P. D. And what then?

R. P. Then—Hold a little—then—it will not do.

P. D. I think not, truly. If this be the Fundamental Principle of Puritans, *That nothing is lawful in the Worship of God, but what is commanded; then to charge the Church of Rome with Idolatry is a distinctive Sign of Puritanism*. How many Cords are necessary to tie these Two together? (1.) Can no one Charge the Papists with Idolatry, but by virtue of this Principle? I do hold, whatever God hath not forbidden, to be lawful in his Worship; but may not I at the same time, hold some kind of prohibited Worship to be Idolatry? I can hardly imagine a Man of T. G.'s Subtilty could write thus. But that you have the Book by you, and tell me so, I could not have believed it. (2.) Those who do hold this Principle, do not presently make every thing unlawful to be an Idol by virtue of it. For they do not deduce this Unlawfulness from the Prohibition of Idolatry, but from the Perfection and Sufficiency of the Scriptures as a Rule of Worship, and they say, *we must not add thereto*; and therefore no Human Invention must be used in the Worship of God. Now judge you whether, according to this Principle, there can be nothing unlawful, but it must be an Idol?

R. P. This was an Oversight, I suppose, in him: Let it pass. But what makes Dr. St. vary so much from his old Principle in his *Irenicum*, wherein he asserted, *That nothing is lawful in the immediate Worship of God, but what is commanded; this must come either from a greater Light of the Spirit, or from the weighty Considerations mentioned by the Patronus bonæ Fidei*, when he saith, *Quicquid Cl. Stillingfleet delinitus & occæcatus opimitate & obesitate suorum sacerdotiorum, &c.* Dial. p. 49. Prodr. p. 76.

P. D. For the malicious suggestions of so wretched a Calumniator, as the Patronus bonæ Fidei appears to be throughout that Book, they are not worth taking Notice of by any one that doth not search for Dung-hills. It is Dr. St.'s Honour to be reproached by a Man who hath made it his Business to reproach the best Church in Christendom, and to undermine all Churches, above Thirty Years; and yet the ungrateful Creature hath in some Measure lived upon the Revenues of that Church himself, which he hath so shamefully reviled; being in great Part supported by the Bounty of a very worthy and learned Church-Man, who is nearly related to him. But as to the Contradiction charged on Dr. St. I begin to suspect T. G. more than ever I did. For doth not Dr. St. in that Place di-

B. Andrews
Resp. ad
Apolog.
Bell. p. 37.
compared
with Bur-
hil. Defens.
Respons. ad
Apolog. c. 6.
q. 21.
B. Sanders.
Preface to
his Serm.
S. 15. De
obligat.
conf. prel.
4. Sect. 33.

distinguish between *immediate Acts* and *Parts of Worship*, and *Circumstances* belonging to those *Acts*, even in the very Words alledged by T. G. And doth not he say expressly, That he doth not speak of *these*, but of the *former*? And is not the very same Distinction used by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Sanderson, and the most zealous Defenders of the *Rites* of our Church? Why then must he be supposed to have changed his Mind as to this Principle, when he said no more at that time, than what the most genuine Sons of our Church have asserted, among whom I do not question Bishop Andrews and Bishop Sanderson will be allowed to pass. And they distinguish after the same manner, between the *necessary Parts of Worship*, for which they suppose a *Command necessary*, as well as Dr. St.; and the *Accidental* and *mutable Circumstances* attending the same for Order, Comeliness, and Edifications Sake, which are lawful, if not contrary to God's Command. And doth not Dr. St. say the very same thing? viz. *That in Matters of meer Decency and Order in the Church of God, it is enough to make things lawful if they are not forbidden.* Let us now compare this Saying with what he calls the Fundamental Principle of Separation; *That nothing is lawful in the Worship of God, but what he hath expressly commanded:* And can any thing be more contradictory to this, than what Dr. St. lays down as a Principle in that very Page of his *Irenicum*? *That an express and positive Command is not necessary to make a thing lawful; but a Non-prohibition by a Law is sufficient for that.* Where then lay T. G.'s Understanding or Ingenuity, when he mentions such a great Change in the Dr. as to this Principle, when he owned the very same Principle, even in that *Book*, and that very Page he quotes to the contrary? T. G. doth presume good Catholick Readers will take his Word without looking farther: And I scarce ever knew a Writer who stands more in need of the good Opinion of his Reader in this kind, than T. G. doth. As I shall make it fully appear, if you hold on this Discourse with me; for I have taken some Pains to consider T. G.'s Manner of dealing with his Adversary. But this is too gross a way of imposing upon the Credulity of Readers; yet this is their common Method of dealing with Dr. St. When they intend to write against him then, have you Dr. St.'s *Irenicum*? Hoping to find Matter there to expose him to the hatred of the *Bishops*; and to represent him as unfit to defend the *Church of England*. If this takes not, then they pick Sentences and Half-Sentences from the Series of the Discourse, and laying these together, cry, *Look ye here, is this a Man fit to defend your Church, that so contradicts himself thus, and thus?* When any common Understanding by comparing the Places, will find them either falsely represented, or easily reconciled. In truth, Sir, I think you have shewed as little Learning, or Skill, or Ingenuity in answering him, as any One Adversary that ever appeared against your Church: and especially, when T. G. goes about to prove that he contradicts himself, or the *Sense* of the *Church of England*.

Dial. p. 51.
&c.

P. 61.

R. P. But I pray tell me, if this Charge of Idolatry were agreeable to the Sense of the *Church of England*, why the *Articles* of the Church do only reject the *Romish Doctrine* concerning *Worshipping* and *Adoration* of *Images*, not as *Idolatry*, but as a *fond thing* vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of *Scripture*, but rather repugnant to the *Word* of *God*? For, I perceive this sticks much with T. G. and from hence he concludes Dr. St. to contradict the *Sense* of it, who is the *Champion* of the *Church of England*.

P. D.

P. D. I perceive T. G. kept this for a *parting Blow*, after which he thought fit to breathe a while, having spent so many Spirits in this Encounter; but methinks his Arm grows feeble, and although his Fury be as great as ever, yet his Strength is decayed. And in my mind it doth not become a Man of his *Chivalry*, so often to leave his *Lance*, and to run with open Mouth upon his *Adversary*, and to bite till his *Teeth* meet. For what mean the unhandsome Reflections he makes on all occasions, upon his being the *Champion of the Church of England*; and the Church of England's having cause to be ashamed of such a *Champion*; and of his putting him in mind of his Duty as the *Champion of the Church*, not to betray the Church he pretends to defend? Where doth he ever assume any such Title to himself? or ever entred the Lists, but on the account of *Obedience*, or upon great *Provocation*? The Name of *Champion* favours too much of *Vanity* and *Ostentation*; whereas he only shewed how easily the Cause could be defended, when his *Superiors* first commanded such a *Stripling* as he then was, to undertake the *Defence* of it. But I shall set aside these Reflections, and come to the Point of our Articles; and therein consider, 1. What T. G. objects. 2. What Dr. St. answered. 3. Which way the Sense of the Articles is to be interpreted. T. G. looks upon it as a notable Observation, That the *Compilers of the XXXIX Articles* (in which is contained the Doctrine of the Church of England) sufficiently insinuate, that they could find no such Command forbidding the *Worship of Images*, when they rejected the *Adoration of Images*, not as *Idolatry*, but only as a fond thing vainly invented, nor as repugnant to the plain Words of Scripture, but as rather repugnant to the Word of God; which Qualification of theirs, gives us plainly to understand, that they had done their Endeavours to find such a Command, but could meet with none. To which Dr. St. gives this Answer, that the Force of all he saith, lies upon the Words of the *English Translation*; whereas if he had looked on the *Latin*, wherein they give account of their Doctrine to Foreign Churches, this Criticism had been lost; the Words being *immo verbo Dei contradicit*; whereby it appears that rather is not used as a Term of Diminution, but of a more vehement Affirmation. And what saith T. G. I pray, to this?

Dial. p. 52.
P. 150.
P. 162.

R. P. T. G. repeats his own Words at large, and then blames the *Compilers of the Articles* for want of Grammar, if they intend the Word rather to affect the Words that follow.

Dial. p. 59.
60, 61.

P. D. But what is all this to the *Latin Articles* which Dr. St. appealed to, for Explication of the *English*? And for the Love of Grammar, let T. G. tell us whether there be not a more vehement Affirmation in those Words, *immo verbo Dei contradicit*. Either T. G. should never have mentioned this more, or have said something more to the Purpose. For doth he think our *Bishops* and *Clergy* were not careful that their true Sense were set forth in the *Latin Articles*? And their Sense being so peremptory herein, and contrary to T. G. is there not all the Reason in the World to explain the *English Articles* by the *Latin*, since we are sure they had not Two Meanings? This is so plain, I am ashamed to say a Word more to it.

R. P. But T. G. is very pleasant in describing the Arguments Dr. St. brings to prove the Articles to make the *Worship of Images* *Idolatry*, because it is called *Adoration of Images*; and said to be the *Romish Doctrine about Adoration*. But after the Cat hath play'd with the Mouse as long as he thinks fit, leaping and frisking with him in his

Dial. p 53.
54.

P. 56.

Claws, at last he falls on him with his *Teeth*, and hardly leaves a Bone behind him. After he hath muster'd his *Arguments*, and drawn them out in *Rank and File*, and made one *Charge* upon another; for the Pleasure of the Reader, he then gives him a plain and solid Answer; Viz. By the Words *Romish Doctrine concerning Adoration of Images*, may be understood, either the Doctrine taught in her Schools, which being but the Opinions of particular Persons, no Man is bound to follow; or the Doctrine taught in her Councils, which all those of her Communion are bound to submit to. If the Doctrine which the Church of England chargeth, be that which is taught by some of her School-Divines (which he takes to be her true meaning) this is also denied (at least by those very Divines who teach it) to be Idolatry. If by the *Romish Doctrine* he meant the Doctrine of Councils owned by the Church of Rome concerning Worshipping and Adoration of Images, then herein she is vindicated from Idolatry by Eminent Divines that have been esteemed True and Genuine Sons of the Church of England.

P. D. And doth this mighty Effort come to this at last? What pity it is T. G. had no better a Cause, he sets this off so prettily and dazzles the Eyes of his Beholders with the Dust he raises, so that those who do not narrowly look into his Feats of Activity, would imagine him still standing, when he is only endeavouring to recover a Fall. For 1. By *Adoration of Images*, our Church doth not mean that which their School-Divines call *Adoration of Images*, as they distinguish it from Veneration of them, but it means all that *Religious Worship* which by the allowed Doctrine and Practice of the Roman Church is given to Images. And this is just the Case of the Council of *Frankford*, (concerning which I hear T. G. saith not one Word in his last Book, and I commend him for it) the *Western Bishops* condemn *Adoration of Images*: Very true, saith T. G. and his Brethren, but all this was a bare Mistake of the *Nicene Council*, which never approved *Adoration of Images*, but only an *Inferior Worship*; but Dr. St. hath shewed, that the *Frankford Council* knew of this Distinction well enough, and notwithstanding their denying it, the *Western Church* did judge, that the *Worship* which they gave to Images was really *Adoration*, whether they called it so or not. Just so it is with the Church of England, in reference to the Church of Rome; this distinguishes *Adoration* from *Inferior Worship*; but our Church owns no such Distinction, and calls that *Religious Worship* which they give to Images, *Adoration*; and supposing it were really so, Dr. St. saith, their own Divines yield it to be Idolatry; i. e. the Church of England calls their *Worship of Images* *Adoration*, or giving *Divine Worship* to a Creature, but their Divines do yield this is *Idolatry*; and therefore the Church of England doth charge the Church of Rome with *Idolatry*. But how subtilly had T. G. altered the whole Force of the Argument? by taking *Adoration* not in the Sense of our Church, but of their School-Divines; and then telling us, That even those School-Divines who teach *Adoration of Images* deny it to be *Idolatry*. And who ever expected they should confess themselves guilty? But what is this, to the Sense of the Church of England? Where doth it allow such a Distinction of *Divine Worship* into that which is *Superior* and *Inferior*, or that which is proper to God, and that which is not? 2. By *Romish Doctrine* the Church of England doth not mean the Doctrine of the School-Divines; but the Doctrine received and allowed in that Church from whence the *Worship of Images* is required and practised. Such kind of *Worship* I mean, as is justified and defended in

common

common among them, without their *School-Distinctions*; such Worship as was required here in the *Recantation* of the *Lollards*, as Dr. St. observes, *I do swear to God and all his Seynts upon this Holy Gospel, that fro this Day froward I shall worship Images with praying and offering unto them in the Worship of the Seynts that they be made after*; such Worship as was required here by the *Constitutions of Arundel, A. D. 1408. with Processions, Genuflections, Thurifications, Deosculations, Oblations, Burnings of Lights, and Pilgrimages, which are called Acts of Adoration*; and this Constitution was a part of the *Canon Law of England*, which all Persons were then bound to observe, or else might be proceeded against as *Lollards*. And this is that which Dr. St. insults upon, was the thing condemned by the *Articles* of our Church, viz. the *Worship of Images* which was required and practised here in *England*. And what Reason have we to run to *School-Divines* for the Sense of Matters of daily Practice, as the *Worship of Images* was before the *Reformation*? And so I conclude, if this be all *T. G.* in so long time hath had to say about this Matter, (viz. above Four Years since Dr. St.'s *General Preface* was Published) he hath very unreasonably charged him with dissenting from the Church of *England* in this Charge of *Idolatry*. Defence, p. 581.

F. C. I hope you have done for this Time; and if you catch me again losing so much Time in hearing *Fending* and *Proving* about the Church of *England*, I will give you leave to call me *Panatick*. If you have any thing more of this kind, talk it out your selves if you please. I expected to have had some comfortable Talk with my old Friend about *Liberty of Conscience*; and how many precious Hours have you lost about the Church of *England*? This will never do our Business. If you please, my good Friend, you and I will meet in private at such a Place To-morrow.

P. D. Nay Sir, let me not be excluded your Company, since I am so accidentally fall'n into it; and have but Patience to hear us talk out these Matters, since we have begun them. For I hear your Friend's Friend *T. G.* hath said some things wherein your Cause is concerned.

F. C. I do intend for the *Auction* again To-morrow, and if I can easily get the *Books* I look for, I will bear you Company; otherwise go on with your *Discourse*, and I will come to you when I have made my *Adventures*. It is possible I may meet with some of them to Night; for I hear them at *Rutherford*, and *Gillespie*, and our *Divinity* follows just after the *Scotch*. Which was well observed by the *Catalogue-maker*: For the *Covenant* bound us to reform according to the Pattern of the Church of *Scotland*.

R. P. You intend then to meet here again To-morrow at Three of the Clock, to pursue our *Conferences* about these Matters. I will not fail you; and so adieu.

The End of the First Conference.

THE

Second Conference,

*About the Consequences of the Charge of IDOLATRY.*P. D. **H**OW long have you been at the Auction?

R. P. Above an Hour; for I had a great Desire to see how the Books were sold at them.

P. D. And I pray what do you observe concerning the buying of Books here?

R. P. I find it a pretty humourous thing: And sometimes Men give greater Rates for Books, than they may buy them for in the Shops; and yet generally, Books are sold dearer here, than in any Part of Europe.

P. D. What Reason can you give for that?

R. P. One is, That the *Scholars* of *England* allow themselves greater Liberty in *Learning*, than they do in foreign Parts, where commonly only One Kind of Learning is in Esteem in a Place; but here a Man that intends a *Library*, buys all Sorts of Books; and that makes your Traders in Books bring over from all Parts, and of all Kinds, and when they have them in their Hands, they make the Buyers pay for their Curiosity. In *Italy* it is a rare thing to meet with a *Greek Book* in the Shops: In *Spain* you see nothing almost besides *Prayer-Books*, *Novels*, and *School-Divinity*. At *Antwerp* and *Lions*, *School-Divinity*, and *Lives* of the Saints are most sold. At *Paris* indeed there is greater Variety. But we observe it Abroad, that in the best Catholick Countreys, Learning is in least Esteem; as in *Spain* and *Italy*. And where Learning is more in Vogue, as in *France*, you see how ready they are to quarrel with the Pope, and to fall into Heats and Controversies about Religion. And therefore to deal freely with you, I am not at all pleased to see this Eagerness of buying Books among you. For as long as Learning holds up, we see little Hopes of prevailing, though we and the Fanaticks had *Liberty of Conscience*; since upon long Experience we find *Ignorance* and our *Devotion*, to agree as well as *Mother* and *Daughter*.P. D. I am glad of any Symptom that we are like to hold in our Wits; and I think your Observation is true enough. I have only one thing to add to it, which is, That it was not *Luther*, or *Zuinglius* that contributed so much to the Reformation, as *Erasmus*; especially among us in *England*. For *Erasmus* was the Man who awakened Mens Understandings, and brought them from the *Friars Divinity* to a Relish of general Learning: He by his Wit laughed down the imperious Ignorance of the Monks, and made them the Scorn of *Christendom*: And by his Learning he brought most of the *Latin Fathers* to Light, and published them with excellent Editions, and useful Notes; by which Means Men of Parts set themselves to consider the Ancient Church from the Writings of the *Fathers* themselves, and not from the *Canonists* and *Schoolmen*.

men. So that most learned and impartial Men were prepared for the *Doctrines* of the *Reformation* before it brake forth. For it is a foolish thing to imagine that a Quarrel between Two Monks at *Wittemberg* should make such an Alteration in the State of *Christendom*. But things had been tending that way a good while before, by the gradual Restoration of Learning in these Western Parts. The *Greeks* coming into *Italy* after the taking of *Constantinople*, and bringing their Books with them, laid the First Foundation of it; then some of the Princes of *Italy* advanced their own Reputation by the Encouragement they gave to it: From thence it spread into *Germany*, and there *Reuchlin* and his Companions joyned *Hebrew* with *Greek*; from thence it came into *France* and *England*. When Men had by this Means attained to some Skill in Languages, they thought it necessary to search the *Old* and *New Testament* in their Original Tongues, which they had heard of, but few had seen, not above One *Greek Testament* being to be found in all *Germany*; then *Erasmus* prints it with his *Notes*, which infinitely took among all pious and learned Men, and as much enraged the Monks and Friars, and all the fast Friends to their Dulness and Superstition. When Men had from reading the *Scripture* and *Fathers* formed in their Minds a true Notion of the *Christian Religion* and of the *Government* and *Practices* of the *Ancient Church*, and compared that with what they saw in their own Age, they wondred at the Difference, and were astonished to think how such an Alteration should happen; but then, they reflected on the *Barbarism* of the foregoing Ages, the gradual Encroachments of the *Bishop* of *Rome*, the suiting of *Doctrines* and *Practices* to carry on a temporal Interest, the Compliance with the superstitious Humours of People, the vast Numbers of Monks and Friars, whose Interest lay in the upholding these things, and when they laid these things together, they did not wonder at the Degeneracy they saw in the *Christian Church*. All the Difficulty was, how to recover the Church out of this State; and this puzzled the wisest Men among them; some thought the ill Humours were grown so natural to the Body, that it would hazard the State of it to attempt a sudden Purging them quite away; and that a violent *Reformation* would do more Mischief than Good, by popular Tumults, by Schism and Sacrilege; and although such Persons saw the Corruptions, and wished them Reformed; yet considering the Hazard of a sudden Change, they thought it best for particular Persons to inform the World better, and so by Degrees bring it about, than to make any violent Disturbance in the Church. While these things were considered of by wiser Men, the *Pope* goes on to abuse the People with the Trade of *Indulgences*; and his Officers in *Germany* were so impudent in this Trade, that a bold Monk at *Wittemberg* defies them, and of a sudden lays open the Cheat, and this Discovery immediately spread like Wild-fire; and so they went on from one thing to another, till the People were enraged at being so long and so grossly abused and Tyranized over. But when *Reformation* begins below, it is not to be expected that no Disorders and Heats should happen in the Management of it; which gave Dislikes to such Persons as *Erasmus* was, which made him like so ill the *Wittemberg Reformation*, and whatever was carried on by popular Tumults. Yet *Rosinus* saith, that the *Duke of Saxony* before he would declare himself in Favour of *Luther*, asked *Erasmus* his Opinion concerning him; who gave him this Answer, That *Luther* touched upon Two Dangerous Points, the Monks Bellies, and the

Joh. Rosin.
vir. Frad.
sapient.

the Pope's Crown; that his Doctrine was true and certain, but he did not approve the manner of his Writing. But here in England, the Reformation was begun by the Consent of the King and the Bishops, who yielded to the Retrenchment of the Pope's exorbitant Power, and the taking away some grosser Abuses in Henry the VIIIth's Time; but in Edward the VIth's Time, and Queen Elizabeth's, when it was settled on the Principles it now stands, there was no such Regard had to Luther, or Calvin, as to Erasmus and Melancthon, whose Learning and Moderation were in greater Esteem here, than the Fiery Spirits of the other. From hence, things were carry'd with greater Temper, the Church settled with a Succession of Bishops; the Liturgy reformed according to the Ancient Models; some decent Ceremonies retained, without the Follies and Superstitions which were before practised: And to prevent the Extravagancies of the People in the Interpreting of Scripture, the most excellent Paraphrase of Erasmus was translated into English, and set up in Churches; and to this Day, Erasmus is in far greater Esteem among the Divines of our Church, than either Luther, or Calvin.

R. P. If this be true which you say, methinks your Divines should have a Care of Broaching such things, which do subvert the Foundation of all Ecclesiastical Authority among you, as T. G. told Dr. St. the Charge of Idolatry doth. For by vertue of this Charge, he saith, *The Church of England remains deprived of the lawful Authority to use and exercise the Power of Orders; and consequently the Authority of Governing, Preaching, and Administring the Sacraments, which those of the Church of England challenge to themselves, as derived from the Church of Rome, can be no true and lawful Jurisdiction, but usurped and Anti-Christian.* This I assure you, T. G. lays great Weight upon in his late Dialogues, and charges him with Ignorance, and Tergiversation, and other hard Words about it. So that I have a mind to hear what you can say in his Defence about this, before I touch upon the other Consequences which he urgeth upon this Charge of Idolatry.

Dial. p.
141.

P. D. With all my Heart. There are two things wherein the Force of T. G.'s Argument lies. (1.) *That which he calls his undeniable Maxim of Reason, viz. That no Man can give to another that which he hath not himself.* (2.) *That Idolatry lays Men under the Apostles Excommunication, and therefore are deprived of all lawful Authority to use or exercise the Power of Orders.*

In Answer to these, Two things are already proved by Dr. St. (1.) *That the Sin of the Givers doth not hinder the Validity of Ordination.* (2.) *That the Christian Church hath allowed the lawful Authority of giving and exercising the Power of Orders, in those who have been condemned for Idolatry.* Which he proves more briefly in his Preface, and at large in his last Book, from the Case of the Arian Bishops. And now let any one judge whether T. G. had any Cause to hector about this Matter for so many Pages together, as tho' he had either not understood, or not taken notice of the Force of his Argument. Concerning his undeniable Maxim of Reason he observed, that it was the very Argument used by the Donatists to prove the Nullity of Baptism among Hereticks: And that the Answer given by the Church was, that the Instrument was not the Giver, but the First Institutor; and if the Minister keep to the Institution, the Grace of the Sacrament may be conveyed tho' he hath it not himself. This Dr. St. thought very pertinent to shew, that where Power and Authority are conveyed by Men only as Instruments, the particular Default of such Persons, as Heresy or Idolatry, do not hinder the Derivation

tion of that *Power* or *Authority* to them. And this he proved to be the Sense of the *Christian Church* in the *Ordinations* of *Hereticks*. It is true, he did not then speak to *Authority* so much as to *Power*; nor to *Jurisdiction*, as it is called by the *School-Divines*, so much as to the *Validity* of *Ordination*. But he proceeded upon a *Parity* of *Reason* in both Cases, and could not imagine that any Persons would suppose the *Christian Church* would allow a *Validity* of *Orders*, without *lawful Authority* to use and exercise those *Orders*. For in all the *Instances* produced by him from the *Second Council* of *Nice*, wherein undeniable *Examples* were brought of *Ordinations* of *Hereticks* allowed by the *Ancient Fathers* and *Councils*, (even those of *Nice*, *Ephesus* and *Calcedon*,) it was apparent that their *Authority* to use and exercise their *Power* of *Orders*, was allowed as well as their *Ordinations*: For he there shews, that *Anatolius* the *President* of the *Fourth Council* was ordained by *Dioscorus* in the *Presence* of *Eutyches*; that many of the *Bishops*, who sat in the *Sixth Council* were ordained by *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Paulus*, and *Petrus*, who in that Council were declared *Hereticks*. And doth *T. G.* in earnest think this doth not prove they had *lawful Authority*? What becomes then of the *Authority* of these *Councils*? Nay of the *Authority* of the *Church* it self, when *Tarfus* there saith, as *Dr. St.* produceth him, *They had no other Ordinations for Fifty Years together*. Doth this prove either *Dr. St.'s Ignorance* or *Tergiversation*? Is not this rather plain and convincing Evidence, that the *Christian Church* did allow, not barely the *Validity* of *Ordination* by *Hereticks*, but the *lawful Authority* to use and exercise the *Power* of *Orders*? Which he likewise proves by the *Greek Ordinations* allowed by the *Church* of *Rome*; by which he doth not mean the *Validity* of the bare *Orders*, but all that *Power* and *Authority* which is consequent upon them. For can any Man be so senseless to think, that the *Church* of *Rome* only allowed the *Sacrament* of *Orders* among the *Greeks*, without any *Authority* to excommunicate or absolve? What mean then these horrible Clamours by *T. G.* of *Dr. St.'s Ignorance*, intolerable *Mistake*, shameful *Errors*, *Tergiversation*, and what not? Because he speaks only to the *Validity* of *Ordination*, and not to the *lawful Authority* of exercising the *Power* of *Orders*. Whereas the contrary appears by that very *Preface* about which these Outcries are made by *E. W.* and *T. G.* What Ingenuity is to be expected from these Men, who deny that which they cannot but see?

R. P. But *T. G.* gives this for a *Taste*, not only what *Candor* and *Sincerity*, but what *Skill* in *Church-Affairs* you are to expect in the Rest from *Dr. St.* which surely he would never have done, if he had spoken to the Point. Dial. p. 132.

P. D. You may think as you please of him; I only tell you the Matter of Fact; and then do you judge where the *Candor* and *Sincerity*, where the *Skill* in *Church-Affairs* lies.

R. P. But is it not an undeniable Maxim, that no Man can give to another, that which he hath not himself? And therefore it lies open to the Conscience of every Man, That if the *Church* of *Rome* be guilty of *Heresy*, much more, if guilty of *Idolatry*; it falls under the *Apostle's Excommunication*, *Gal. i. 8.* and so remains deprived of the *lawful Authority* to use and exercise the *Power* of *Orders*, and consequently the *Authority* of *Governing*, *Preaching*, &c. This you see bids fair towards the *Subversion* of all *lawful Authority* in the *Church* of *England*, if the *Church* of *Rome* were guilty of *Idolatry* when the *Schism* began; because excommunicated Persons being Dial. p. 133, 134.

deprived of all lawful Authority themselves can give none to others; and if those others take any upon them, it must be usurped and unlawful.

Pontificale
Rom. de or-
dinat Pres-
byt.
Concil.
Trident.
Sess. 23.
c. 4.

P. D. This is the terrible Argument which T. G. produces again in *Triumph*, as though nothing were able to stand before it: And yet in my Mind T. G. himself hath mightily weakned it by yielding the *Validity* of *Ordinations* made by *Hereticks* or *Idolaters*. For, if no Man can give that which he hath not; how can those give Power and Authority who have none? But the Power of Orders doth necessarily carry Authority along with it: For it is Part of the Form of Orders in the Roman Church, *Accipe Spiritum sanctum, Quorum remisseritis, &c.* So that a Power to excommunicate and absolve, is given by vertue of the very Form of Orders; and your Divines say, the Form is not compleat without it. But then, I pray, resolve me these Questions. Is not a Power to excommunicate and absolve a Part of that Jurisdiction which T. G. doth distinguish from the bare Power of Orders?

R. P. Yes, without doubt.

P. D. Is not this Power given by the very Form of Orders in your Church?

R. P. Yes, but what then?

P. D. Doth not the Council of Trent say, *The Character is imprinted upon saying those Words, Accipe Spiritum sanctum, &c.*

R. P. What would you be at?

P. D. Is the Character of Orders given by Words that signify nothing, and carry no Effect along with them?

R. P. No certainly.

P. D. Then these Words have their Effect upon every Man that hath the Power of Orders.

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Then, every one who hath the Power of Orders, hath the Power to excommunicate and absolve.

R. P. Be it so.

P. D. But the Power to excommunicate and absolve, is a Part of Jurisdiction; therefore a Power of Orders carries a Power of Jurisdiction along with it; and consequently valid Ordination must suppose lawful Authority to use and exercise the Power of Excommunication and Absolution.

R. P. In the Name of T. G. I deny that.

P. D. Hold a little; you are denying the Conclusion. Consider again what you deny. Do you deny this Power to be given in your Orders?

R. P. No.

P. D. Do you deny this Power to be Part of Jurisdiction?

R. P. No.

P. D. Then this Power of Jurisdiction is given wherever the Orders are valid.

R. P. This cannot be; for T. G. complains over and over of Dr. St.'s Ignorance, wilful and intolerable Mistake, unbecoming a Writer of Controversies, for not distinguishing between the Validity of Ordination, and the Power of Jurisdiction; which he would never have done, if one had carried the other along with it.

P. D. Do not tell me, what T. G. would, or would not have done. I tell you what he hath done; and judge you now with what Advantage to himself.

R. P. But T. G. is again up with his undeniable Maxim, *That none can give to another what he hath not himself*; and this he thinks will carry him through all.

P. D.

P. D. I tell you, that very Maxim overthrows the *Validity* of *Ordinations* as he applies it. For if the *Validity* of *Orders* doth suppose *Authority* to be conveyed; and there can be no such *Authority* given in the *Case* of *Idolatry*: Then the *Power* of *Orders* is taken away as well as *Jurisdiction*. Besides, Is not the *Power* of giving *Orders* a part of that *lawful Authority* which belongs to *Bishops*.

R. P. I do not understand you.

P. D. Can any Man give *Orders* without a *Power* to do it?

R. P. No.

P. D. Is not that *Power* a part of *Episcopal Authority*?

R. P. Yes.

P. D. How then can there be a *Power* of giving *Orders* without *Authority*?

R. P. Now you shew your *Ignorance*. Do not you know that there is an *Indelible Character* imprinted in the *Soul* by the *Power* of *Orders*, which no *Act* of the *Church* can hinder a *Bishop* from giving in the *Sacrament* of *Orders*, or a *Priest* from receiving; but *Jurisdiction* is quite another thing, that is derived from the *Church*, or rather from the *Pope* who is the *Fountain* of *Jurisdiction*; and this may be suspended or taken away.

P. D. I cry you Mercy, Sir. I was not bred up in your *Schools*; this may be current *Doctrine* with you; but I assure you, I find no Footsteps of it either in *Scripture* or *Fathers*; and if I be not much mis-inform'd, some of your greatest *Divines* are of my Mind. I see all this Outcry of *T. G.'s* concerning *Dr. St.'s Ignorance*, comes at last to this Mystery of the *Indelible Character imprinted in the Soul by the Sacrament of Orders*, which makes *Ordination* to be valid, but gives no *Authority* or *Jurisdiction*. I pray make me a little better acquainted with this *Character*; for at present, I can neither read, nor understand it.

R. P. Yes, yes, This you would be always at, to make us explain our *School-Notions*, for you to flier and to mock at them.

P. D. But this I perceive, is very material to prevent *intolerable Error* and *Mistake*; and for all that you know I may come to be a *Writer* of *Controversies*, and then I would not be hooted at for my *Ignorance*; nor have the Boys point at me in the *Streets*, and say, There goes a Man that doth not understand the *Character*: Which in my mind would sound as Ill, as saying, there goes one that cannot read his *A B C*. I beseech you, Sir, tell me what this *Indelible Character* is; for to tell you Truth, I have heard of it before, but never met with one who could tell what it was.

R. P. Yes, that is it; you will not believe a thing, unless one can tell you what it is. Why, it is a *Mark* or a *Seal* imprinted in the *Soul* by the *Sacrament* of *Orders* that can never be blotted out; and therefore *Ordination* is valid; because if *Re-ordination* were allowed, one *Character* would be put upon another, and so the first would be blotted out. Do not you understand it now?

P. D. I suppose altogether as well as you. Is it a *Physical* Kind of thing, just like the *Strokes* of a *Pen* upon *Paper*; or rather as the *Graving* of a *Carver* upon *Stone*; so artificially done, that it can never be taken out while it continues whole; or is it only a *Moral* relative Thing depending upon *Divine Institution*, and only on the Account of *Distinction* called a *Character*?

R. P. Without doubt it is an *Absolute Thing*; but whether to call it a *Habit*, or a *Power*; whether it be a *Quality* of the *First*, or the *Second*, or the *Third*, or *Fourth Kind*, that our *Divines* are not agreed upon: And some think it is a *new Kind of Quality*: Nor whether it be imprinted on the *Essence* or *Powers* of the *Soul*; and if in the *Faculties*, whether in the *Understanding* or *Will*; but it is enough for us to believe, that there is really such an *Absolute Indelible Character* imprinted on the *Soul*; from whence that *Sacrament* can never be reiterated which doth imprint a *Character* as that of *Orders* doth.

P. D. I am just as wise by all this Account as I was before. For the only Reason of the Point is, it must needs be so.

R. P. Yes, the *Church* hath declared it in the *Council of Trent*, and that is instead of all Reasons to us.

P. D. But what is this to Dr. St.? Must he be upbraided with *Ignorance*, *Error* and *Tergiversation*, because he doth not believe the *Indelible Character* on the *Authority* of the *Council of Trent*?

R. P. No; that is not the thing, but because he did not understand the Difference between the *Power* of *Order*, and *Jurisdiction*.

P. D. Are you sure of that? If I do not forget, he hath this very Distinction in that pestilent Book called *Irenicum*, which T. G. hits him in the Teeth with on all Occasions.

R. P. But he did not, or would not understand it here.

P. D. Yes, he knew it well enough; but he thought if he proved the *Validity* of *Ordination*, he proved the *Lawfulness* of *Authority* and *Jurisdiction*; because the giving *Orders* is part of *Church-Authority*, and the *Authority* is received in taking *Orders*; and the *Church* never allowed one, but it allowed the other also. If you have any thing more to say about this Matter, I am willing to hear you; but as yet I see no Reason for T. G.'s Clamours about such a *Mistake* in Dr. St., for I think the *Mistake* lay nearer home.

Dial. p. 155. &c. P. 155. P. 157. R. P. But E. W. publicly reprov'd Dr. St. for this *Mistake*; and yet after that he goes on to confirm his former Answer with new Proofs and Testimonies; that *Bishops* ordained by *Idolaters* were esteemed validly ordained, and doth not speak one Word in Answer to what was objected by T. G. viz. that the *English Bishops* must want lawful *Authority* to exercise the *Power* of *Orders*, if their first *Ordainers* were *Idolaters*. And E. W. calls it an intolerable *Mistake*; and T. G. saith, he hath heard he was a main Man esteemed for his Learning. After repeating the Words of E. W. at length, T. G. very mildly adds, as if he were wholly insensible of the gross and intolerable Error E. W. taxed him with, he runs again into the same shameful *Mistake*: But saith T. G. are the *Power* of giving *Orders*, and lawful *Authority* to give them, so essentially linked to each other, that they cannot be separated? May not a *Bishop* or *Priest* remaining so, be deprived of all lawful *Authority* to exercise their *Functions*, for having fall'n into *Heresy* or *Idolatry*? And if they have none themselves, can they give it to others?

P. D. On whose Side the intolerable *Mistake* lies, will be best seen, by examining the Force of what T. G. saith; (as to E. W. the Matter is not great) which lies I suppose in this, That those who do fall into *Idolatry* or *Heresy* may ordain validly; for, saith he, from *Estius*, no *Crime*, or *Censure* sever can hinder the *Validity* of *Ordination* by a *Bishop*; but he may be deprived of any lawful *Authority* to do it; and therefore cannot convey this lawful *Authority* to others ordained by him. From hence T. G. saith,

faith, no Crime can hinder the Validity of Ordination; but Idolatry, he faith, doth, ipso facto deprive Bishops of the Authority of exercising Orders, or conveying Jurisdiction; and therefore tho' the Ordination of the Bishops of England may be valid, yet their Jurisdiction cannot be lawful; and so the Foundation of their Authority is subverted by the Charge of Idolatry. I hope you will allow this to be the Force of all that T. G. faith.

R. P. Yes; now you have hit upon his right meaning.

P. D. Let us then consider more closely, on which side the Mistake lay; which will be discerned by this, whether we are to follow the Modern Schools, or the Judgment of Antiquity in this Matter. For Dr. St. spake according to the Sense and Practice of Antiquity; and T. G. according to the Modern Notions and Distinctions of their Schools. It is true, their Schoolmen have so distinguished the Power of Order and Jurisdiction, that they make the one to depend upon an Indelible unintelligible Character, which no Crime can hinder having its valid Effect: But that Jurisdiction, or the Right of Excommunication, and Absolution may be suspended or taken away. Since the Councils of Florence and Trent, this Doctrine of the Indelible Character given in Orders, is not to be disputed among them; and therefore they hold the Character to remain wherever Orders are received in the due Form; but then they say, this Character is capable of such Restraints by the Power of the Church, that it remains like Aristotle's first Matter, a dull and unactive thing till the Church give a new Form to it; and this they call the Power of Jurisdiction. But that all this, is new Doctrine in the Church, and a late Monkish Invention, will appear by these Considerations.

(1.) How long it was before this Doctrine was received in the Church by the Confession of their own Schoolmen. Scotus, and Biel, and Cajetan, (no inconsiderable Men in the Roman Church) do confess, that the Doctrine of the Character imprinted in the Soul can neither be proved from Scripture, nor Fathers, but only from the Authority of the Church; and that not very Ancient neither. And Morinus takes notice, that it was not so much as mentioned by R. Lombard, or Hugo de Sancto Victore: Although they debate those very Questions which would have required their expressing it, if they had known any thing of it.

(2.) How many of their Schoolmen who do acknowledge the Character of Priesthood; yet make the Power of Orders to belong to Jurisdiction; so Albertus Magnus and others cited by Morinus; but Alex. Alensis carries this Point so far, that he faith, That because of the Indelible Character of Priesthood, the Power can never be taken from a Priest, but only the Execution of it; But in a Bishop there is no new Character imprinted; and therefore in the degrading him, not only the Execution, but the Power of Giving Orders is taken away. And Scotus faith, if a Bishop be excommunicated, he loseth the Power of giving Orders; if Episcopacy be not a distinct Order; as you know many of the Schoolmen hold. And Morinus grants, that if Episcopacy be not a distinct Order, but a larger Commission, the Power of Bishops may be so limited by the Church, as not only to hinder them from a lawful Authority, but from a Power of Acting; so that what they do, carries no Validity along with it.

(3.) How many before the Days of the Schoolmen were of Opinion, that the Censures of the Church did take away the Power of Orders? Gratian holds it most agreeable to the Doctrine of the Fathers, that a Bishop degraded hath no Power to give Orders, although he hath to Baptize; only for S. Augustin's Sake, he thinks, they may distinguish between the Power and

Scot. in
sent. l. 4.
dist. 4. q. 9.
Biel. in
sent. q. 2.
Cajet. in 3.
p. q. 63.
art. 1.
Morin. de
Ord. part.
3. Exercit.
3. c. 1. n. 4.

Alex. Al.
4. p. q. 8.
memb. 5.
art. 1. Sect.
6. ad 2.
Scot. in 4.
dist. 25. q.
1. resp. ad
3.
Morin. ib.
exerc. 5. c.
9. n. 12. 13.

Grat. 1. q.
8 post.
can. 97.

the

Gul. Paris.
de Sacr.
Ord. c. 7.

the Execution of it. *Gul. Parisiensis* saith, That Bishops deposed can confer no Order, because the Church hath the same Power in taking away, which it hath in giving; and the Intention of the Church is to take away their Power. If what *T. G.* asserts, had been always the Sense of the Church, I desire him to resolve me these Questions. 1. Why Pope *Lucius III.* did re-ordain those, who had been ordained by *Octavianus* the Anti-pope? 2. Why *Urban II.* declared *Nezelon* or *Wecilo* an excommunicate Bishop of *Ments* to have no Power of giving Orders? And that upon *T. G.*'s own Maxim, That which a Man hath not, he cannot give to another; because he was ordained by Hereticks. 3. Why the Synod of *Quintilinberg* under *Greg. VII.* declared all Ordinations to be Null which were made by Excommunicated Bishops? 4. Why *Leo IX.* in a Synod voided all *Simoniackal* Ordinations? 5. Why *Stephanus VI.* re-ordained those which were ordained by *Formosus*? 6. Why *Hincmarus* re-ordained those who had been ordained by *Ebbo*, because he had been deposed? 7. Why *Stephanus IV.* re-ordained those who had received Orders from Pope *Constantine*? 8. Why the Ordinations made by *Photius* were declared Null? To name no more. If this had been always the Sense of the Christian Church, that the Power of Orders is indelible, but not that of Jurisdiction: I desire *T. G.* to give an Answer to those Questions, which I fear will involve several Heads of his Church under that which he calls in *Dr. St.* An intolerable Mistake. Did so many Popes know no better this Distinction between the Validity of Ordination, and the Power of Jurisdiction? I am sorry to see *T. G.* so magisterial and confident; so insulting over *Dr. St.* as betraying so much Ignorance as doth not become a Writer of Controversies, when all the while, he doth only expose his own. But alas! This is the current Divinity of the Modern Schools; and what obliges them to look into the Opinions of Former Ages? Yet methinks a Man had need to look about him, before he upbraids another with gross and intolerable Errors, lest at the same time he prove the guilty Person; and then the Charge falls back far more heavily on himself.

(4.) Those who did hold the Validity of Ordinations did it chiefly on the Account of the due Form that was observed, whoever the Persons were; whether Hereticks, or Excommunicated Persons. For after all the Heats and Disputes which hapned in the Church about this Matter, the best way they found to resolve it, was to observe the same Course which the Church had done in the Baptism of Hereticks: viz. To allow that Baptism which was administred in due Form, although those who administred it were Hereticks. Thence *Præpositivus*, as he is quoted by *Morinus*, saith, That a Heretick hath Power to administer all the Sacraments as long as he observes the Form of the Church. And not only such a one as received Episcopal Orders in the Church himself, but those who do derive a Succession from such; as appears from *Tarasius* in the Second Council of Nice, where he saith, That Five Bishops of Constantinople successively were Hereticks; and yet their Ordinations were allowed by the Church: To the same Purpose speak others, who are there produced by the same learned Author. Let these Considerations be laid together, and the Result will be, 1. Either *Dr. St.* was not guilty of an intolerable Error and Mistake in this Matter, or so many infallible Heads of the Church were guilty of the same. 2. It was believed for some Ages in the Roman Church, that the Censures of the Church did take away the Power of Orders. 3. *T. G.*'s Distinction as to the Foundation of it in the indelible Character of Orders is a novel thing, and acknowledged by their own

Divines

Morin de
Ord. Sacr.
p. 3. ex. 5.
c. 1. n. 3.

Divines to have no Foundation either in *Scripture* or *Fathers*. 4. The ground assigned by those who held the *Validity* of *Ordination* by *Hereticks*, will hold for the *Authority* of exercising the *Power* of *Orders*, if not actually taken away by the *Censures* of the *Church*. For every Man hath the *Power* which is given him, till it be taken from him; every one that receives *Orders* according to the *Form* of the *Church* hath a *Power* given him to *excommunicate* and *absolve*; therefore every such Person doth enjoy that *Power*, till it be taken from him. For as I have already shewed, this is Part of the *Form* of *Orders* in the *Roman Church*, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, Quorum remisseritis, &c.* and the *Council of Trent* determines the Character to be imprinted upon the Use of these Words: Therefore this *Power of Jurisdiction* is conveyed by the *due Form of Orders*; from whence it unavoidably follows that every one, who hath had the *due Form of Orders*, hath had this *Power* conveyed to him; and what *Power* he hath, he must enjoy till it be taken away.

R. P. But T. G. saith, *That Excommunication by the Apostle's Sentence doth it*, Gal. i. 8.

P. D. This is indeed a Piece of *new Doctrine*, and a Fruit of T. G.'s *Mother-Wit*; and which I dare say, he received neither from *Schoolmen* nor *Fathers*. For it involves such mischievous Consequences in it as really overthrow all *Authority* in the *Church*. For by this Supposition, in case any Bishop falls into *Heresy* or *Idolatry*, he is *ipso facto excommunicated* by St. Paul's *Sentence*; and consequently hath no *Authority* to exercise the *Power* of *Orders*; and so all who derive their *Power* from him have no *lawful Authority*, or *Jurisdiction*. I do wonder in all this time T. G. did no better reflect upon this Assertion, and the Consequences of it; and rather to thank Dr. St. that he took no more Notice of it, than upbraid him with *intolerable Error and Mistake*. I will put a plain case to you to shew you the ill Consequence of this Assertion to the *Church of Rome* it self. Dr. St. hath proved by undeniable Evidence, that the *Arians* were looked on and condemned as *Idolaters* by the *Primitive Church*. And T. G. doth not deny it; and what now, if we find an *Arian* among the *Bishops* of *Rome*, and from whom the *Succession* is derived? He must stand excommunicated by vertue of the *Apostle's Sentence*; and therefore hath no *Authority* to give *Orders*; and so all the *Authority* in the *Church* of *Rome* is lost. The Case, I mean, is that of *Liberius*; who shewed himself as much an *Arian*, as any of the *Arian Bishops* did; for he subscribed their *Confession of Faith*, and joined in Communion with them. St. Hierom saith more than once, *That he subscribed to Heresy*; the *Pontifical Book* saith, *He communicated with Hereticks*; *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* say, *That he renounced the Faith by his Subscription*; yea more than this, *Hilary* denounced an *Anathema* against him, and all that joined with him: And *Baronius* confesseth, *he did communicate with the Arians*, which is sufficient to our Purpose. Then comes T. G. upon him, *with St. Paul's Sentence of Excommunication*; and so he loseth all *Authority* of exercising the *Power* of *Orders*; and consequently, that *Authority* which is challenged in the *Church* of *Rome* being derived from him is all lost. And now judge, who subverts the Foundation of *Ecclesiastical Authority* most, T. G. or Dr. St.; yet it falls out unhappily; that *Pet. Damiani* mentions these very *Ordinations* of *Liberius* the *Heretick* (so he calls him) to shew how the *Church* did allow *Ordinations* made by *Hereticks*. But this is not all; for by all that I can find, if this Principle

Conc.
Trid. sess.
23. can. 4.

S. Hier.
de script.
Eccles. in
Fortunat.
in Chroni-
co. Libel.
precum. p.
4.
Baron. A.
D. 357. n.
46.

Pet. Dam.
Gom.
opuscul. 7.
c. 16.

of

Libel.
prec. p. 16.
Subscri-
bentes in
illa fide
Ariano-
rum, quam
integro &
libero ju-
dicio dam-
naverant :
advertit
Sapientia
vestra, A-
minensem
Synodum,
piissime
exceptam,
sed impi-
issime ter-
minatam.

Dial. p.
156, 157

of T. G. be allowed, no Man can be sure there is any lawful Ecclesiastical Authority left in the World. For who can tell what secret Idolaters or Hereticks there might be among those Bishops from whom that Authority is derived? This we are sure of, that the Arian Bishops possessed most of the Eastern Churches, and made Ordinations there: And the Western Bishops in the Council of Ariminum did certainly comply with them: As is now plain from Marcellinus and Faustinus, whose Book was published by Sirmondus at Paris; where Sulpitius Severus saith, more than Four hundred Western Bishops were present; who were all excommunicated by T. G.'s Principle; and now what becomes of all Ecclesiastical Authority? But Dr. St. hath shewed that the Christian Church was wiser, than to proceed upon T. G.'s Principle; proving from Authentick Testimonies of Antiquity, that the Arian Ordinations were allowed by the Church, altho' the Arians were condemned for Idolaters.

R. P. Yes, T. G. saith, That Dr. St. was resolved to go on in the same Track still; and to prove that the Act it self of Ordination is not invalid in Case of the Idolatry of the Givers, which was never denied by his Adversary.

P. D. How is it possible to satisfy Men who are resolved to cavil? Doth not Dr. St. by that Instance of the Arian Bishops evidently prove, that the Authority of giving Orders was allowed by the Christian Church at that time, and that which he calls their Jurisdiction as well as the Power of Orders? because nothing more was required from the Arian Bishops, but renouncing Arianism, and subscribing the Nicene Creed; and thus for all that I can see by T. G.'s Principle, they still remained under S. Paul's Excommunication; and so Ecclesiastical Authority is all gone with them.

Dial. p.
161.

R. P. But do not you think, that Dr. St. had some secret Design in all this really to subvert the Authority of the Church of England? For T. G. lays together several notable things to that purpose to make it appear, that he purposely declined defending the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Church of England: I assure you it is a very Politick Discourse, and hath several deep Fetches in it. First, he begins with his Irenicum, and there he lays the Foundation, that the Government may be changed. 2. The Book was reprinted since the Bishops were re-established by Law. 3. He perswades the Bishops in that Book to reduce the Form of Church-Government to its Primitive State and Order, by restoring Presbyteries under them, &c. 4. When this would not do, he charges the Church of Rome with Idolatry, and makes this the Sense of the Church of England, to make her contribute to the Subversion of her own Authority. 5. When T. G. told him of the Consequence of this, he passed it by, as if he saw it not; and trifled with his Adversary about the Validity of Ordination. 6. When E. W. endeavoured to bring him to this Point, he still declined it, and leaves Episcopacy to shift for it self. And after all these T. G. thinks, he hath found out the Mole that works under Ground.

P. D. A very great Discovery I assure you! and T. G. deserves a greater Reward than any common Mole-catchers do. But I never liked such Politick Informers; for if People are more dull and quiet than they would have them, they make Plots for them to keep up their Reputation and Interest. They must have always something to whisper in Great Men's Ears, and to fill their Heads with Designs which were never thought of; by which Means they torment them with unreasonable Suspicions, and tyrannize

tyrannize over them under a Pretence of Kindness. Just thus doth *T. G.* do by the *Governors* of our *Church*; He would fain perswade them, that there is one *Dr. St.* who hath undertaken to defend the *Church*; but doth carry on a very secret and subtle Design to ruin and destroy it. If they say, *They do not believe it*; he seems to pity them for their Incredulity and Weakness; and endeavours to convince them, by a long Train of his own Inventions; and if they be so easie to hearken to it, and to regard his Insinuations, then he flatters and applauds them as the only Friends to the *Church*; when in the mean time he really laughs at them as a sort of weak Men, who can be imposed upon by any Man who pretends to be a Friend, although even in that he doth them and the *Church* the greater Mischief. I cannot believe such kind of Insinuations as these can prevail upon any one Man of Understanding in our *Church*, against a Person who has at least endeavoured his utmost to defend it. But since *T. G.* talks so politickly about these Matters, I will convince you by one Argument of common Prudence, that if *Dr. St.* be a Man of common Sense, (much more if he be so politick and designing as *T. G.* represents him) all these Suggestions must be both false and foolish. For that which all designing Men aim at, is their own Interest and Advantage: Now can any Man that hath common Sense left in him, imagine that *Dr. St.* can aim at any greater Advantage by ruining the *Church*, than by preserving it? Are not his Circumstances more considerable in the *Church* of *England* than ever he can hope they should be, if it were destroyed? They who would persuade others that he carries on such a secret Design, must suppose him to be next to an *Ideot*; and such are not very dangerous Politicians. But what is it then should make him act so much against his Interest? It can be nothing but Folly or Malice. But I do not find they have taxed him of any Malice to the *Church* of *England*, or of any Occasion for it which the *Church* hath given him, if he were disposed to it. Why then should any be so senseless themselves, or suppose others to be so, as to go about to possess Men with an Opinion of an underground Plot *Dr. St.* is carrying on, not only to blow up the *Thames*, but the rising Fabrick of *St. Paul's* too; *i. e.* to ruin and destroy himself? If he be a *Fool*, he is not to be feared; if he be not, he is not to be mistrusted.

R. P. But what say you to *T. G.*'s Proofs? Do you observe the several *Molehills* which he hath cast up; and is not that a Sign he works underground? What say you to his *Irenicum* in the first Place?

P. D. I will tell you freely: I believe there are many things in it, which if *Dr. St.* were to write now, he would not have said; for there are some things which shew his Youth, and want of due Consideration; others which he yielded too far in Hopes of gaining the dissenting Parties to the *Church* of *England*; but upon the whole Matter I am fully satisfied the Book was written with a Design to serve the *Church* of *England*: And the Design of it, I take to be this; That among us there was no Necessity of entering upon nice and subtle Disputes about a strict *Jus Divinum* of *Episcopacy*, such as makes all other Forms of Government unlawful; but it was sufficient for us, if it were proved to be the most ancient and agreeable to *Apostolical Practice*, and most accommodate to our *Laws* and *Civil Government*; and there could be no Pretence against submitting to it, but the demonstrating its *Unlawfulness*, which he knew was impossible to be done. And for what Proposals he makes about tempering *Episcopacy*, they were no other than what King *Charles I.*

and Mr. *Thorndike* had made before him; and doth *T. G.* think they designed to ruin the Church of England? And as long as he declared this to be the Design of his Book both at the Beginning and Conclusion of it; suppose he were mistaken in the Means he took, must such a Man be presently condemned as one that aimed at the Ruin and Destruction of the Church?

R. P. But *T. G.* saith, *He tendred it to Consideration after Episcopacy was resettled by Law.*

P. D. That is as true as others of his Suggestions. The Book was printed while things were unsettled, and was intended to remove the violent Prejudices of the Dissenting Party against Episcopal Government; and I have heard, did considerable Service that way, at least in a Neighbour Kingdom; and it hapned to be reprinted afterwards, with the same Title it had before. But what then? Do not Booksellers look on Books as their own, and do what they please with them, without the Authors Consent or Approbation? Hath he ever Preached or Written any Doctrine since, contrary to the Sense of the Church of England? Hath he made any Party or Faction to the Disturbance of the Peace of the Church? Hath he not conformed to its Rules, observed its Offices, obeyed his Superiors, and been ready to defend its Cause against Adversaries of all Sorts? And can Malice it self, after all this, fasten such a Calumny upon him, That he is a secret Enemy to the Church of England, and designs to ruin and destroy it? I remember a poor Englishman in *Amboyna* being cruelly tormented by the Dutch; and finding nothing he could say would perswade his Tormentors to release him; (and he said any thing that he thought would prevail with them) at last he prayed God, that he might tell them Probable Lies. I would advise *T. G.* the next time he goes a Mole-catching, to find out Probable Plots, otherwise he will lose all the Reputation of an Informer and Discoverer. But I can hardly tell, whether his Plot or his Proofs were the worse; for as there appears no Likelihood in the Plot, so there is no Evidence in the Proofs. There being nothing pretended since the *Irenicum*, but this Charge of Idolatry; and that hath been sufficiently cleared already, by shewing that it doth not subvert the Authority of the Church of England.

R. P. Let us now, if you please, proceed to the other dangerous Consequences of this Charge, as they are muster'd up by *T. G.*: One is, That it overthrows the Article of the Holy Catholick Church.

P. D. That is something indeed: What! doth it take away an Article of the Creed? Nay, then it is time to look about us. But how I pray?

R. P. I will you tell how. If the Church hath been guilty of Idolatry, (1.) Then she hath required and enjoyed Idolatry, for many Hundreds of Tears parallel to the Heathens. (2.) Then Mahomet had more Wisdom and Power to carry on his Design than the Son of God; for his Followers have been preserved from it by the grounds he laid, above a Thousand Tears. (3.) Then our Forefathers had better been converted to Judaism or Turcism than to Christianity as they were.

P. D. I deny every one of these Consequences. For our present Dispute is only about the Church of Rome's being guilty of Idolatry; and from thence (1.) it doth not follow, That the whole Christian Church must require Idolatry, if that doth; unless *T. G.* had proved, that all other Churches are equally involved in the same Guilt; which he never attempted. (2.) It doth not follow, That Mahomet was wiser than Christ; for if you com-

compare the Grounds laid for Divine Worship by *Christ* and *Mahomet* ; I say, that *Christ* did shew infinitely more *Wisdom* in them, than so vile an *Impostor* ; and it is a Shame for any *Christian* to suggest the contrary : But if *T. G.* speaks of *Power to carry on his Design* ; then it must suppose, that *Mahomet's Power* hath preserved the *Mahometan Religion* so long free from *Idolatry*, altho' *Christ* hath not ; which must imply the Greatness of *Mahomet's Power in Heaven* ; and so it borders upon *Blasphemy*. (3.) It doth not follow, that our Forefathers had better been converted to *Judaism* or *Turcism* than to *Christianity*. For they had incomparably greater Advantages towards their Salvation than either *Turks* or *Pagans* ; and such Circumstances might accompany their Practice of *Idolatry*, as might make it not to hinder their Salvation. But I shall give you a full Answer to this in the Words of Bishop *Sanderfon*, (who is another competent Witness, if any more were needful, that Dr. St. doth not in the Charge of *Idolatry* contradict the Sense of the Church of England.) " We have much Reason to conceive good Hope of the Salvation of many of our Forefathers : Who led away with the common Superstitions of those blind Times, might yet by those general Truths, which by the Mercy of God were preserved among the foulest over-spreadings of Popery, agreeable to the Word of God (though clogged with an Addition of many Superstitions, and Antichristian Inventions withal) be brought to true Faith in the Son of God ; unfeigned Repentance from Dead Works ; and a sincere Desire and Endeavour of New and Holy Obedience. This was the Religion that brought them to Heaven, even Faith and Repentance, and Obedience. This is the True, and the Old and the Catholick Religion : And this is our Religion, in which we hope to find Salvation ; and if ever any of you that miscall your selves Catholicks come to Heaven, it is this Religion must carry you thither. If together with this true Religion of Faith, Repentance, and Obedience, they embraced also your Additions, as their blind Guides then led them ; prayed to our Lady, kneeled to an Image, crept to a Cross, flocked to a Mass as you now do : These were their Spots and their Blemishes ; these were their Hay and Stubble ; these were their Errors, and their Ignorances. And I doubt not, but as *St. Paul* for his Blasphemies and Persecutions, so they obtained Mercy for these Sins, because they did them ignorantly in Misbelief. And upon the same ground we have cause also to hope charitably of many thousand poor Souls in *Italy*, *Spain*, and other Parts of the Christian World at this Day, that by the same blessed Means they may attain Mercy and Salvation in the End ; although in the mean time through Ignorance they defile themselves with much foul Idolatry, and many gross Superstitions.

B. Sanderf.
on Gen. 20.
6. n. 17.

" *Obj.* But the Ignorance which excuseth from Sin, is *Ignorantia facti*, according to that hath been already declared ; but theirs was *Ignorantia juris*, which excuseth not. And besides, as they lived in the Practice of that Worship which we call Idolatry, so they died in the same without Repentance ; and so their Case is not the same with *St. Paul's*, who saw those Sins, and sorrowed for them, and forsook them ; but how can Idolaters, living and dying so without Repentance, be saved ?

" *Ans.* It is answered, that Ignorance in Point of Fact so conditioned as hath been shewed doth so excuse *à toto*, that an Action proceeding
H 2 " thence,

“thence, tho’ it have a Material Inconformity with the Law of God, is
 “yet not formally a Sin. But I do not so excuse the Idolatry of our
 “Forefathers, as if it were not in it self a Sin; and that (without Re-
 “pentance) damnable. But yet their Ignorance being such as it was,
 “nourished by Education, Custom, Tradition, the Tyranny of their
 “Leaders, the Fashion of the Times, not without Shew also of Piety
 “and Devotion, and themselves, withal, having such slender Means of
 “better Knowledge; tho’ it cannot wholly excuse them from Sin with-
 “out Repentance, damnable, yet it much lesseneth and qualifieth the
 “Sinfulness of their Idolatry; arguing, that their Continuance therein
 “was more from other Prejudices, than from a wilful Contempt of God’s
 “Holy Word and Will. And as for their Repentance, it is as certain,
 “that as many of them as are saved, did repent of their Idolatries; as
 “it is certain, no Idolater nor other Sinner can be saved without Repen-
 “tance. But then there is a double Difference to be observed between
 “Repentance for Ignorances, and known Sins; the one must be parti-
 “cular, the other general; the one cannot be sincere without forsaking,
 “the other may; which he enlarges upon; and then concludes, Some
 “of our Forefathers then, might not only live in Popish Idolatry, but
 “even die in an Idolatrous Act; breathing out their last with their Lips
 “at a Crucifix, and an *Ave Mary* in their Thoughts: And yet have
 “truly repented, (tho’ but in the General, and the Crowd of their un-
 “known Sins) even of those very Sins; and have at the same Instant
 “true Faith in Jesus Christ, and other Graces accompanying Salva-
 “tion.

R. P. But hath not Christ promised that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against his Church?

P. D. This Dr. St. hath already answered thus. “Against what
 “Church? The whole Christian Church? who ever said they could,
 “or how doth that follow? The Church of Constantinople, or the Church of
 “Jerusalem? Have not the Gates of the Turk been too strong for them?
 “The Church of Rome? The Gates of Hell do certainly prevail against
 “that, if it doth unchurch all other Churches that are not of its Com-
 “munion. And why may not Idolatry prevail where Luciferian Pride,
 “and Hellish Cruelty, and desperate Wickedness have long since prevailed?
 “Hath Christ made Promises to secure that Church from Error, which
 “hath been over-run with all Sorts of Wickedness by the Confession of
 “her own Members and Friends?

Dial. p. 68,
69.

R. P. But T. G. saith, That Dr. St. ought to have assigned us some Church distinct in all Ages, from all Heretical and Idolatrous Congregations, which Christ hath preserved always from Heresy and Idolatry?

P. D. Why so? Unless he had first yielded, that Christ had promised to preserve such a distinct Congregation of Christians, which he never did. But he shewed the Feebleness of that kind of arguing, from Particulars to Generals; as tho’ all the Promises made to the Church must fail, if the Church of Rome be guilty of Idolatry.

R. P. But I will prove, that Dr. St. ought to assign such a distinct Church, because he saith, that a Christian by virtue of his being so, is bound to join in some Church or Congregation of Christians; therefore there must be such a Church at all times to join with.

P. D. I answer, (1.) Dr. St.’s Answer doth imply no more than this, That a Christian is bound to join with other Christians in the Acts of God’s Publick Worship; but withal he adds immediately, that he is bound

bound to chuse the Communion of the purest Church ; which doth suppose a Competition between two Churches, where a Person may embrace the Communion of either ; as the *Church of England*, and the *Church of Rome*. So that where there are distinct Communions, the best is to be chosen. (2.) Supposing no Church to be so pure that a Man's Conscience can be fully satisfied in all the Practices of it ; yet he may lawfully hold Communion with that *Church* he is baptized in, till the unlawful Practices become the Condition of his Communion. As here in *England*, the Conditions of Communion are different as to *Clergymen* and *Laymen* ; if the latter be satisfied in what concerns them, they have no Reason to reject Communion themselves, for what concerns others. (3.) Where any Church doth require Idolatrous Acts as Conditions of Communion, that *Church* is the Cause of a Separation made for a distinct Communion. So that there is no Necessity of assigning a distinct Church in all Ages free from *Heresy* and *Idolatry* ; since Men may communicate with a corrupt Church, so they do not communicate in their Corruptions ; and when they come to that Height to require this, they make themselves the Causes of the Separation which is made on the Account of *Heresy* or *Idolatry*.

R. P. Still that Promise sticks with me, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church : And are not *Heresy* and *Idolatry* the two Posts of those Gates ?

P. D. If you turn over that Promise never so much, you will prove no more from it, than the Continuance of a *Christian Church* in the World, with a Capacity of *Salvation* to the Members of it. And this we do not deny : But it doth not prove that any particular Church shall be preserved in all Ages free from *Heresy* and *Idolatry*. For whatever may be consistent with the *Salvation* of the Members of a Church, may be consistent with the Gates of Hell not prevailing against it ; but *Heresy* and *Idolatry* may be consistent with the *Salvation* of the Members of a Church : Because there are so many Cases assigned by *Divines*, wherein *Sins* of *Ignorance* and *Error*, are consistent with *Salvation*. I say then, that *Christ's Promises* do prove a Possibility of *Salvation* in all Ages of the *Christian Church* ; but they do not prove the Indefeasibility of any distinct Church.

R. P. But why doth Dr. St. say, the Gates of Hell have prevail'd against the Church of Rome, when himself acknowledges it to be a true Church ? as holding all the Essential Points of Faith ? Dial. p. 70.

P. D. As tho' a Man could be damned for nothing, but for denying the Articles of his Creed ! It is in respect of *Pride*, *Cruelty*, and all Sorts of *Wickedness*, as well as *Idolatry*, that he saith, the Gates of Hell have prevailed against it.

R. P. Well ! But T. G. for all that proves, that all Christians are bound by virtue of their Christianity to join in Communion with the Church of Rome. Dial. p. 73.

P. D. Doth he so ? It is a great Undertaking, and becoming T. G. But how ?

R. P. First, There was in the World before Luther a distinct Church, whose Communion was necessary to *Salvation* ; but this was not the Protestant, for that came in after Luther ; therefore it was the Roman.

P. D. This is very subtle Reasoning ; yet it is possible we may find out something like it. There was in the World before *Julius Cæsar* some Civil Society, in which it was necessary for a Man to live for his own Preservation ; but this was not the *Roman Empire*, for that rose up after him ;

him ; therefore it was the *Roman Commonwealth*. But doth this imply, that there was no other Civil Society in the World, wherein a Man could preserve himself, but the *Roman Commonwealth* ? But I will put the Case a little farther home ; after *Britain* was made a *Province*, it became a *Member* of the *Roman Empire*, and depended so much upon the Strength and *Arms* of *Rome*, that it was not able to defend it self ; it being sore distressed by Enemies, and in Danger of Ruin, sends to *Rome* for Help ; there it is denied, and the *Britains* forced to look out for Help elsewhere. Now after *T. G.*'s way of Reasoning, the *Britains* must return to the *Romans*, because once they had been *Members* of the *Roman Empire*. The Case is alike in the *Church* ; the Time was when the *Western Church* was united under one *Head*, but by Degrees this *Head* grew too heavy, and laid too great a Load on the *Members*, requiring very hard and unreasonable Conditions from them ; upon this, some of the *Members* seek for Relief ; this is denied them ; they take care of their own Safety, and do what is necessary to preserve themselves. The *Head* and some corrupt *Members* conspiring, denounce Excommunication, if they do not presently yield and submit. These Parts stand upon their own Rights and Ancient Privileges ; that it was not an *Union* of *Submission* but *Association*, originally between several *National Churches* : And therefore the *Church* of *Rome* assuming so much more to it self, than did belong to it, and dealing so tyrannically ; upon just Complaints our *Church* had Reason to assert her own *Freedom*, and to reform the Abuses which had crept either into her Doctrine or Practice. And that this was lawful Proceeding, it offered to justify by Scripture and Reason, and the Rules of the Primitive Church. Now the Question of Communion, as it was stated between *T. G.* and *Dr. St.* comes to this, whether any Person being baptized in this *Church*, ought in order to his Salvation to forsake the Communion of it, for that of the *Church* of *Rome* ? And this being the true State of it, I pray, where lies the Force of the Argument ? *Dr. St.* yields Communion with some *Church* to be necessary : And what follows, the Communion of the *Church* of *England* is so to one baptized in it ; why must any such leave it for that of the *Church* of *Rome* ? Yes, saith *T. G.*, there was a distinct *Church* before *Luther*, whose Communion was necessary to Salvation ; and what then ? What have we to do with *Luther* ? We are speaking of the present *Church* of *England*, which was reformed by it self, and not by *Luther*. Why is it necessary to leave this *Church*, in which Persons are baptized, and not in that before *Luther* ? Here lies the main Hinge of the Controversie ; to which *T. G.* ought to speak, and not to run to a *Church* before *Luther*. The *Church* of *England* was the *Church* of *England* before the Reformation as well as since ; but it hath now reformed it self, being an entire Body within it self ; having Bishops to govern it, Priests and Deacons to administer Sacraments, to preach the Word of God, to officiate in the Publick Liturgy, in which all the *Ancient Creeds* are read and owned ; the Question now is, whether Salvation cannot be had in the Communion of this *Church* ? Or all Persons are bound to return to the *Church* of *Rome* ? This is the Point, if *T. G.* hath any more to say to it.

Dial. p. 74.

R. P. *T. G.* urgeth farther, Nothing can render the Communion of the *Roman Church* not necessary to Salvation, but either *Heresy* or *Schism* ; not *Heresy*, because She holds all the Essential Articles of Christian Faith ; not *Schism*, because then *Dr. St.* must assign some other distinct *Church*, (then at least in Being) from whose Unity She departed.

P.D.

P. D. A right *Daway* Argument! One would take T. G. for a young *Missioner* by it; it is so exactly cut in their Form. But it proceeds upon such false Suppositions as these: (1.) That Communion with the *Roman Church* as such, i. e. as a Body united under such a *Head*, was necessary to Salvation, which we utterly deny; and it can never be proved, but by shewing, That *Christ* appointed the *Bishop of Rome* to be *Head* of the *Church*; which is an Argument, I do not find that now-a-days, you are willing to enter upon, being so thread-bare and baffled a Topick. (2.) That no Doctrines, but such as are contrary to the *Articles* of the *Creed*, can be any reason to hold off from the *Communion* of a *Church*; but we think, the requiring Doubtful Things for Certain, False for True, New for Old, Absurd for Reasonable, are Ground enough for us not to embrace the *Communion* of a *Church*, unless it may be had on better Terms than these. (3.) That no *Church* can be guilty of *Schism*, unless we can name some *distinct Church* from whose *Unity* it separated; whereas we have often proved, that imposing unreasonable Conditions of *Communion*, makes the *Church* so imposing guilty of the *Schism*. Surely T. G.'s Stock is almost spent, when he plays the same Game so often over. These are not such terrible Arguments to be produced afresh, as if they had never been heard of; when there is not a *Missioner* that comes, but hath them at his Fingers End.

R. P. But the *Roman Church* was once the *True Church*, Rom. 1. and the *Christian World* of all Ages, believed it to be the only *True Church* of *Christ*; but it cannot be proved not to be the true one, by an Evidence equal to that which once proved it true; therefore we are bound to be of the *Communion* of that *Church*. Dial. p. 78.

P. D. O the Virtue of Sudden Coleworts! How often are they produced without Shame! To be short, Sir: (1.) We deny that the *Church* of which the *Pope* is *Head*, was ever commended by *St. Paul*; or in any One Age of the *Christian World*, was owned by it to be the only true *Church*: Which is very much short of the whole *Christian World* of all Ages. (2.) Since the Evidence is so notoriously faulty about proving the *Roman Church* to be the only true *Church*, a small Degree of Evidence as to its *Corruptions* may exceed it; and consequently be sufficient to keep us from returning to its *Communion*. But what doth T. G. mean by repeating such Stuff as this? Which I dare say, Dr. St. only passed by, on Account of the Slightness and Commonness of it; they being Arguments every Day brought, and every Day answered. And if he had a Mind to see Dr. St.'s Mind about them, he might have seen it at large in his *Defence of Archbishop Laud*: And do you think it fair for him, every Book he writes, to produce afresh every Argument there, which hath received no Answer?

R. P. I perceive you begin to be out of Patience.

P. D. Not, I assure you, when I meet with any thing that deserves it.

R. P. Here comes our *Fanatick Friend* to refresh you a little. What is the matter, Man; Why so sad? Have you met with an ill Bargain at the *Auction*?

F. C. No, no. I got a Book last Night, hath taken me up till this time; and truly, I have read something in it which sits much upon my Spirit.

R. P. What is it? If we may ask you.

F. C. It is no Comfort either to you, or me.

R. P.

R. P. If I be concerned, I pray, let me know.

F. C. You know last Night we heard them at *Rutherford* and *Gillespie*; I came in time enough for *Gillespie's Miscellany Questions*; a rare Book, I promise you. And by a particular Favour I carried it Home with me, and looking upon the Contents, I found the *Seasonable Case*, viz. *About Associations and Confederacies with Idolaters, Infidels, or Hereticks*: And he proves them to be so absolutely unlawful from *Scripture*, and many *sound Orthodox Divines*, that for my Part he hath fully convinced and settled me; and I thought it my Duty to come and tell you so.

R. P. Well, we will let alone that Discourse at present, we are at our old Trade again: And I was just coming to a seasonable Question for you, viz. *Whether you have not as much Reason to separate from the Church of England, as the Church of England had from the Church of Rome?*

F. C. Who doubts of that?

P. D. I do, Sir; nay, more, I absolutely deny it.

F. C. What Matter is it, what you say or deny? You will do either for a good Preferment. Have not you assented and consented to all that is in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and what will you stick at after?

P. D. Consider, Sir, what it is to judge rash Judgment: I wonder Men that pretend to Conscience, and seem so nice and scrupulous in some things, can allow themselves in the Practice of so dangerous a Sin. If you have a Mind to debate this Point before us, without Clamor and Impertinency, I am for you.

F. C. You would fain draw me into Dispute again, would you? No such Matter; there is your Man, he will manage our Cause for us against you of the *Church of England*, I warrant you.

R. P. I am provided for it: For *T. G.* desires of *Dr. St.* for the Sake of
Dial.p.78. *the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and other separated Congregations, to know why the believing all the Ancient Creeds, and leading a good Life may not be sufficient to Salvation, unless one be of the Communion of the Church of England?*

P. D. A very doughty Question! As though we were like you, and immediately damned all Persons who are not of the Communion of our Church. We say, their Separation from us is very unjust and unreasonable; and that there is no Colour for making their Case equal with ours, as to the Separation from the *Church of Rome*.

R. P. I will tell you of a Man who makes the Case Parallel; it is
Dial.p.79. one *Dr. St.* in his *Irenicum*: And *T. G.* produces many Pages out of him to that Purpose.

P. D. To save you the Trouble of repeating them, I have read them over, and do think these Answers may serve for his Vindication. (1.) That in that very Place he makes Separation from a Church retaining Purity of Doctrine, on the Account of some corrupt Practices to be unlawful; and afterwards in case Men be unsatisfied as to some Conditions of Communion, he denies it to be lawful to erect *New Churches*; because a mere requiring Conformity in some suspected Rites, doth not make a Church otherwise sound, to be no true Church: Or such a Church from which it is lawful to make a total Separation, which is then done, when Men enter into a new and distinct Society for Worship, under distinct and peculiar Officers, governing by *Laws and Church Rules* different from those of the Church they separate from. And now, let your *Fanatick Friend* judge, whether this Man, even in the Days of writing his *Irenicum*, did justify the Practices of the *separated Congregations*; which he speaks expressly against.

F. C.

F. C. No truly. We are all now for *separated Congregations*, and know better what we have to do, than our *Forefathers* did. Alas! what Comfort is there in bare Non-conformity? For our People would not endure us, if we did not proceed to *Separation*. He that speaks against *Separation* ruins us and our Cause.

P. D. So far then we have cleared *Dr. St.* from patronizing the Cause of the *Separated Congregations*. (2.) He saith, that as to things left undetermined by the *Law of God* in the *Judgment* of the *Primitive and Reformed Churches*, and in Matters of *Order, Decency and Government*, every one, notwithstanding what his private Judgment may be of them, is bound to submit to the Determination of the lawful Governors of the Church. Can any thing be said plainer for Conformity, than this is by the *Author* of the *Irenicum*?

Iren. p.
124.

R. P. But how then come in those Words produced by *T. G.*?

P. D. I will tell you: He supposes that some scrupulous and conscientious Men, after all Endeavours used to satisfy themselves, may remain unsatisfied as to the *Lawfulness* of some *imposed Rites*, but dare not proceed to *positive Separation* from the Church, but are willing to comply in all other things save in those Rites which they still scruple; and concerning these he puts the Question, Whether such bare Non-Conformity do involve such Men in the Guilt of *Schism*? And this I confess he resolves negatively, and so brings in that long Passage *T. G.* produces out of him. I now appeal to your self, whether *T. G.* hath dealt fairly with *Dr. St.* in Two things, (1.) In not distinguishing the Case of *Separation*, from that of bare *Non-conformity*, only in some suspected Rites; and in producing these Words to justify the *separated Congregations*? (2.) In taking his Judgment in this Matter rather from his *Irenicum* written so long since, than from his late Writings, wherein he hath purposely considered the Difference of the Case of those who separate from the Church of *England*, and of our Separation from the Church of *Rome*.

R. P. But hath he done this indeed? And did *T. G.* know it?

P. D. Yes very well. For it is in that very Book, the Preface where-
of *T. G.* pretends to answer in these *Dialogues*: And he doth not speak
of it by the by, but discourseth largely about it. Is this fair dealing?
But the *Irenicum* served better for his Purpose as he thought, and yet he
hath foully misrepresented that too.

Answer to
several
Treat. P. I.
from p 180,
to 186.

R. P. But yet *Dr. St.* must not think to escape so; for he hath searched another Book of his, called his *Rational Account*, and there he finds a Passage, he thinks, in Favour to *Dissenters from the Church of England*; and which undermines the Church of *England*.

Dial p 87.

P. D. Therefore the Church of *Rome* is not guilty of *Idolatry*.

R. P. Have a little Patience; we shall come to that in time. At present, I pray, clear this Matter, if you can.

P. D. To what Purpose is all this raking, and scraping, and searching, and quoting of Passages, not at all to the Point of *Idolatry*?

R. P. What! would you have a Man do nothing to fill up a Book, and make it carry something of the Port of an *Answer*; especially to a thick of Book between 800 and 900 Pages?

P. D. If this be your Design, go on: But I will make my Answers as short as I can; for methinks *T. G.* seems to have lost that Spirit and Briskness he had before; for then he talked like a Man that had a Mind to keep close to the Point; but now he flags and draws heavily on: For he repeats what he had said before for some Pages, and then quotes

out of Dr. St.'s other Books for several Pages more; and at last it comes to no more than this, Dr. St. doth in some Places of his Writings seem to favour the *Dissenters*. I am quite tired with this *Impertinency*; yet I would fain see an End of these things, that we might come close to the Business of *Idolatry*, which I long to be at.

R. P. Your Stomach is too sharp set; we must blunt it a little before you fall to.

P. D. You take the Course to do it, with all this *Impertinency*; but what is it you have to say?

Dial. p.
84, &c.

R. P. To please you, I will bring this Charge as near to the Point of *Idolatry* as I can; the Substance of it is this: Dr. St. saith, *The Church of England doth not look on her Articles as Articles of Faith, but as inferior Truths*: from thence T. G. infers, (1.) *The Church of Rome doth not err against any Articles of Faith.* (2.) *Dr. St. doth not believe the Thirty nine Articles to be Articles of Faith.* (3.) *Then this Charge of Idolatry is vain and groundless, because Idolatry is an Error against a Fundamental Point of Faith.*

P. D. Here is not one Word new in all this long Charge, but a tedious Repetition of what T. G. had said before. It consists of Two Points: 1. The Charge upon Dr. St. for *undermining* the Church of England. 2. The Unreasonableness of the Charge of *Idolatry* upon his own Supposition. Because T. G. seems to think there is something in this Business which touched Dr. St. to the quick, and therefore he declined giving any Answer to the *First Part* of it; I will undertake to do it for him. Dr. St. doth indeed say, That the Church of England doth not make her Articles Articles of Faith, as the Church of Rome doth the Articles of Pope Pius the IV. his Creed. And did ever any Divine of the Church of England say otherwise? It is true, the Church of Rome from her insolent Pretence of *Infallibility*, doth make all things proposed by the Church of equal Necessity to Salvation; because the Ground of Faith is the Churches Authority in proposing things to be believed. But doth the Church of England challenge any such *Infallibility* to her self? No: She utterly disowns it, in her very Articles; therefore she must leave Matters of Faith as she found them; i. e. she receives all the Creeds into her Articles and Offices, but makes no Additions to them of her own; and therefore Dr. St. did with great Reason say, That the Church of England makes no Articles of Faith, but such as have the Testimony and Approbation of the whole Christian World, and of all Ages, and are acknowledged to be such by Rome it self; from whence he doth justly magnifie the Moderation of this Church in Comparison with the Church of Rome.

R. P. But T. G. saith, *That he hath degraded the Articles of the Church of England from being Articles of Faith, into a lower Class of inferior Truths.*

P. D. I perceive plainly T. G. doth not know what an Article of Faith means according to the Sense of the Church of England. He looks on all Propositions made by the Church as necessary Articles of Faith, which is the Roman Sense, and founded on the Doctrine of *Infallibility*; but where the Church's *Infallibility* is rejected, Articles of Faith are such as have been thought necessary to Salvation by the Consent of the Christian World, which Consent is seen in the Ancient Creeds. And whatever Doctrine is not contained therein, though it be received as Truth, and agreeable to the Word of God, yet is not accounted an Article of Faith:

i. e.

i. e. not immediately necessary to *Salvation* as a Point of Faith. But because of the Dissentions of the Christian World in Matters of Religion, a particular Church may for the Preservation of her own Peace declare her Sense as to the *Truth* and *Falshood* of some controverted Points of Religion, and require from all Persons who are entrusted in the Offices of that Church a *Subscription* to those *Articles*; which doth imply, that they agree with the *Sense* of that Church about them.

R. P. But Dr. St. saith from Archbishop Bramhall, *That the Church doth not oblige any Man to believe them, but only not to contradict them*; and upon this T. G. triumphs over Dr. St. as undermining the *Doctrine* and *Government* of the Church of England.

P. D. Why not over Archbishop Bramhall, whose Words Dr. St. cites? And was he a *Favourer of Dissenters*, and an *Underminer of the Church of England*? Yet Dr. St. himself in that Place owns a *Subscription* to them as necessary; and what doth *Subscription* imply less than agreeing with the *Sense* of the Church: So that he saith more than Archbishop Bramhall doth. And I do not see how his Words can pass, but with this Construction, that when he saith, *we do not oblige any Man to believe them*, he means as *Articles of Faith*, of which he speaks just before. But I do freely yield, that the Church of England doth require *Assent* to the *Truth* of those *Propositions* which are contained in the XXXIX Articles: And so doth Dr. St. when he saith, *The Church requires Subscription to them as Inferior Truths, i. e.* owning them to be true *Propositions*, though not as *Articles of Faith*, but *Articles of Religion*, as our Church calls them.

R. P. If they are but *Inferior Truths*, saith T. G. was it worth the while to rend asunder the Peace of Christendom for them? Is not this a very reasonable Account, as J. S. calls it, of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion, and a rare way of justifying her from the Guilt of Schism?

P. D. T. G. mistakes the Matter. It was not our imposing *Negative Points* on others, but the Church of Rome's imposing false and absurd Doctrines for necessary *Articles of Faith*, which did break the Peace of Christendom. We could have no Communion with the Church of Rome unless we owned her *Supremacy*, her *Canon of Scripture*, her *Rule of Faith*, or the Equality of *Tradition* and *Scripture*, her Doctrines of *Purgatory*, *Invocation of Saints*, *Worship of Images*, *Transubstantiation*, &c. and we were required not only to own them as true, which we know to be false; but as necessary to *Salvation*, which we look on as great *Hinderances* to it. What was to be done in this Case? Communion could not be held on other Terms, than declaring false Opinions to be true, and dangerous Doctrines to be necessary to *Salvation*. On such Terms as these we must renounce our Christianity, to declare, That we believed *Falshoods* for *Truths*, and not barely as *Truths*, but as necessary *Articles of Faith*. Therefore what *Schism* there was, the Church of Rome must thank her self for. And when this Breach hapned, our Church thought it necessary to express her Sense of these Doctrines, that they were so far from being *Articles of Faith*, that they were *False* and *Erroneous*, having no Foundation either in *Scripture* or *Antiquity*: And required a *Subscription* to this Declaration, from such as are admitted to teach and instruct others. How could our Church do less than she did in this Matter, if she would declare her Sense to the World, or take care of her own Security? And is this making *Negative Articles of Faith*; about which T. G. and E. W. and others, have made such senseless Clamours? When we only declare

those things they would impose upon us, to be so far from being *Articles of Faith*, that they are *Erroneous Doctrines*; and therefore are rejected by us. And this I take to be a *Reasonable Account* of the *Protestant Religion*; which is more than J. S. hath given to those of his own Church of his *Demonstrations*.

R. P. But since Dr. St. grants the Church of Rome to hold all the *Essential Points of Faith*, how can he charge her with *Idolatry*, since *Idolatry* is an *Error against the most Fundamental Point of Faith*? I pray Answer to this, for this comes home to the Business.

P. D. I am glad to see you but coming that way. To this Dr. St. hath already given a full and clear Answer, in his late *Defence*.

Defence,
p. 187, &c.

(1.) He saith, by the Church of Rome's holding all *Essential Points of Faith*, no more is meant than that she owns and receives all the *Ancient Creeds*.

(2.) T. G. grants, That *Idolatry* is giving the *Worship due to God* to a *Creature*. If therefore a Church holding the *Essential Points of Faith* may give the *Worship due to God* to a *Creature*, then there is no *Contradiction* between saying the Church of Rome holds all the *Essential Points of Faith*, and yet charging it with *Idolatry*. Because *Idolatry* is a *Practical Error*, and therefore may be consistent with holding all the *Doctrinal Points of Faith*; no more being necessary to it, as Dr. St. proves, than entertaining a false *Notion of Divine Worship*, by which Means it may really give *God's Worship* to a *Creature*, and yet be very *Orthodox* in holding that *God's Worship* ought not to be given to a *Creature*.

Dial p. 92.

R. P. T. G. was aware of this Answer, and thus he takes it off. To err, he saith, *strictly speaking*, is to teach that which is opposite to Truth; but if the Church of Rome teaches, that the *Worship* she gives to *Saints and Images* is not a part of the *Honour due to God*, and yet it is; then she errs against the *Second Commandment*, though she judges she doth not.

P. D. What is this to the Purpose? The Question is not whether *Idolatry* doth not imply a *Practical Error* against the *Second Commandment*; but whether it be consistent with the *Doctrinal Points of Faith*, such as are *Essential* to the *Being of a Church*? For of this sort of *Errors*, all the Dispute was, as is plain from Dr. St.'s Words, which gave Occasion to this Objection.

R. P. But is it not a *Fundamental Error* to destroy the *Doctrine of the Second Commandment*?

P. D. If it be, The more Care had they need to have who put it out of their Books, that it may not fly in their Faces. But who ever reckoned the *Commandments* among the *Articles of Faith*? I do not deny it to be a very dangerous *Practical Error* to destroy the *Doctrine of the Second Commandment*; or rather to take away the whole Force of the *Precept*; but I say, this is none of those *Essential Points of Faith* which Dr. St. spake of; and therefore this is no Answer to him.

Dial p. 94.

R. P. Therefore T. G. adds, That this doth not proceed upon a general Thesis, whether some *Idolatrous Practice* may not consist with owning the general Principles of Faith; but upon a particular Hypothesis, whether the *Worship of God by an Image*, be not an *Error against the Doctrine of the Second Commandment*, if that be to forbid Men to worship him by an Image? And therefore if it be a *Fundamental Point* to believe that to be *Idolatry* which God hath expressly forbidden in the Law under the *Notion of Idolatry*, and that be the *Worshipping of him by an Image*, as Dr. St. asserts; 'tis clear that

that the Church of Rome in telling Men it is not Idolatry, errs against a Fundamental Point; and he cannot according to his Principles, maintain his Charge of Idolatry without a Contradiction.

P. D. This is then the thing to be tried; and therefore we must judge of it by what Dr. St. said, to which this is supposed to be a Contradiction. Did he ever say, that the Church of Rome did not err against the Doctrine of the Second Commandment? Nay, he hath invincibly proved it hath. I say invincibly, since T. G. gives it up in these Dialogues; spending so many Pages upon the Repetition of his old Arguments, and passing over all that Elaborate Discourse of Dr. St. about the Sense of the Second Commandment, on which the Hinge of the Controversy depends. If then Dr. St. doth charge them with a very dangerous and pernicious Error in respect of this Commandment, that could not be the Fundamental Error he cleared the Church of Rome from, when he said, she held all Essential Points of Faith, (mark that) and he explained himself purposely to prevent such a Mistake, to mean such Doctrinal Points of Faith as are Essential to the Constitution of a Church, and the true Form of Baptism; now the Question is, Whether it be a Contradiction for a Man to say, that the Church of Rome doth hold all these Essential Points of Faith, and yet is guilty of Idolatry? And how after all, hath T. G. proved it? It is a Fundamental Point, saith he, to believe that to be Idolatry which God hath forbidden as Idolatry; and so it is to believe that to be Perjury, and Theft and Adultery, which God hath forbidden under their Notion. But will any Man say the true Notion of Adultery is a Doctrinal Point of Faith? Altho' therefore it be granted, that the Church of Rome do err fundamentally against the 2d Commandment; yet that doth not prove Dr. St. guilty of a Contradiction, because he spake not of Practical Errors, but of the Doctrinal and Essential Points of Faith. And now I hope we have done with all these Preliminaries, and may come to the Point of Idolatry it self.

R. P. Hold a little, you are still too quick; I have something more yet to say to you before we come to it.

P. D. What is that?

R. P. I have a great deal to tell you out of Mr. Thorndike's *Just Weights and Measures*, about the Charge of Idolatry, and the mischievous Consequences of it. Dial. from p. 99. to p. 113.

P. D. To what End should you repeat all that? I begin to think you were not in Jest, when you said T. G. put in some things to fill up his Book. Dr. St. had before declared the great Esteem he had for Mr. Thorndike's Learning and Piety; but in this particular, he declared, that he saw no Reason to recede from the common Doctrine of the Church of England, on the Account of Mr. Thorndike's Authority, or Arguments. And I have already given you such an Account of his Opinion with respect to the Church of Rome, as I hope will take off Mr. Thorndike's Testimonies being so often alledged against us by T. G. and his Brethren. If T. G. had not purposely declined the main Matters in Debate between Dr. St. and him, he would never have stuffed out so much of his Book with things so little Material to that which ought to have been the main Design of it.

R. P. But I have somewhat more to say to you, which is, That you charge T. G. with declining the Dispute about the Sense of the Second Commandment, whereas he doth speak particularly to it. Dial. p. 116.

P. D. I

P. D. I am glad to hear it; I hope then he takes off the Force of what Dr. St. had said in his late *Defence* about it. For I assure you it was much expected from him.

Dial. from
p. 116. to
120.
p. 121, 122.
p. 127.

R. P. What would you have a Man do? he produces at least four Leaves of what he had said before: And then a little after, near two Leaves more: And within a few Pages, above two Leaves again out of his old Book; and then tells how Dr. St. spends above an 100 Pages about the Sense of the Second Commandment, *whereas he neither removes the Contradictions, nor answers the Arguments of T. G., but criticizeth upon the Exceptions of T. G. to the several Methods for finding out the Sense of the Law; but, saith he, what need so much Pains and Labour be taken, if the Law be express; and do not you think this enough about the Second Commandment?*

Defence,
from p.
673. to p.
692.
(*) From p.
692. to p.
698.
(†) From p.
702. to p.
717.
(*) From p.
117. to p.
720.
(†) From p.
720. to p.
784.

P. D. No truly. Nor you neither, upon any Consideration. For the Dr. in his Discourse upon the Second Commandment, (1) hath manifestly overthrown T. G.'s Notion of an Idol, viz. of a *Figment set up for Worship*, by such clear and convincing Arguments, that if T. G. had any thing to have said in Defence of it, he would never have let it escaped thus. (2.) * He hath proved the Sense he gives of the Commandment to be the same which the *Fathers* gave of it. (3.) † He takes off T. G.'s Instances of *worshipping before the Ark and the Cherubims*; and the * *Testimony of S. Austin*. (4.) † He answers T. G.'s Objections and clears the Sense of the Law by all the Means a Law can be well understood. And is all this, do you think, answered by T. G.'s repeating what he had said before; or blown down by a Puff or Two of Wit? I do not know what T. G. thinks of it; but I do not find any understanding Man takes this for an Answer, but a mere Put-off. So that I may well say, Dr. St.'s Proofs are *invincible*, when T. G. so shamefully retreats out of the Field, and sculks under some Hedges and Thorns which he had planted before, for a Shelter in time of Need.

R. P. But why did not Dr. St. answer punctually to all that T. G. said?

P. D. Because he did not think it material, if the main things were proved.

R. P. But T. G. will think them unanswerable, till he receive Satisfaction concerning them.

P. D. That it may be is impossible to give a Man, that hath no Mind to receive it; but if you please, let me hear the Strength of what T. G. lays such Weight upon, that he may have no such Pretence for the Future; and lest the Third time we meet with the same Coleworts.

Dial. p.
116, 117.

R. P. Doth not Dr. St. make express Scripture his most certain Rule of Faith? Doth not he on the other Side deny any thing to be an Article of Faith, which is not acknowledged to be such by Rome it self. Then if God hath expressly forbidden the Worship of himself by an Image, it is an Article of Faith, that he ought not to be worshipped by an Image; and since Rome doth not acknowledge it, it is not an Article of Faith. Therefore T. G. calls upon the Dr. to speak out. Is it, or is it not an Article of Faith? But T. G. saith, He hath found out the Mystery of the Business (for he can find out Mysteries, I assure you, as well as discover Plots, and catch Moles) to gratify the Non-conformists, the Articles of the Church of England must pass only for inferior Truths; but when the Church of Rome is to be charged with Idolatry, then they are Articles of Faith: So that as T. G. pleasantly saith, The same Proposition taken Irenically is an inferior Truth, but taken Polemically it must be an Article of Faith, because expressly revealed in Scripture.

P. D. Is

P. D. Is this it which T. G. thought worth repeating at large? Surely it was for the Sake of the Clinch of *Irenically* and *Polemically*, and not for any Shew of Difficulty in the thing. For all the Mist is easily scattered by observing a very plain Distinction of an *Article of Faith*; which is either taken, 1. For an *essential Point of Faith*, such as is antecedently necessary to the Being of a Christian Church; and so the *Creed* is said to contain the *Articles of our Faith*; and in this Sense Dr. St. said the Church of Rome did hold all the *essential Points of Faith*, which we did. 2. For any Doctrine plainly revealed in *Scripture*, which is our *Rule of Faith*. And did Dr. St. ever deny, That the Church of Rome opposed some things clearly revealed in *Scripture*? Nay, it is the Design of his *Books* to prove it doth. And if every Doctrine which can be deduced from a plain Command of *Scripture*, is to be looked on as an *Article of Faith*, then, That the Cup is to be given to those who partake of the Bread, that Prayers are to be in a known Tongue, will become *Articles of Faith*; and do you think Dr. St. either *Irenically* or *Polemically*, did ever yield, that the Church of Rome did not oppose these? If T. G. lays so much Weight on such slight things as these, I must tell you, he is not the Man I took him for; and I believe it was only Civility in Dr. St. to pass such things by.

R. P. But T. G. would know, what he means by expressly forbidden, only that it is clear to himself, expecting that others should submit to his saying it, as the Travellers did to Polus in Erasmus; or that it is clear or manifest of it self? And that it is not so, he saith, appears by the Pains and Ways he takes to find it out. Dial. p. 121.

P. D. This is yet a Degree lower. By clearly and expressly, Dr. St. means that which is so to an unprejudiced Mind. For there is nothing so plain, but Men may cavil at it. Not the Being of God; not the Certainty of our Senses; not the Differences of Good and Evil; not the Coming of the *Messias*; not the Truth of the *Scriptures*. But will T. G. say, That none of these are clear, because Men are put to Pains and several ways to prove them? If therefore Dr. St. hath shewed, that all the Evasions of the Force of the *Second Commandment* are mere Cavils, and would take off as well the Force of any other Commandment, if Men thought themselves as much concerned to do it; I think he hath proved the Sense of the Commandment to be clear and express against the *Worship of God by an Image*. And for his Friend Polus, you know it doth not look well in Conversation for a Man to repeat his own Jest. But you named a Third Passage T. G. repeats out of his former Book. What is that, I pray?

R. P. That concerns Dr. St.'s First way of finding out the Sense of the Law: For, he saith, the Law doth only expressly forbid bowing down to the Images themselves as the Heathens did; but speaks not One Word of the Lawfulness, or Unlawfulness of worshipping God himself by them; and upon this he upbraids Dr. St. that spending above a Hundred Pages about the Sense of the *Second Commandment*, he neither endeavours to remove the Contradictions, nor to answer the Arguments of T. G. Dial. p. 125.

P. D. Then truly he deserved Pity, and to have his Friends come in to help him, they are such wonderful Contradictions and mighty Arguments. But Dr. St. hath at large proved, (1.) That the Heathens did not take the Images themselves for Gods, in a large Discourse to that Purpose, and consequently this Command was not express against the Heathen Idolatry in T. G.'s Sense of it. (2.) That the Fathers did understand this Defence p. 465, &c.

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From p.
419. to p.
431.

Commandment to be *expresly* against the *Worship of God by an Image*; in another large Discourse, which he concludes with those Words of St. Ambrose, *Non vult se Deus in lapidibus coli, God will not be worshipped in Stones.* And is this nothing to the answering T. G.'s Arguments? (3.)

From p.
702. to p.
717.

That the *Worship of God before the Ark and the Cherubims* (the only Argument of T. G.) doth not reach to the *Worship of God by Images*; and this in another set Discourse. (4.) That God did afterwards explain his own Law, by condemning the *Worship of himself by Images*; in the case of the *Golden Calf*, and the *Calves of Dan and Bethel*, and he punctually answers T. G.'s Objections. And after all this, Is it not great

From p.
748. to p.
783.

Tenderness and Modesty in T. G. to say, *That Dr. St. only criticizeth upon T. G.'s Exceptions, and doth neither remove the Contradictions, nor answer the Arguments of T. G.*? I never yet saw plainer Evidence of a forlorn Cause, than these things give. By this Taste, I begin to fear, when we come to the Charge of *Idolatry*, we shall find very little new, or material. However, being thus far engaged, I am resolved, God willing, to attend you quite through his *late Dialogues*; and if you please at our next meeting, we will enter upon the Charge of *Idolatry*, and I will undertake to make good the Charge, and I shall expect from you T. G.'s Answers.

R. P. I will not fail; and I pray Brother Fanatick, let us have your Company, for I have a terrible Charge against the Church of England for *bowing to the Altar*.

F. C. I shall be glad to hear that with all my heart.

The End of the Second Conference.

THE Third Conference,

About the Nature of IDOLATRY.

P. D. **W**E are now entring upon a weighty Business; and therefore without any Preface to it, I begin. Dr. St. in his late *Defence* hath undertaken to clear the Nature of *Idolatry*, by considering Two things.

1. Whether it were consistent with the Acknowledgment of One *Supreme God*? 2. Wherein the Nature of that *Divine Worship* lies, which being given to a *Creature* makes it *Idolatry*?

1. To clear the former, he considered, who those are, which by common Consent are charged with *Idolatry*, and from thence he supposed the best Resolution of the Question might be gathered; and those were, (1.) The *Ancient Heathens*, (2.) *Modern Heathens*, (3.) The *Arians*. And concerning these, he proved, That they did all acknowledge One *Supreme God*; and consequently the *Notion* of *Idolatry* could not consist in the *Worship* of many independent *Deities*.

(1.) As to the *Ancient Heathens*. (1.) From the *Testimony* of *Scripture*. (2.) From their own *Writers* in the *Roman Church*, of whom he names Twelve considerable Ones. (3.) From the *Fathers*; and there he shews from a multitude of plain *Testimonies*, that the *State* of the *Controversie* about *Idolatry* between the *Fathers* and *Heathens*, was not about a *Supreme God* which was acknowledged on both sides, but whether *Divine Worship* were to be given to any *Creatures* on the Account of any supposed *Excellency* in themselves, or Relation to *God*? And so he draws the *History* of this *Controversy* through the several Ages of *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Cyril*, *S. Augustin*, &c. In short, through all those, who did with greatest Reputation to *Christianity* manage this Cause against the *Heathen Idolaters*.

(2.) As to *Modern Heathens*; Two Ways. (1.) From the *Testimony* of your own *Writers* concerning the *Brachmans*, *Chineses*, *Tartars*, *Americans*, *Africans*, *Goths* and *Laplanders*. (2.) From the *Testimony* of the *Congregation* of *Cardinals* in a remarkable Case about *Idolatry* in *China*, wherein their Resolution was desired.

(3.) As to the *Arians*; he proves from *Athanasius*, *Gr. Nazianzen*, *Nyssen*, *Basil*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril*, *Theoderet*, *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Augustin*, That the *Arians* were unanimously charged with *Idolatry*; although they did acknowledge but one *God*, and supposed the greatest created *Excellencies* to be in *Christ*, and believed the *Worship* of *Christ* tended to the Honour of the Father.

2. As to the Nature of *Divine Worship*: He proceeds in this Method.

1. To shew what *Worship* is; which he distinguishes from *Honour*, the One relating to bare *Excellency*, the Other to *Superiority* and *Power*; which Distinction he proves from the most Eminent *School Divines*.

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2. What *Divine Worship* is; viz. such a Subjection of our selves to God as shews his peculiar *Sovereignty* over us: From whence he proceeds to manifest, That there are some *peculiar external Acts of Divine Worship*, which he proves, (1.) From the *Nature and Design of Religious Worship*; and here he enquires into the Distinction of *Civil and Religious Worship*; which, he saith, as other moral Actions, is to be taken from the *Circumstances* of them; and from hence came the Institution of solemn Rites for Religious Worship. And the best *Divines* of the *Roman Church* do allow; That there ought to be some peculiar external Acts of Divine Worship; which he likewise proves from the infinite Distance between God and his Creatures; and from the remarkable Testimonies of the *Heathens* to that Purpose.

(2.) From *God's appropriating some external Acts of Worship* to himself; wherein he speaks to Two things:

1. What those *Acts* are which God hath appropriated to himself; of which he reckons up Six.

1. Sacrifice. 2. Religious Adoration. 3. Erection of Temples and Altars. 4. Burning of Incense. 5. Solemn Invocation. 6. Vows.

2. How far *God's appropriating these Acts* doth concern us? Which he thus resolves. 1. It is granted there must be some peculiar Acts. 2. God is the best Judge of them. 3. What he hath once appropriated cannot be made common till his Will be declared. 4. *Christ* hath made no Alteration herein by his Law. 5. The Apostles suppose the same *Notion of Idolatry* to continue still. 6. The *Jews* did esteem it *Idolatry* to use those *Acts of Worship* towards any *Creature*. Where he shews, That *Idolatry* may be committed as many ways, as *Worship* may become due to *God*.

(3.) From the Sense of the *Christian Church*; which hath condemned those for *Idolatry*, who have applied these appropriate *Acts of Worship* to any thing besides God.

3. How the applying the *Acts of Religious Worship* to a *Creature* makes that *Worship Idolatry*? Where he explains,

1. What real *Honour* we do allow to the *Saints* on the Account of their Excellencies.

2. What *Worship* we deny to them. (1.) *Inward Submission* of our *Souls* in *Prayer*, *Dependence*, and *Thanksgiving*. (2.) *External and Solemn Acts of Religious Worship*, which are given to *Saints* in the *Church of Rome*: And he proves from unquestionable *Testimonies of Antiquity*, That the *Fathers* did deny to be given to them. And so he concludes that *Discourse* with a full and clear Explication of a *Testimony* of *S. Augustin* against *Invocation of Saints*.

This is a brief *Abstract* of the *Design* of *Dr. St.'s Discourse* concerning the *Nature of Idolatry*; whose Parts are too well consider'd, and put together, to be blown down with a Puff or two of Wit. Let me now hear how *T. G.* hath acquitted himself in this matter, which we shall the better judge of, by having this *Scheme* before us.

R. P. I perceive you expect *T. G.* should have followed *Dr. St.'s Method*, and have answered him part by part; but he was wiser than so; for he charges him with Three things. (1.) That he makes vain, and endless, and unnecessary *Discourses*. (2.) That he ought to have laid down the true *Notion of Idolatry* from the *Nature of the thing*, which he hath not done. (3.) That he hath unfaithfully reported the *Words and Sense of Authors*. After which, he disproves the *Parallel* between the *Heathen and Romish Idolatry*.

R. P.

P. D. This last, if you please, we will reserve to another Conference; for I believe the other Three, will hold us long enough. I pray begin where T. G. doth.

R. P. First, *He complains much of the Bulk of the Book*; and brings in a kind of a Taylor's Bill of the Number of Pages: Imp. of T. G.'s Notion of Idolatry, p. 183. It. Of the Nature of Divine Worship, p. 164. It. Of the Controversy about Images between Christians and Heathens, p. 140. It. Of Images in the Christian Church, p. 180. odd. It. Of the Sense of the Second Commandment, p. 113. It. Of Instances, and facings and linings, p. 96. Sum. tot. p. 877. Was not this enough to put any Man out of Humour?

Dial. p.
167, 171,
172.

P. D. No doubt; when he considered he was to pay it all. And I do believe what he saith, *that he was very uneasy when he read it*; and like the Laconian in Boccalini, who was condemned to read over Guicciardines War of Pisa: And desired rather to be condemned to the Gallies. For there is nothing more troublesome to a Man than to see that he owes more than he is ever able to pay.

R. P. But T. G. shews how much of the Bill might have been cut off.

P. D. The shortest way had been to have thrown all into the Fire, as no doubt he would have done, if it had been in his Power; and that had been the most effectual Discharge to Dr. St.'s Charge of Idolatry. But do you think, it is a good Answer to an Indictment, to say it consisted of too many Lines?

R. P. T. G. saith he ought to have proceeded more Mathematical-ly?

P. D. How so?

R. P. By laying down only these Four Postulata. 1. That Idolatry may consist with the Acknowledgment of one Supreme Being. 2. That God ought to be worshipped according to his own Appointment. 3. That the Wiser Heathens pretended they did not look on their Images as Gods, but as Symbols of that Being to which they gave Divine Worship. 4. That for the Four first Centuries, there was little or no Use of Images in the Temples and Oratories of Christians. Which as far as I understand T. G. he was willing to have granted him.

Dial. p.
173.

P. D. Are you sure of that? If these things be fairly granted, they will go a great way toward the Resolution of the present Question. But I pray let me understand how far, and in what Sense?

R. P. For the first, *That Idolatry may consist with the Acknowledgment of one Supreme Being*: I perceive T. G. puts this Limitation to it, at least as Idolatry is taken by Dr. St. for the giving External Acts of Worship due only to God, to a Creature.

Dial. p.
174.

P. D. Let us then lay up this at present, that real Idolatrous Worship is consistent with the Acknowledgment of one Supreme God; which may be of Use to us in this Debate.

R. P. For the second, T. G. saith, *That it is no where denied, but is supposed by him, when he saith, that if God have forbidden himself to be worshipped after such a manner, the giving him such Worship will be dishonouring of him, though the Giver intend it never so much for his Honour, much more then, the giving Acts of Worship appropriated to him to another.*

Dial. p.
175.

P. D. This is very kind. For then if it appear, that God hath forbidden the Worship of himself by an Image, it follows that no Intention of the Person can excuse such Worship from Idolatry.

R. P. For the third, concerning the Practice of the Wiser Heathens, T. G. allows the Doctor to make his best of it.

P. D. Then there may be *Idolatrous Worship of Images*, where the *Images themselves* are not made the *Objects of Worship*; and consequently if such Worship be forbidden in the Second Commandment, that cannot be understood only of *Bowing down to the Images themselves*.

R. P. For the fourth, he saith, *since the Church hath a Power in decreeing Rites and Ceremonies, it had been no Prejudice to his Cause, if it had been longer before the Use of Images was brought into Churches.*

Dial. p.
176, &c.

P. D. If the Church had looked on the *Worship of Images* as an indifferent Rite, there had been some Reason for what T. G. saith: But the Force of what Dr. St. said, lay not merely in their having *no Images in Churches in the Primitive Times*; but in the Reasons given by the *Primitive Christians* against the *Worship of them*. From whence he hath at large proved, that the *Primitive Christians* did look on the *Worship of Images* as utterly unlawful by the Law of God, altho' the Object represented did deserve Worship. And this I take to be one of the most material *Discourses* in Dr. St.'s Book, to the present Controversy, and which he lays the greatest Weight upon. For he insists upon these several particulars.

* P. 149.
to p. 428.

(1.) * That they judged such a Representation of God by *Images* to be unsuitable to his *Nature*; for which he produceth the *Testimonies* of *Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Origen, St. Hierom, St. Augustin* and others.

† Defence,
p. 428. &c.

(2.) † That they looked on the *Worship of Images* as repugnant to the *Will of God*; as being contrary to the

p. 490. &c.
P. 494.
&c.

Second Commandment, which did oblige Christians. (3.) * That to suppose that they looked on the *Worship of Images* as a thing *indifferent*, is to charge the *Primitive Christians* with great *Hypocrisy*.

† P. 497. to
p. 505.

(4.) † That the *Christian Church* continued to have the same Opinion about the *Worship of Images* after the *Pagan Idolatry* was suppressed. (5.) * That it

* P. 506. to
p. 521.

was no just Excuse in the Sense of the *Primitive Church*, that they worshipped a *true Object*, or gave only an *Inferior Worship* to the *Images*, for the Sake of those represented by them. (6.) † That *Ignorance* and *Superstition* first brought in the *Worship of Images*, which was still con-

† P. 503.
&c.

demned by the best *Divines* of the Church. (7.) * That the *Worship of Images* came to be established in the Church by very indirect Means; such as *Treason, Calumnies, Lies, and burning and suppressing all Books*

* P. 538. to
p. 555.

against it. (8.) † That when it was established by the *Second Council of Nice*, it was vehemently opposed by the *Western Church* at the *Council of Frankford*: And that this *Council of Nice* was never owned in the

† P. 812. to
p. 840.

Western Church for a *General Council* till the *Reformation* began.

And now I pray was it possible for T. G. to overlook all these things? Or was it fair to pretend to answer Dr. St.'s Book, wherein all these things are, and yet to pass them over, as if they had never been written?

If this be the way of making *Just Discharges*, I am afraid T. G.'s Credit cannot hold out long; for this is not after the Rate of Five Shillings in the Pound: And for all that I see, Dr. St. may take out the *Statute* against him. However, I shall consider what he pretends to *Discharge*, and if his *Payment* be not good in that neither, his Word will hardly be taken for any *Just Discharge* more. I pray go on.

Dial. p.
177.

R. P. For the fifth Chapter, *Of the Sense of the Second Commandment*, T. G. saith, *if God hath there expressly prohibited the giving any Worship to himself by an Image, as Dr. St. affirms, there needed no more than to expose the Law as in a Table in Legislative Gothick* (as it is done by him, p.

671.)

671.) with the Addition only of a Finger in the Margin to Point to the Words, for every one that runs to read them.

P. D. And must this pass for an Answer to Dr. St.'s Discourse about the Sense of the Second Commandment? I am really ashamed of such trifling in a Matter of so great Importance. I know not whether it were the *Legislative Godbick* or no, or a *Finger on the Wall*, but something or other about that Commandment hath so affrighted you in the Church of Rome, that you dare not let it be seen in your Ordinary Books of Devotion. As for the Cavil about expressly, I have answer'd it already.

R. P. For his last Chapter, T. G. saith, *There needed no more than to say, that the Church of England doth not allow any Worship to be given to the Altar.* Dial. p. 179.

P. D. Is it possible for T. G. to think to fob us off with such Answers as these? barely to tell his Adversary, he might have spared this and the other Discourse.

R. P. But T. G. saith, *this is the most material thing in that Chapter.*

P. D. Say you so? Was the wise Council of Nice so immaterial a thing, that it must now be quite abandoned, and no kind of Discharge be so much as offered to be made for it? Was there nothing material in what concerns the Charge of Contradictions, Paradoxes, School-Disputes, &c.? And all the other Instances waved to come to this of *Bowing to the Altar*? There must be some Mystery in this; and I think I have found it: The *Patronus bonæ fidei* inveighs bitterly against this, as worse than Egyptian Idolatry, and reproaches Dr. St. upon account of his defending it: And T. G. finds it much easier to reproach than to answer.

R. P. The truth is, this *Patronus bonæ fidei* doth T. G. Knight's Service: For when he hath no mind to appear himself, he serves him for a Knight of the Post, who runs Blindfold upon any thing that may discredit the Church of England; Two or Three such rare Men would ease us of a great deal of Trouble. For T. G. takes between Five and Six Pages together out of him in this Place, besides what he hath taken up at Interest upon other Occasions.

Dial. p. 182. to 187.

P. D. Is this the *Just Discharge*, to borrow so much out of the Fanatick Stock? Setting then aside what is brought over of the old Account, which had been reckoned for before; and how very many material things are never entred, which he was accountable for; and how much he hath borrowed upon the *Bona Fides* of the Fanatick Historian, all the Rest will amount to a very pitiful Discharge. But since no better Payment can be had, let us at least examine this: For this *Bona Fides* is a kind of *Republican Publick Faith*, which no body will trust twice, not so much as for *Bodkins* and *Thimbles*.

F. C. Hold Sir. You love always to be rubbing upon old Sores; have you forgot the *Art of Oblivion*? You know we dare not speak what we think of those Times now; and is that fair to accuse when we dare not answer? Mind your own Business, defend the Church of England if you can, in that *Idolatrous Practice* of *Bowing to the Altar*. I always thought what it would come to, when Dr. St. went about the Charge of Idolatry upon the Principles of the Church of England; I knew he could never defend himself but upon good Orthodox Fanatick Principles, as you call them. Now Sir, you have him at an Advantage, join your Force and T. G.'s with that of the *Patronus bonæ Fidei*, and if the Geese follow the Fox close, you will keep him from ever stirring more.

P. D.

P. D. I thank you for your good Will to the Cause, and that is all I fear from you; you only add to the Number, and help to preserve the *Roman Capitol* by your *Noise*.

R. P. You shall not escape thus; what say you to *Bowing to the Altar*, is not that as great *Idolatry*, as *Worship of Images*?

P. D. Do you not remember the Answer Dr. St. hath already given to this Objection?

R. P. I tell you I read none of his Books and know not what he hath written, but as I find it in T. G.

P. D. What is that?

R. P. Have I not told you already, *That the Church of England doth not allow any Worship to be given to the Altar*?

P. D. And is not that to the Purpose? For dare any of you say so of the *Church of Rome* in respect of *Images*?

R. P. But T. G. saith, *This is not the meaning of the Canon which Dr. St. produces*: For, he saith, *The Canon only implies that they give no Religious Worship to it, but they do not deny any kind of Worship to be given to it; and Dr. St. himself grants, that there is a Reverence due to Sacred Places*.

Dial. p.
180.

P. D. Now your Bolt is shot, I hope I may have leave to say something both in behalf of the Canon and Dr. St. (1.) For the Canon, I say as Dr. St. did, That it denies any Worship to be given to the Altar; for it makes the Adoration to be immediately made to the *Divine Majesty*, without Respect to the Altar, either as the Object or Means of Worship; which I prove, (1.) From the *Introduction*. For can any Words be more exprefs than those in the *Introduction*? For as much as the Church is the *House of God*, dedicated to his *Holy Worship* (not to that of the Altar) and therefore ought to mind us both of the Greatness and Goodness of his *Divine Majesty* (not of the Sacredness of the Altar) certain it is that the *Acknowledgment thereof*, not only inwardly in our Hearts, but also outwardly with our Bodies, must needs be pious in it self, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. If the Intention of the Canon had been to have given any Worship to the Altar, the *Introduction* must have related to that, and not to the *Divine Majesty*.

(2.) From the *Recommendation*; We therefore think it meet and becomful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected People, Members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord, (not to the Altar) the said due Acknowledgment by doing Reverence and Obedience both at their coming in and going out of the said Churches, &c. according to the most Ancient Custom of the Primitive Church in Purest Times, and of this Church also for many Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

(3.) From the exprefs disowning the giving any religious Worship to the *Communion Table*. Which is not meant of an *individuum Vagum*, but of this Act of Adoration, which is the Religious Worship here spoken of; and thereby no kind of Worship is intended to the Altar, but only to God. And which is more plain yet by what follows, That it is not done out of an Opinion of the Corporal Presence of Christ's Body on the Table, or in the Mystical Elements; but only (mark that) for the Advancement of God's Majesty, and to give him Alone, (not the Altar together with him) that Honour and Glory which is due unto him, and no otherwise. Can any Words be plainer than these? They want only *Legislative Gothick*, and a Finger in the Margin, for T. G. to understand them.

(4.) Arch-

(4.) Archbishop *Laud*, who certainly understood the meaning of this Canon, pleads only for the *Worship* to be given immediately to God himself. *God forbid*, saith he, *That we should worship any thing but God himself*: And he adds, *If there were no Table standing, he would worship God when he came into his House*. And he calls it still, *Doing Reverence to Almighty God, but only towards his Altar*: And he saith, *The People did understand this fully, and apply the Worship to God, and to none but God*. Speech in Star-Chamber, p. 43, 46.

(5.) When the introducing this, was made One of the *Articles* of his Charge by the Commons; his Answer was, *That his bowing was only to worship God, not the Altar; and I hope it is no Offence or Treason to worship God in the King's own Chappel, or to induce others to do the like*. Canterbury's Trial, p. 473.

(6.) I do not find any of our *Divines*, who pleaded most for it, do contend for any more than *worshipping God towards the Altar*, and not giving any *Worship* to the *Altar*; the Arguments they used were for determining the *Local Circumstance* of *Worship*, and not for making the *Altar* the *Object* of it. And the Difference between these Two Dr. St. hath at large cleared. Defence, p. 705, &c.

R. P. But cannot we say, *That we only worship God before an Image*, and do not give any *Religious Worship* to the *Image*; and then the Case is Parallel?

P. D. You may say so, and you sometimes do, to deceive ignorant People; but you cannot say it truly. For, (1.) Your Councils have determined, *That Religious Worship is to be given to Images*; our Canon saith, *It is not to be given to the Altar*, therefore the Case is far from being Parallel. And Dr. St. hath fully proved, *That the Nicene Council did require Religious Worship to be given to Images; and Anathematizes all who did it not. And utterly rejects those that say, They are to be had only for Memory, and out of some kind of Honour or Reverence; for nothing but Religious Worship would satisfy them. And the Acts of that Worship are expressed to be not only Bowing but Prostration, Kissing, Oblation of Incense and Lights*: And Dr. St. hath elsewhere shewed, *That all the Acts of Worship which the Heathens did perform to their Images in Old Rome, are given to Images in Modern Rome*. (2.) Those in the Church of Rome, who have only contended for the *Worship* of God before the *Image*, have been condemned by others as *savouring of Heresy*, who say it is a Matter of Faith in the Roman Church, *that Images are to be worshipped truly and properly*; and that the contrary Opinion is *dangerous, rash, and savouring of Heresy*, which is likewise proved at large by Dr. St. Defence, p. 577, &c.

R. P. But doth not Dr. St. himself allow a *Reverence due to Sacred Places*? From p. 648. to p. 699.

P. D. He doth so. But do you observe the Difference he puts between *that* and *Worship*? I will endeavour to make his distinct Notion of these things plain to you. From p. 583. to p. 599.

First, He distinguishes between *Honour* and *Worship*:

(1.) *Honour* he makes to be the *Esteem of Excellency*;

Either { *Inward*, only in the Mind.
 { *Outward*, in Acts suitable to that Estimation.

And

And this *Excellency* may be Twofold, 1. *Personal*. 2. *Relative*.
1. *Personal*; and that Threefold:

- 1. *Civil*; in Regard of *Human Society*, as that of *Abraham* to the *Children of Hetb*.
- 2. *Moral*; on Account of *Moral Excellencies*; either { *Natural*,
or
Acquired.
- 3. *Spiritual*; in Regard of *Supernatural Graces*:

And that may be given Two ways,

- (1.) To the *Persons* as *present*; which is *Religious Respect*: as that of *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, *Dan.* 2. 46. Of *Abraham* to the *Angels*, *Gen.* 18. 2.
- (2.) To them as *Absent*; and this is *Religious Honour*: And it lies chiefly in *Thanksgiving* to *God* for them, and celebrating their *Memories*; because the *Honour* of *Divine Graces* ought to redound chiefly to the *Giver* of them.

2. *Relative*; from the *Relation* which things have to what we esteem on the Account of its own *Excellency*.

- 1. *Civil Relation* to our *Friends*, or *Strangers* whom we esteem; and so we set a *Value* on their *Pictures*, on their *Letters* or *Hand-writing*, or any thing belonging to them.
- 2. *Spiritual Relation* to *God* and his *Worship*; and the Regard to these he calls *Reverence*.

And that lies in these things:

- (1.) *Discrimination* from common Use.
- (2.) *Consecration* to a sacred Use.
- (3.) *Suitable Usage* of them in Regard of that *Relation*.

But if you ask wherein the Difference of this lies from *Worship*; He saith, from the greatest *Divines* of your *Church*, that

(2.) *Worship* hath a *Respect* to *Power* and *Superiority*; and that is

- 1. *Civil*; in Regard of the *Power* and *Authority* of *Magistrates*.
- 2. *Religious*; in Regard of *God's peculiar Sovereignty* over us.

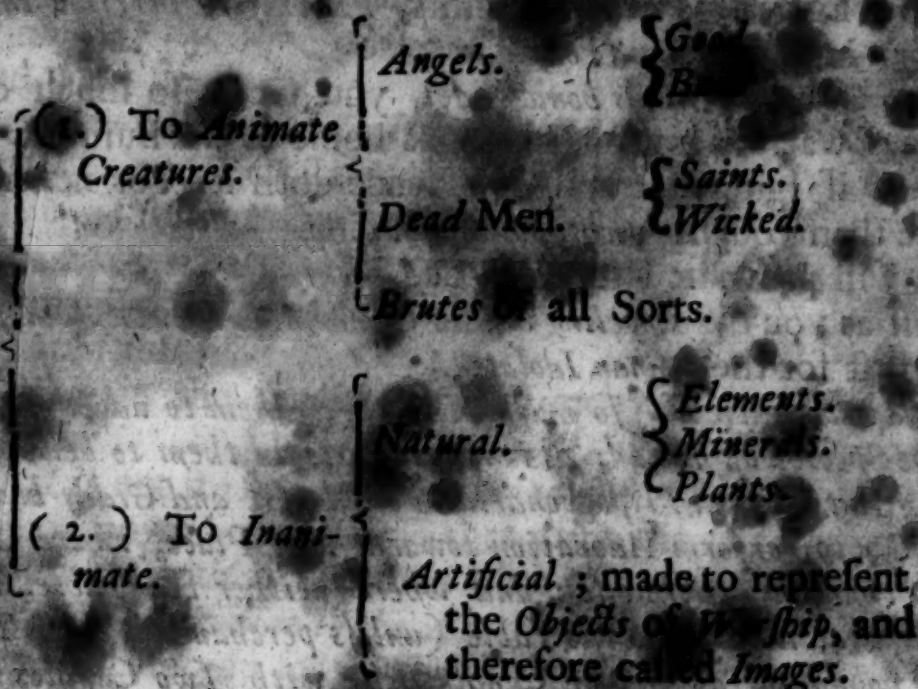
And that is Twofold,

- 1. *Internal* { *Submission*,
in { *Dependance*.
- 2. *External*; which must be,
 - 1. Such as express our *Submission* and *Dependance*; as
 - 1. *Sacrifice*. 2. *Solemn Invocation*. 3. *Adoration*. 4. *Vows*.
5. *Swearing by him*, &c.
 - 2. They must be *peculiar* to himself.

1. From

1. From the *Dispute* of Nature, as to the *Precedence* of God's *Sovereignty*.
2. From the *Will* of God, which approbates such Acts to himself.
3. From the *Consent* of *Nature* and the *Christian Church*.

Therefore the giving that *Worship* which is due to God, and doth express our *Subjection* to him, to any thing besides him, is Violation of the *Rights* of God's *Sovereignty*; and if it be given to any Creature, it receives its Denomination from the *Nature* of that Creature to which it is given.



Which is properly *Idolatry*, being the *Worship* of a *Representation*; but because that Word *Idol* is extended to any Creature to which the *Worship* proper to God is given; therefore every such kind of *Worship* is in *Scripture*, and by the *Christian Church*, called *Idolatry*. And by this *Scheme* of Dr. St's *Notion* of these things, you may easily understand the Difference he puts between *Reverence* and *Worship*.

R. P. But T. G. saith, *The Church of Rome requires by the Terms of Dial. p. Communion with her, no more than Reverence, or Honorary Respect to Images.* 181.

P. D. Why doth T. G. go about thus to impose on his Readers without Answering what Dr. St. had produced to the contrary, from three Things?

1. From the *Decrees* of the *Second Council* of *Nice*.
2. From the constant *Opinion* of their most *Eminent Divines*, both before and after the *Council* of *Trent*.
3. From the *Publick* and allowed *Practices* of their *Church*.
 1. In *Consecration* of *Images* for *Worship*; with *Forms* prescribed in the *Roman Pontifical*.
 2. In *Supplication* before them, with *Prostrations* and all other *Acts* of *Worship* which the *Heathens* used towards them.
 3. In *Solemn Processions* with *Images*, with the same kind of *Pomp* and *Ceremony* which was used in *Heathen Rome*.

And after all this can T. G. have the Confidence to say, this is only *Honorary Respect*, without answering to any one of these Particulars, which were purposely alledged to prove the contrary?

R. P. But now, Sir, look to your self, for the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* knocks all down before him, and proves *Bowing to the Altar, practised in the Church of England, to be worse than Popish or Egyptian Idolatry.*

P. D. I hope not worse than the Power of Excommunication, which the same Excellent Advocate for Fanatics hath bestowed as ill Names upon, and with as little Reason: But such as it is, I am prepared to receive it.

Prodrom.
P. 76.

R. P. The *Patronus bonæ Fidei* saith, that, *However Dr. St. wheedled and blinded with Preferments* (for that is the meaning of T. G.'s, &c.) *endeavours to palliate this kind of Adoration, and to vindicate it from the Crime of Idolatry; yet I doubt not to affirm, that this Bowing outvies the Idolatry both of Egyptians and Romanists, not only in horrible Iniquity and Enormity, but in Madness and Folly.*

P. C. Who is this *Patronus bonæ Fidei*, you speak so much of? He is a good Man, I warrant him. He speaks home to the Business.

P. D. Yes, if Ignorance and Confidence doth it: For never did Man betray more than your Advocate, in this Saying.

F. C. He will prove it, I warrant you.

P. D. Just as you did *Kneeling at the Communion* to be Idolatry; if so well. But first for the *Roman Idolatry.*

Dial. P.
183.

R. P. *It is not, saith he, so much Madness in them to adore the Lord Jesus under the Species of Bread, as it is an Error in them to believe Transubstantiation. But it is an Hypochondriacal Madness, and Giddy-brained Stupidity, for Men to perform Adoration towards that Place, where Christ is no more present than any where else; and where neither the Table, nor Altar, nor any thing that is set upon the Table (unless perchance a clean Towel, Two Books richly bound, or a Pair of Candlesticks with Two Candles in them, not to be lighted, till their Minds be quite drunk with Popery) represent either Christ or his Image. A Fanatical Adoration, he calls it, without any Object.*

P. D. Call you this proving? It is rather Raving and Foaming at the Mouth. This is such Biting as may endanger an *Hydrophobia*. There is no arguing with such a Man, but in a dark Room and under good Keepers. But that you may take no Advantage by his Sayings; how can it be *Idolatry without an Object*? i. e. *Idolatry without an Idol*. But can there be no Object of Worship but what is *Visible*? What doth he worship himself? Or rather whom do his Clients the Fanatics worship? Nothing: Because not a *Visible Object*. Is not *Adoration* a part of *Worship*? If not, it is no *Idolatry* to give it to an *Image*. If it be, then *Bowing to an Invisible Object* in a Place dedicated to *Divine Worship*, is giving to God that *Worship*, which being given to an *Image* makes it *Idolatry*. I pray Sir, do you answer for him.

F. C. I understand you not.

P. D. I thought so. But I will endeavour to make you understand me. Is the *Bowing down to an Image* *Idolatry*?

F. C. Yes, without all doubt.

P. D. Is not *Idolatry* giving to a Creature the *Worship that is due to God*?

F. C. Yes.

P. D. How can that be giving to a Creature the *Worship due to God*, if it be not lawful to give this *Worship* to God which you give to the Creature?

F. C. I know not what you mean.

P. D. Not yet? Is not *Adoration* of an *Image*, *Idolatry*?

F. C. Yes, I told you so once already.

P. D.

P. D. Then *Adoration* is to be given to God. How else can the giving it to a Creature make it *Idolatry*?

F. C. I do not well understand you; but as far as I can guess, you speak of *Bodily Worship*; but alas! We know, *That God must be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth.*

P. D. Who denies that? But observe what follows, then no Man is guilty of *Idolatry*, that doth not worship an *Image in Spirit and in Truth*: But the Law forbids *Bowing down to them*, and *Worshipping* of them; do you think, that *bowing down* is meant of the *Mind* or of the *Body*?

F. C. What is it you would have by all these Questions?

P. D. No more but this; that it is lawful to give *External Adoration* to the Divine Majesty.

F. C. And what then?

P. D. Is it lawful to give God that *Worship*, (which it is lawful to give absolutely) in a *Place* set apart for his *Worship*?

F. C. That is a strange Question indeed.

P. D. See now, what you have brought your self to; to acknowledge that to be lawful which you so rashly called *Idolatry*.

F. C. What is that?

P. D. *Bowing* in the Church, in Testimony of our *Adoration* of the Divine Majesty.

F. C. That is not it; but it is *bowing to the Altar*.

P. D. Who knows best? Those that made the *Canon*, or you? They declare they meant nothing else than what I have said; and deny any *Religious Worship to be given to the Altar*. And would not you think it hard for us to accuse you for *worshipping your Hats* in *Prayer*, because you put them before your Faces when you pray; as you do us for *worshipping the Altar*, because we bow towards it?

F. C. But you look towards the *Altar* when you bow.

P. D. And are not your *Eyes* upon your *Hats* when you pray? And is not *Prayer* a *Part* of God's *immediate Worship*?

F. C. But we call it, *Bowing to the Altar*.

P. D. We may as well call yours, *Praying to the Hat*.

F. C. Some do assign the *Reason* of their *Worship* from the *Communion Table*, and we never do from our *Hats*.

P. D. They do not assign the *Reason* of their *Worship*; but the *Reason* of that *Circumstance* of it, why that way rather than another; which they parallel with the *Jews* worshipping of God towards the *Ark* and the *Che-rubims*; which yet were no *Objects* of *Divine Worship*, either by God's Appointment, or the *Jewish Practice*, or in the Opinion of some of the most *Learned Divines*, even of the *Roman Church*; who make the most Advantage they can of it, as Dr. St. hath at large proved in his Answer to T. G.; and I do not hear of any Reply T. G. hath made to it.

Defence
from p.
702, to p.
717.

R. P. But the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* saith, *The Papists have more Reason to worship Christ on the Supposition of Transubstantiation, than you have to worship* —

P. D. What? Speak out. *The Altar*? We deny it to be any *Object* of *Worship* to us; If he means, than to worship God with *external Adoration* towards the *Altar*, let him do that, which he never yet did, prove what he saith; viz. That there is more Reason to worship Christ under the Bread on Supposition of *Transubstantiation*, than for our giving *external Adoration* to the Divine Majesty. For to give this *Adoration* to God, needs no other Supposition but of his *Infinite Majesty* and *Omnipresence*;

but to worship Christ on the *Altar* under the *Species* of *Bread*, doth not only suppose the Truth of one of the most absurd Suppositions in the World, *That the Substance of the Bread is changed into the Body of Christ, and the Body of Christ is there invisibly present under the Species of Bread;* but it supposes likewise these things. 1. That the *Body of Christ*, as united with the *Species of Bread*, is a proper *Object* of *Divine Adoration*: i. e. that these Two do make up One entire *Object* of *Divine Worship*: And then it follows, That the *Sacramental Species* are a partial *Object* of *Divine Adoration*; for whatever goes to make up an *Object* entire, must have Share with it; which is quite another thing from an *accidental Connexion*, as of a Prince's Robes together with his Person; for no Man ever said the Prince's Garments made up with his Person, an *Object* fit to be kneeled to in token of *Subjection*. But here is an Union supposed between *Christ's Body* and the *Accidents*; and such an Union by vertue whereof *Divine Worship* is directed to the *Species of Bread*, and consequentially to the *Body of Christ* as united thereto. 2. It supposeth, That the *Body of Christ* being thus united with the *Species of Bread* may receive all that *Worship* which is due to *God* alone. Which is not very easie to prove: Because it doth not follow, that wherever a *Body* is, there those things must be which do not result by necessary Concomitancy from the Being of a *Body*. For since it doth not follow by vertue of the *Hypostatical Union*, that wherever the *Divinity* is, the *Human Nature* of *Christ* must be there also; how doth it necessarily follow, that wherever the *Body of Christ* is, the *Divinity* is so present as to make that *Body* become an *Object* of *Divine Adoration*. We say the *Foot* is united to the *Soul* as well as the *Head*; but do we therefore say, That whatever is in the *Soul* is equally present in the *Foot* as in the *Head*? As that the *Foot* reasons, considers, directs, as the *Head* doth. It is not therefore *bare Union*, but the *Manner of Presence*, which doth make an *Object* fit for *Adoration*. That *Presence* ought to be (if not glorious and becoming the *Divine Majesty* in that respect) yet so well attested, as the *Divinity* of *Christ* was in his *Human Nature*, by the *Voice of Angels*, by *Testimony of God* himself from *Heaven*, by *Miracles*, by *Prophecies*, &c. But here is nothing like this; no Evidence being given of the *Divine Presence* under the *Elements*, neither from *Sense*, nor *Reason*, nor *Scripture*. For the *Scripture* is only pretended to speak of the *Body of Christ*, and not of his *Divinity*.

R. P. But by vertue of the *Hypostatical Union*, wherever the *Body* of *Christ* is, his *Divine Nature* must be present too.

P. D. That, I know very well, is commonly said by you; but, I pray, consider these Two Things. (1.) If the *Body of Christ* may be present by *Reproduction* of the same *Body*; as some of your greatest and latest *Divines* have asserted; then there is no such Necessity of Concomitancy of the *Divinity* of *Christ*; because they say, *God* may reproduce the same *Body* without all the *Accidents* of it, and consequently without the *Hypostatical Union*. (2.) By the same way of Concomitancy they may hold the *Persons* of the *Father* and *Holy Ghost* to be under the *Species*, and to be there worshipped. For where the *Body of Christ* is, there the *Soul* is; where *Soul* and *Body* is, there the *Divinity* is; where the *Divinity* is, there the *Person* of the *Son* is; and where the *Person* of the *Son* is, there the *Persons* of the *Father* and *Holy Ghost* are too.

R. P. You may account this an Absurdity; but we account it none at all: Yea, some of our *Divines* have said, If the *Holy Trinity* were

not every where, yet it would be in the Eucharist, by vertue of this Concomitancy.

P. D. I do not now meddle with your Opinions; I only consider the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* and his Brethren, who do look on these as Absurdities; and yet are so foolish to say, that our worshipping God towards the Altar is more absurd than your worshipping Christ on the Altar, on Supposition of *Transubstantiation*. But, why worse than Egyptian Idolatry, I beseech you?

R. P. The Egyptians, saith he, pretended some Colour for their Idolatry, as that an Ape, or a Cat, or a Wolf, &c. had some Participation of the Divinity; but those that bow down to a Wooden Table are themselves Stocks: with much more to that Purpose. Dial. p. 184.

P. D. Is such a Man to be endured in a Christian Commonwealth (not to say a Church, for Excommunication he regards not) who parallels the Adoration given only to the Divine Majesty (as our Church professeth) with the Worship of an Ape, or a Cat, or a Wolf, &c? Nay, he makes the Egyptian Idolatry more reasonable than our Worship of God. The only thing that can excuse him, is Rage and Madness; and therefore I leave him to his Keeper. But I pray tell me, was it mere Kindness to the Church of England, which made T. G. to produce all these Passages at full length out of the *Patronus bonæ Fidei*? Or out of pure Spite to Dr. St. by so often repeating the Passage of his being *delinitus & decæcatus*? And why in such a Place, where he pretends only to give an Account of Dr. St.'s vain and endless Discourses, doth he bring in this at large? Is it only for his Comfort to let him see, there is One Body at least in the World more foolish and impertinent than he? We have seen enough of what T. G. ought not to have done; let us now see what he saith Dr. St. ought to have done.

R. P. The first thing to be done in a Dispute, is to settle the State of the Controversy upon its true Grounds, by laying down the true Notion of the Matter in Debate; therefore Dr. St. ought in the first Place to have given us the true Notion of Idolatry in the Nature of the Thing; and then to have shewn that Notion to have agreed to the Honour and Veneration which the Church of Rome in her Councils declares may be given to the Images of Christ and the Saints: But he chose rather to dazzle the Eyes of the Reader with the false Lights of mere external Acts, the obscure Practice even of wiser Heathens, and the clashing of School-Divines. Dial. p. 193.

P. D. Now I hope we are come to something worthy of Consideration. I like the Method of proceeding very well. And I like Dr. St.'s Book the better, because I think he pursued the right Method, beginning first with the Nature of Idolatry and Divine Worship; and then coming to the first Particular of Image-Worship, which he hath handled with great Care and Exactness in respect of your Councils, as well as your Practices and School-Divines.

R. P. It is true, he proposed well at first, but like a Preacher that hath patched up a Sermon out of his Note-book, he names his Text and then takes his leave of it. For, what he was to speak to, was Idolatry in the Nature of the thing, independently of any positive Law; whereas he speaks only of an Idolatry forbidden by a positive Law; but if there be no Idolatry antecedent to a positive Prohibition, the Heathens could not be justly charged with Idolatry. Dial. p. 195, &c.

P. D. In my Mind, he did not recede from his Text at all, but pursued it closely; but you are uneasy at his Application, and therefore find

* Defence,
p. 191. p.
210.
† From p.
210. to p.
215.

find Fault with his *handling* his *Text*. What could a Man speak to more pertinently as to *Idolatry* in the *Nature* of the *thing*, than to consider, what that is, which is acknowledged to be *Idolatry* both in the *Heathens* and *Arians*; What that was, which the *Primitive Church* accounted *Idolatry* in them; What *Opinions* those have of *God*, whom the *Roman Church* do charge with *Idolatry*; Wherein the *Nature* of *Divine Worship* consists, not only with Respect to positive Commands, but the general Consent of Mankind; Did * he not expressly argue from the *Reason* and *Design* of *Solemn Religious Worship* abstractly from positive Laws? Did he not shew † from many *Testimonies*, that the *Heathens* did look on some peculiar Rites of *Divine Worship*, as so *Sacred* and *Inviolable*, that they chose rather to dye, than to give them to any but a *Divine Object*? It is true, after this, he enquires into the *Law of God*, and what *Acts* of *Worship* he had appropriated to himself; and was there not great *Reason* to do so? Are we unconcerned in the Laws *God* made for his *Worship*? In my Apprehension, this was the great thing *T. G.* had to do, to prove that *God's Law* about *Worship* was barely *Ceremonial*, and only respected the *Jews*; but that we are left to the *Liberties* of the *Law of Nature*, about *Religious Worship*: But he neither doth this, nor if he had done it, had he overthrown *Dr. St.'s Book*. For he proves in several Places, that the *Heathens* had the same Distinctions of *Sovereign* and *Inferior Worship*; *absolute* and *relative*, which are used in the *Roman Church*; and if these do excuse now, they would have excused them, who by Scripture and the Consent of the Christian Church are condemned for *Idolatry*. And judge you now, whether *Dr. St.* took leave of his *Text*, whether he did not speak to *Idolatry* in the *Nature* of the *thing*.

R. P. But he saith, *The Heathens could not understand the Nature and Sinfulness of Idolatry, if not from some Law of God; which is in Effect to clear the Heathens from Idolatry, till that Law was delivered to them; whereas S. Paul saith, They had a Law written in their Hearts, whereby they might understand it; and Dr. St. ought to have shewn wherein the Deordination and Sinfulness of Idolatry did consist antecedently to any positive Prohibition; and till this be done, he can make no Parallel between the Heathen Idolatry, and that of the Roman Church.*

P. D. I am glad to find any thing that looks like a Difficulty, which may give an Occasion of farther Thoughts about this weighty Matter, and of clearing the Doctor's Mind concerning it. Herein I shall endeavour to explain these Two Things. 1. How far *Dr. St.* doth make the *Nature* and *Sinfulness* of *Idolatry* to depend on the *Law of God*. 2. Wherein the *Sinfulness* of *Idolatry* doth consist abstractly from a positive Law.

1. How far he makes the *Sinfulness* of it to depend on a *positive Law*.

1. He supposes *Natural Religion* to dictate these things. 1. That *God* ought to be solemnly worshipped. 2. That this *Worship* ought to be peculiar to the *Divine Nature* in regard of his *Sovereignty* over us, and the infinite Distance between him and his *Creatures*. 3. That the giving this solemn *Worship* which is due to *God*, to any *Creature*, is the invading the *Rights* of his *Sovereignty*. Thence he shews from *Aquinas*, that *Worship* is not given to *God* because he needs it, but that the Belief of One *God* may hereby be confirmed in us by external and sensible Acts, which cannot be done unless there be some peculiar Acts of his *Worship*. And external *Worship* is a Profession of internal; Acts being expressive of our Minds, as well as Words. Thence he determines, that *Idolatry* is a Sin

Defence p.
194, 195,
196, 197.

Sin of the highest Nature, because it invades *God's Peculiar Rights*; and implies Blasphemy in it, because it takes away from God the Peculiarity of his Dominion. Are not these Arguments drawn from the *Nature of the thing*, and not merely from a *positive Law*?

2. Notwithstanding these Dictates of *Natural Reason* concerning the *Worship of God*; yet he supposes Mankind to have been so corrupted, as to have lost the Sense of the *Sinfulness* of giving *Divine Worship* to *Creatures*. Which, he saith, they did chiefly on a *Threefold Supposition*.

(1.) That *God* committed the *Government* of the World under him to some *Inferior Deities*. Or, (2.) That *God* was the *Soul of the World*, and therefore the *Worship* given to the Parts of it did redound to him. Or, (3.) That *External Adoration* was below him, and that the Service due to *God* was that of our Minds, and the other might be given to *Creatures*.

Page 113.

3. That *God* saw it necessary to revive the *Peculiarity* of his *Worship* by his *Law* given in the *Decalogue*; which although given to the *Jews*, was of an *Eternal* and *Immutable Nature*, being not built on any Reason peculiar to them, but common to all Mankind; and on this Account the *Christian Church* did look on the same *Law* as obliging all *Christians*; as the Doctor hath proved in several Places before-cited.

4. That when the *Apostles* went Abroad to reclaim the World from *Idolatry*, they made use of no other *Notion* of it, than what was received among the *Jews*; and by the *Reasons* on which the *Law of God* was founded, they convinced the World of that Sin of *Idolatry*, which by the Corruption of Mankind, and the Custom of the World, they had lost the Sense of. And this was plainly the meaning of *Dr. St.'s Words* to any unprejudic'd Mind, as appears by laying these things together; which are all contained in the same Discourse. If we say the *Gentiles* had lost the Sense of other Sins, as it is evident they had, and the *Apostles* made use of the *Law of God* to convince them; doth it hence follow, that the *Sinfulness* of those things did barely depend upon a positive Law? And therefore the *Notion of Idolatry* may be said to be *New*, not as tho' it were not against the *Principles of Natural Religion*, but because they had lost the Sense of them: So the *Law of Moses* was a *New Law*, tho' it revived the *Law of Nature* in its Moral Precepts; the *Doctrine of Christ* was a *New Doctrine* to the World, altho' most agreeable to the *Principles of Natural Reason*.

(2.) The *Sinfulness of Idolatry* according to *Natural Religion* consists in these things. (1.) In taking away the due Sense of the *Distance* between *God* and his *Creatures*: Which is a Violation of the *Rights* of his *Sovereignty*, and consequently it is *Crimen læsæ Majestatis Divinæ*, or *Treason* against the *Divine Majesty*. (2.) In neglecting to give *God* the *Worship* which was proper to him. And this was the consequent of *Idolatry*; and not as tho' the *Nature of Idolatry* did lie barely in not giving to *God* the *Worship due to him*, as *T. G.* seems to suggest: But when Men did accustom themselves to the *Worship of Idols*, they grew so fond of their own Inventions, that they had five *Ave Marias* for one *Pater Noster*; and so the *Worship of God* came to be almost lost in the Croud of *Deities* which they joined with him. (3.) In worshipping *bad Spirits*, instead of good ones; which craftily insinuated themselves among the *Idolaters* under the Pretence of *Inferior Deities*. For so the People still believed them to be *good Spirits*, and their learned Men defied all those who said they worshipped any other, as *Dr. St.* hath shewed; yet the *Christians* proved they

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205.

Defence,
p. 518.

they were evil, because they received that *Worship* from them, which the good ones would not do. (4.) In disparaging the *Divine Nature* by making *Images* to represent him, (which suggested mean Thoughts of God to their Minds, lessening the Apprehensions of the *Greatness* of his *Majesty*) and hoping to please God by worshipping such Representations of him. Which he thought so dishonourable to himself, that he forbids it by a severe Law, and punished the Transgressors of it; and from hence the Christian Church hath accounted the same thing *unlawful* to them, because so *dishonourable* to God. (5.) In taking away that *Dependance* upon God, which he expects from his *Creatures*. For when they suppose that God hath committed the *Care* of these things to any Inferior Beings, they are apt to make their Addresses to them more frequently because of a *Vicinity* of Nature to them; and to depend upon them for *Help* in time of need; which takes off that entire Trust in God which is most agreeable to his *Wisdom*, *Goodness* and *Providence*. (6.) In giving *Divine Worship* to vile and wicked Men instead of God. This was an *Aggravation* of *Idolatry*, and increased the *Sinfulness* of it; altho' the Nature of *Idolatry* doth not lie in giving *Divine Worship* to *bad Men*, but to any *Creatures*. And in this Particular lay the abominable *Sinfulness* of the *Poetical Idolatry* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which was in this Respect worse than of the most barbarous Nations we ever read of. (7.) The more vile the Practices, the more mean the Submissions, the more gross the Errors of *Idolaters* were, the greater was the *Sinfulness* of *Idolatry*. Hence the *filthy and obscene Actions* of the *Eastern*, *Greek* and *Roman Idolatries*; the *mean Submissions* and the *gross Errors* of the *Egyptian Idolatries* heightened the *Sinfulness* of them. These are the main things wherein the *Sinfulness* of *Idolatry* did consist, abstractly from any *positive Law*. You see how freely I give them to you upon such an Invitation, and much good may they do you. If Dr. St. had thought T. G. had desired any such thing from him, I do believe he would have added not only a *Seventh*, but an *Eighth Chapter* for his sake on such a Subject as this, which it is so easy to enlarge upon. But I stop for fear T. G. should think I am only Patching up a *Sermon* out of *Note-Books*; yet I think I have not taken leave of my *Text*.

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201.

R. P. Did you ever hear of the *speaking Trumpet*?

P. D. What hath the *speaking Trumpet* to do with *Idolatry*? I am afraid I waked you out of some pleasant Dream, you talk so far off from the Business. Now I think of it, I have found it by the *Train* of *Thoughts*, in Mr. *Hobbs* his way, *Text* led you to *Preaching*, and *Preaching* to the *speaking Trumpet*, because of the rare Invention of the *Virtuoso*, to have one *Parson* to preach to a *whole County*.

R. P. No, that is not it. T. G. brings it on the occasion of this Dispute.

P. D. Doth he truly? But how comes it in? As the Man brought in *Hercules* into his *Sermon* by *Head* and *Shoulders*?

R. P. T. G. is a Man of a great Reach; and therefore he may be allowed to bring in a thing, which another Man would never have thought of.

P. D. But I pray how?

R. P. You know the *Virtuoso* argued thus, If the *speaking Trumpet* might be made to carry the *Voice* a *League*, then *Eight Mile* about; if *Eight Mile*, then round a *whole County*; and then why not from one *Nation* to another, there being no *Stop* in *Art*?

P. D. This

P. D. This is very ridiculous ; but how doth T. G. apply it ?

R. P. To Dr. St.'s Argument against *Relative Worship* ; who saith that Dial. p. 101.
by virtue of what, Men may worship the Sun, the Stars, the Earth, or any other Creature.

P. D. And doth not the Argument hold ?

R. P. No ; T. G. saith, it is like the Virtuoso's arguing about the Speaking-Trumpet.

P. D. I pray tell how. In my mind T. G. rather imitates the Virtuoso's Swimming on the Table ; for he puffs and blows, and moves all the Joints of his Body, but he is on the Table still. The Difficulty remains just where it was ; and the Speaking-Trumpet takes away none of the Force of it. For the Parity of Reason holds in one Case, which it is ridiculous to imagine in the other.

R. P. T. G. saith, there is a Conformity between it, and the Extension of Worship to any Creature. For, he saith, there is a stop in Nature.

P. D. How and where ? For why may not I worship God in any Creature as well as by an Image ? Where are the Measures and Bounds fixed, that thus far we may go and no farther ? Why may we not worship Trees, and Fountains, Earth, and Water, and the whole Host of Heaven as well as an Image ? If we have due Apprehensions of God in our Minds as the Creator of them, and do not suffer our Worship to rest absolutely on the Creatures, but intend to carry it at last to God, and to fall only after an Inferior manner upon them. I cannot for my heart find out this stop in Nature. For the Reason of *Relative Worship* as to an Image, is bare Imagination, supposing that Person to be present who deserves Worship : But in the Worship of the Creatures, there is a Real Presence of the Divinity, and a certain Relation which the Creatures have to God ; why therefore may I not worship God in any of his Creatures, as well as by an Image ? And so the Ancient Idolatry of the World, which the Christian Religion rooted out, may by the Help of this Trick of *Relative Worship* be revived again.

R. P. You run too fast. For T. G. saith, the Creatures, ever since Sense prevailed against Reason, are become like Stumbling-blocks to the Souls of Men, and a Snare to the Feet of the Unwise, to allure and draw them to the worship of them. Dial. p. 204.

P. D. And do you think Images (but that they are set so high) have not more of the Nature of Stumbling-blocks in them : Are they such Immaterial and Insensible Things, when S. Augustine saith, Their very Fashion and Shape is apt to move Men more, and the Likeness to a Living Being prevails more on the Affections of miserable Men to worship them, than their Knowledge that they are not Living doth to the Contempt of them ; as Dr. St. observed. Defence, p. 529.

R. P. But T. G. adds, That those very Divines of the Church of Rome who do admit the Consequence in Speculation, and do not condemn the Practice of it in Philosophical and Contemplative Men, who consider the Creatures purely as the Works of God, and as it were behold him present in them ; do notwithstanding utterly condemn the common and promiscuous Use of it in the Vulgar, as exposing them to manifest danger of being seduced by the tempting Beauty and astonishing Power of the Creatures, to forget the Creator, and worship them.

P. D. What is become of the Speaking Trumpet now ? And of the Stop in Nature ? All the Danger, it seems, is in the Dulness and Stupidity of the People. And yet, if I mistake not, T. G. hath provided against this,

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when

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when he saith, *The Difference is so great between Vulgar Heathens and Christians, as to the Believing in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all Things Visible and Invisible.* If the common People have so firm and settled a Notion of this in their Minds, they may as easily pass from the Scale of Creatures to the Creator, as from an Image to what is represented by it. Is there so much Danger they should stop in the Creatures, and none at all they should stop in Images; when himself confesseth, *It is Idolatry to worship the Images themselves?* And since Dr. St. hath shewn from their own Divines, how many ways Idolatry may be committed in the Worship of Images. (1.) If proper Latria, or Divine Worship be given to an Image, it becomes an Idol. Nay Bellarmine saith, *That those who worshipped an Image of Christ with Divine Honours, altho' it were for the sake of Christ, and not of the Image, did commit Idolatry.* Therefore, he saith, *those were condemned for Hereticks, who gave Divine Worship to the Image of Christ.* If then the People happen to give Divine Worship to an Image, altho' they do not believe it to be so, yet this doth not excuse them from Idolatry: For, saith he, *altho' a Man pretend in Words, the Worship to be Relative, or for the sake of God, or Christ; yet it being Divine Worship, he doth really do it absolutely, and for themselves.*

Defence,
p. 698.

Defence,
p. 309.

(2.) When Images are worshipped as true Representations of the Divine Nature. (3.) When Images are worshipped for the sake of any Sanctity, Virtue, or Divinity abiding in them. But tell me now, whether common People are not in Danger of any of these Things, as much at least as of *Resting in the Creatures?* Is it not as easy for them to forget the Distinction of Absolute and Relative Worship; or to fancy God to be like the Images of him; or to imagine some Sanctity, Virtue, or Divinity to be inherent in the Images; as to stop at the Creatures, and to go no higher? Yea, more than this; have not the common People been charged with doing these Things by your own Divines? When they tell us of their *Madness in the Worship of Images*; and that there was little or no difference between their Worship and that of the Heathens? In some Places cited by Dr. St. Is it possible for any Man that observes what the common People do, to imagine that they place no Sanctity, Virtue, or Divinity in their Images? When they walk so many Miles Bare-foot to a certain Image of our Lady; when they creep upon their Bare Knees towards it; when they make Formal Supplications to the Images, with as much Ceremony as if the Persons they represent were present; when they look with so much Submission and Devotion towards them; when they come with such mighty Expectations of Relief and Help from them; when they tell Stories of so many Miracles which have been wrought by them; nay, when their learned Men, who should have more Wit or Honesty, write Books on purpose to heighten these Follies and Madneses of the People. Can you, with any Face say, *There is not so much danger in the Worship of Images, as in the Worship of the Creatures?* I did not expect, after what Dr. St. had represented in this Matter, T. G. should have given so wretched an Answer as this. For if this were all to keep Men from the Relative Worship of Creatures; I dare affirm, that most of the Fathers Arguments against this sort of Idolatry were very weak and feeble, and that they did not reach the Philosophical and Contemplative Men; but only the dull and stupid Vulgar; that there was nothing of Real Idolatry in their Worship of the Creatures, but only Danger to the common People, and Scandal to the Weak. Name me that Christian, who through all the Primitive Church ever let fall an Expression to this Purpose. It was Idolatry, down-
right

right Idolatry they charged them with in the *Worship of Creatures*, and not any meer scandalous Compliance with the ignorant *Vulgar*. If this had been all they meant, for all that I can see the *Work of the Apostles* and the *Primitive Christians* had been to have informed them only of the *True God* whom they were to worship in the *Creatures*; and if all the *People* were once thoroughly informed of this, all the *Ancient Rites of Worship* might have continued. They might have still *baked Cakes* to the *Queen of Heaven*, and worshipped the *whole Host of Heaven*; they might have continued their *Devotion* to the *Earth*, and *Fire*, and *Trees* and *Fountains*, if they did but direct their *Worship* through them to *God*. What mean all those *Sayings of Fathers*, all those *Canons of Councils*, wherein this very manner of *Worship* was condemned for *Idolatry*? as *Dr. St.* hath in part shewed. Speak out, *Gentlemen*, and let us know what you think of the *Primitive Church*, which so freely condemned this *Relative Worship*; but never imagine we will be guided by your *Modern Schools*, or the *Doctrine of your Church* in these things, against the *Consent of the whole Primitive Christian Church*; whose *Fathers* you must condemn as *Children*, and whose *Martyrs* you must look on as *Fools*, if your *Doctrine of Relative Worship* be allowed. For most of those who suffered *Martyrdom* might have escaped, if they had allowed these *Principles of Relative Worship*; no more being required of them, but to do as the rest did, to *burn a little Incense* in *Obedience* to the *Laws*, to make some customary *Libations* before the *Emperors Images*, to make the common *Supplications* at the *Temples of Vesta or Ceres*, or any other of the *Gods*, which the *Philosophers* understood of the several *Parts of the World*; and might they not have done all these things, and referred the *Worship ultimately* to the *True God*? I do not think this so trifling a Matter as *T. G.* makes it, but I think the *Honour of Christianity* and of the *Primitive Martyrs* deeply concerned in it; and I wish you not to maintain your *Fooleries* upon such *Principles* as reflect *Dishonour* upon *Christianity* it self.

Defence,
p. 400. &c.

R. P. Methinks the *Speaking Trumpet* hath roused you, and put you into a *Fit of furious Zeal*.

P. D. No Sir, I do assure you. It is the *Honour* I have for *Christianity* which hath made me speak thus warmly; for I am very unwilling to have the *Primitive Christians* to suffer as *Fools*, and as weak *Brethren*.

R. P. But *T. G.* saith from *Vossius*, That the *Gentiles* concluded *Nature* it self to be *God*, and the *Parts of it* also to be *Deities*, and that they forsook *God* and staid in the *Worship of Nature*.

Dial. p.
204.

P. D. Some Persons not *Inferior to Vossius* for *Learning* or *Judgment* in these Matters, do suppose it to be a great *Mistake* in him to make the *Gentiles* worship *Inanimate Nature* for a *True God*, which say they, is in plain *Terms* to make them *Atheists*: For then they must own nothing but meer *Matter* in the *World*. And to what purpose Men should worship an *Inanimate Senseless Being*, it is very hard to understand; it is therefore much more probable that they did own some *Inferior Deities* over the several *Parts of the World*, and one *Supreme* which passed through all; whom they did worship in and by his *Creatures*. But I am not now to give an *Account of the Pagan Idolatry*, of which we shall have occasion to discourse afterwards. That which I insist upon is, that those who had a right *Notion of God* might upon the *Principles of Relative Worship*, have justified themselves in doing the same things which the

Heathens did, provided their Intentions were directed aright; and consequently that there was no Necessity of taking away the *Heathen Rites* as *Idolatrous* in reference to the Parts of the World, but only of acquainting them more fully with the *Notion* of God, and the Nature of *Relative Worship*.

Dial. p.
206.

R. P. But T. G. still stands to it, That there is more Danger in worshipping the *Creatures*, than in the *Worship* of *Images*; because the *Creatures* are not so apparently representative of God, as an *Image* is of the Person represented by it, which carries the *Thoughts* presently and effectually to him. But the other needs a great deal of *Discourse* to discover the *Analogy* they bear to the *Creator*, and the *Dependence* they have of him for their very *Being*: yet so, that from the *Greatness* and *Beauty* of the *Creatures* the *Maker* of them may proportionably be seen.

Defence
p. 806.

P. D. To this Dr. St. gave a full Answer, when he said, that in an Object of *Worship*, we are not so much to consider the *Quickness* of *Representation*, as the *Perfections* represented. Although therefore an *Image* may carry ones Mind sooner to the thing represented, than the *Creatures*; yet the one is so infinite a *Disparagement* to the *Divine Nature* in Comparison of the other, that there is far greater Danger upon T. G.'s Principles in one than in the other. I will make this plain to you by this instance. Suppose the *Image* of a venerable Old Man with Pontifical Habits set up to represent *God Almighty*, as hath been usual in the *Church* of *Rome*; and one Man worships *God* by this; another, he looks upon the *Sun* as a wonderful *Work* of *God*, and he worships *God*, as manifesting himself in the *Sun*: The Question now is, Whether there be more Danger in worshipping *God* by an *Image*, or by the *Sun*? I say by an *Image*. For (1.) T. G. confesses, That *Images* are unlawful Objects of *Worship*, which are conceived to be proper *Likenesses* of the *Divinity*: Now I appeal to your self, whether Men are not more apt to take the *Image* of a Man for a *Likeness* of the *Divinity*, than any of *God's Creatures*? Besides (2.) *Images* do not represent any thing that deserves our *Worship*; but only *Lineaments* and *Figures*, the *Work* of *Painters* and *Carvers*; but the *Creatures* represent to our Minds infinite *Power*, *Wisdom* and *Goodness*, which are the greatest *Motives* of *Divine Worship*. For as Dr. St. hath said, the least *Work* of *Nature* infinitely exceeds the greatest of *Art* in *Curiosity*, *Beauty*, *Strength*, *Proportion* and every thing that can discover *Wisdom* and *Power*. (3.) The *Presence* of *God* in an *Image* is only by a *Fiction* of the *Mind*, a Man fancying the true Object of *Worship* to be really present; but in the *Creatures* there is a real *Divine Presence*: And where there is greater Reason for *Worship*, there is surely the less Danger. (4.) If the greater *Excellency* of the *Creature* make the Danger greater, then, as Dr. St. argued, where there is less *Excellency*, there is less Danger; and consequently there must be less Danger in worshipping the *Inanimate Creatures* than *Animate*, and *Brutes* than *Men*, and mere *Moral Men* than *Saints*; because the Danger must increase as the *Excellency* doth; And consequently the *Egyptians* were more excusable in their *Worship*, than you. And by this Reason there was less Danger in worshipping the *Tail* of the *Ass* our Saviour rode upon, than St. Peter, or his pretended Successor. (5.) There is less Danger of *Worship* where the *Representation* is more *divine* and *spiritual*, than where it is more gross and corporeal; but the *Representation* of *God* is much more *divine* and *spiritual* by his *Creatures* than by *Images*. And therefore, Cardinal Lugo said, If a *Wooden Image* may

Defence
p. 805.

may be worshipped for the sake of the Exemplar, much more such a lively Image of God as Man is. And thus upon this Principle of Relative Worship, all the several sorts of Idolatry, which were used among the Heathens, may be revived, and set up with as fair Pretences at least as Image-worship.

R. P. T. G. saith, If Dr. St. can discern God so easily in his Creatures, as a Man's Mind is carried from the Image to the Prototype, he believes he is one of the most admirable Persons in the Meletemiques in the whole World. Dial. p. 207.

P. D. What is this but trifling in weighty Matters? I would allow T. G. as much Scope for his Wit, as he would desire; provided it become the Gravity of the Subject. What is there in these Meletemiques, but what is the Duty of every good Man, to see God in his Works? Which all Persons do who are not Atheists: And is this a Thing to be exposed to Scorn and Derision?

R. P. But T. G. takes it for that Part of Mystical Theology which ineffences the Soul with God.

P. D. Alas for his Ignorance! that he cannot distinguish between Natural and Mystical Theology. I always took the seeing the great Evidences of God's Power, Wisdom and Goodness in his Creatures, to be Natural Theology: And is it not possible to discover God in his Works without ineffencing the Soul with God? This is too mean and low for T. G.; surely you father this upon him. For I can hardly believe this, and many other Passages you mention, to be written by him; or else T. G. hath helped me to another piece of Meletemiques; for I discover him much better in his Works than I did before; but with no great Advantage either as to his Wisdom or Goodness.

R. P. You may satisfy your self, if you please, that I do not wrong him; for here's the Book; and in the next Page he compares Dr. St. with one who said, Christ might be better represented by a Cow than a Crucifix; and another who said, he detested the Image of Christ Crucified.

P. D. For what good End was Dr. St. joined with these? (supposing the Stories true, which I hardly believe) hath he ever said any such thing? or that tended that way? It is the Worship he writes against, and not the bare Representation of Christ Crucified. T. G. was not to seek for Dr. St.'s Mind in this Matter, for these are his Words. I do not say there is as great Incongruity in representing the Human Nature of Christ, as there was in representing the Infinite Nature of God; but I say there is as great Incongruity still in supposing an Image, of whatsoever it be, can be the proper Object of Divine Worship. For the Humanity of Christ is only capable of receiving Adoration from us, as it is hypostatically united to the Divine Nature; and if the Human Nature of Christ be not, what then is the Image of it? What Union is there between the Divine Nature and a Crucifix? All that can be said is, that Imagination supplies the Union, and Christ is supposed to be present by Representation. But (1.) this overthrows all Measures and Bounds of Worship, and makes it lawful to worship any Creature with respect to God. (2.) It contradicts the Argument of S. Paul, for then God may be worshipped with the Work of Men's Hands. (3.) 'Tis contrary to the Sense and Practice of the Primitive Church, which interpreted the Second Commandment to hold against all Images set up for Worship, as well those proper to Christians, as other among Jews or Gentiles. Why did not T. G. rather answer these Arguments, than make odious Comparisons of him, with Viret and Beza? But there is a Reason for all things, if a Man can hit on it. R. P. Defence p. 746.

R. P. But T. G. wonders Dr. St. should discover God so easily in his Creatures, while he saith elsewhere, the Creatures can give no greater than Moral Certainty of the Being of God himself.

Rat. Acc. P. 178, 179 P. D. It was well thought upon, and deserves an Answer; because T. G. is not the only Person who hath cavilled at this. If Dr. St. by Moral Certainty doth mean only a bare Probability, there were some Colour for the Objection; but in the very Place to which T. G. refers, he asserts the highest Degree of Actual Certainty: And that which he calls Moral Certainty, he saith is a firm, rational, and undoubted Certainty. Why then may not Dr. St. discover God in his Creatures, since he asserts so great an Assurance of God's being their Creator?

R. P. But why then doth he call it Moral Certainty?

P. D. It is mere cavilling, when a Man's Mind is understood, to be quarrelling at his Terms; especially if they be such, as others have used before him, and seem most agreeable to the Nature of the Evidence. For we may conceive these several sorts of Certainty.

Arist. Anal. Post. I. 1. c. 11. n. 5, 6, 7. Metaph. I. 1. c. 13. I. 13. c. 1. Philop. in Analyt. I. 1. p. 27. * Metaph. I. 4. c. 6. Themist. in Analyt. Post. I. 1. 1. A Certainty of Principles: Which is that, I suppose, they call Metaphysical Certainty. For that was the proper Office of Metaphysics, to establish certain General Principles, which might be of Use to all other Sciences: Such as those, that both Parts of a Contradiction cannot be true of the same thing: and that, of every thing, either the one, or the other part of a Contradiction is true. These are such Principles, * of which Aristotle saith, It is folly in any Man to go about to demonstrate them, any otherwise than by shewing the absurdity of him that denieth them. They are such, Themistius saith, which every Man hath by Nature, and without which he cannot be supposed to learn any thing; and these are called self-evident and indemonstrable Principles, and Actions which need no more than the bare representation of them to the Mind; as that the whole is greater than a part; If you take away equal things from equal, the remainder is equal: For whatever depends upon Induction, or needs any Medium to prove it, more than the bare Perception of Terms, was never by any Philosopher accounted an indemonstrable and self-evident Principle. Much less were Identical Propositions taken for First Principles, by any Man that ever understood what Principles were; as it were very easie to prove, if there were occasion for it. I have but two things to add concerning this kind of Certainty.

1. That the Certainty of our own Beings, is equal to this Certainty of Principles; it being a thing of Natural and Immediate Evidence: For the very doubting, as well as thinking, proves the Certainty of the Being of that which doubts. And where there is such evident Perception as of First Principles, and our own Beings, the Assent is as necessary, as for the Balance to incline where the greatest Weight lies.

Du Homel de mente hum. I. 2. c. 7. n. 4. 2. That Self-evident Principles have very little influence upon our Knowledge of other Things: And therefore a late Philosopher observes, that even that Fundamental Principle, that it is impossible the same thing should be, and not be at the same time, is of little or no Use for finding out of Truth. And supposing the First Principle of the Certainty of our own Beings to be granted the Cartesians (which no Man, who Thinks, can deny them) yet I do not see how the truth of other Things conveyed by our Senses, can be drawn from thence; the one being an absolute Certainty, the other only depending on a Supposition, which carries not equal Evidence along with it; which is the next kind.

2. A Certainty by Sense, or upon Supposition, that we are so framed, as not to be deceived in the most plain and clear Perceptions of Sense. This is that, I suppose, they mean by *Physical Certainty*. It implies no Contradiction we should be so deceived, and consequently it is short of the first kind of Certainty. But withal the Supposition is so just and reasonable, that such a Man's Understanding may be justly questioned, who questions the plain Evidence of Sense as to Light, and Day, and Bodies, &c. and all Mankind, in spite of their most subtle Arguments, do trust their Senses. And *Epictetus* well said, *That if he, and two or three more, were Servants to a Sceptick, they would make him hang or starve himself, if he did not change his Opinion.* And *Galen* saith, *The Evidence of Sense needs no Demonstration; for all those things which are evident to Sense, are to be believed for themselves.*

Arrian.
l. 2. c. 10.

Galen. de
Hippocr.
& Plat. de
cret. l. 2.

3. A Certainty by Reason, or of deducing something not known, from that which is known. Which is so evident in *Mathematical Demonstrations*, that no Man who understands the Terms, and attends to the Proof, can forbear his assent. *Aristotle* did attempt to bring the way of Reasoning in other things to *Mathematical Certainty*; which was the great Design of his *Logick*. To this end he begins with the Explication of *Simple Terms*, and so he proceeds to *Propositions*, and then to the joyning of two of these so together, that from thence a *third thing* may follow, by vertue of some *middle Term* wherein they agree. But because the Conclusion may not necessarily follow, where the manner of Reasoning was true, therefore in order to *Demonstration*, he supposes *Two sorts of Principles*. 1. *Axioms*, or *Common Principles*, received by all that understand them. 2. *Positions*; which are Twofold: 1. *Suppositions*, or *Postulata*. 2. *Definitions*. But after all, he grants that only such things are capable of *Demonstration*, which have a certain and immutable Cause. And he puts a difference between a *Necessary Conclusion*, and a *Demonstration*: The one depending on the *Form of Syllogism*, the other upon the *Necessity of the Cause*. But in *Demonstrative Syllogisms*, *Aristotle* doth not require some degree of Necessity but the highest, when the Connexion between the Subject and Predicate is so great, that one cannot be defined without the other; so that *Logical Demonstration* must be of an inseparable Property, and by the most immediate and necessary Cause. But very few things in the World are capable of such *Demonstrations*, by reason of our Ignorance of the Essential Properties, and immediate Causes of things; and those Instances which are brought either by *Aristotle* or his *Commentators*, are about such things where *Demonstration* was least needful, and tend very little to the Improvement of our Knowledge.

4. A Certainty which supposes some *Moral Principles*, and proceeds upon them. Such as these, *That every Intelligent Being Acts for some End; That it is not the Interest of Mankind to deceive one another; That there are some things fit to be chosen, and others to be avoided; That Circumstances vary the Nature of Actions; That where Comparisons are made, the greatest good and the least evil are to be chosen.* Such as these, I call *Moral Principles*; which have *Self-Evidence* in them to any Man that understands the Terms. And whatever doth necessarily follow from these Principles, may be justly called a *Moral Demonstration*.

5. A Certainty which supposes an *immediate Divine Assistance*, to preserve the Mind from Error, and this is *Infallible Certainty*. For the
Mind

Mind of Man being of it self liable to mistake in its Apprehension and Judgment of Things, nothing can preserve it from a Possibility of Error, but immediate Assistance from God, who cannot be deceived, and will not deceive.

These things being premised, we are now to enquire what kind of *Certainty* that is, which we have concerning the *Principles of Religion*.

Rat. Acc.
p. 178,
206.

• 1. For the *Principles of Natural Religion*. You are to consider what kind of Adversary Dr. St. had to deal with, viz. One who pleaded for an *Infallible Certainty*, as that *Infallibility* doth imply *Divine Assistance*, as necessary in order to an Obligation to Assent. Against this Dr. St. objects, That the main Foundations of all Religion, which are the Being of God, and Immortality of the Soul, were not capable of this kind of Proof: Because this very Notion of *Infallibility* doth suppose that which he would prove, viz. That there is a God who must give this Assistance. But at the same time he yields, that we have as great Evidence and Certainty, as Human Nature is capable of, of such a Being as God is, from the Consideration of his Works; which being neither from Mathematical Demonstrations, nor Supernatural Infallibility, he called *Moral Certainty*. Which he might do from these Grounds.

1. Because the force of the Argument from the Creatures depends upon some *Moral Principles*. Viz. From the Suitableness and Fitness of things to the Wisdom of an intelligent and infinite Agent, who might from thence be inferred to be the Maker of them. It being unconceivable that mere Matter should ever produce things in so much Beauty, Order and Usefulness as we see in every Creature; in an Ant or a Fly as much as in the vast Bodies of the Heavens.

2. Because they do suppose some *Moral Dispositions* in the Persons, who do most readily and firmly assent to these Truths. For although Men make use of the highest Titles for their Arguments, and call them *Infallible Proofs*, *Mathematical Demonstrations*, or what they please; yet we still see Men of bad Minds will find something to cavil at, whereby to suspend their Assent; which they do not in mere *Metaphysical Notions*, or in *Mathematical Demonstrations*. But virtuous and unprejudiced Minds do more impartially judge, and therefore more readily give their Assent, having no Byas to incline them another way. Although therefore the Principles be of another Nature, and the Arguments be drawn from *Idea's*, or *Series of Causes*, or whatever medium it be, yet since the Perverseness of Men's Will may hinder the force of the Argument, as to themselves, the *Certainty* might be called *Moral Certainty*.

2. As to the *Christian Faith*. So he grants,

1. That there are some Principles relating to it, which have *Metaphysical Certainty* in them; as, that *Whatever God reveals is impossible to be false*, or as it is commonly expressed, though improperly, is *infallibly True*.

2. That there is a *Rational Certainty*, that a *Doctrine* confirmed by such Miracles, as were wrought by Christ and his Apostles, must come from God: That being the most certain *Criterion* of Divine Revelation.

3. That there was a *Physical Certainty* of the Truth of Christ's Miracles and Resurrection from the dead, in the Apostles who were *Eye-witnesses* of them.

4. That there was an *Infallible Certainty* in the Apostles delivering this Doctrine to the World, and writing it for the Benefit of the Church in all Ages.

5. That

5. That we have a *Moral Certainty* of the *Matters of Fact*, which do concern the *Doctrine*, the *Miracles*, and the *Books of Scripture*: Which is of the same kind with the Certainty those had of *Christ's Doctrine* and *Miracles*, who lived in *Mesopotamia* at that time; which must depend upon the *Credibility* of the *Witnesses* who convey these things, which is a *Moral Consideration*; and therefore the *Certainty* which is taken from it may be properly called *Moral Certainty*. Of which there being many Degrees, the highest is here understood, which any Matter of Fact is capable of.

And now I pray tell me, what Reason hath there been for all this Noise about *Moral Certainty*?

R. P. T. G. owns, That the Dr. in other Places doth acknowledge a true Certainty of the Principles of Religion; but, saith he, he can say and unsay without Retracting, with as much Art and Ease as any Man he ever read. Dial. p. 109.

P. D. I had thought Unsayings had been Retracting. But Dr. St. saith as much in those very Places T. G. objects against, as in those he allows. Only T. G. delights in Cavilling above most Authors I have ever read.

R. P. But doth not Dr. St. allow a Possibility of Falshood, notwithstanding all this Pretence of Certainty? P. 110.

P. D. Whatever is true, is impossible to be false; and the same Degree of Evidence any one hath of the Truth of a Thing, he hath of the Impossibility of the Falshood of it: Therefore he that hath an undoubted Certainty of the Truth of Christianity, hath the same Certainty that it is impossible it should be false. And because Possibility and Impossibility are capable of the same Distinctions, that Certainty is; therefore according to the Nature and Degrees of Certainty, is the Possibility or Impossibility of Falshood. That which is *Metaphysically* certain is so impossible to be false, that it implies a Contradiction to be otherwise: But it is not so in *Physical Certainty*, nor in all *Rational Certainty*, nor in *Moral*: And yet, wherever any Man is certain of the Truth of a thing, he is proportionably certain, that it is impossible to be false.

R. P. This only relates to the Person, and not to the Evidence: Is there any such Evidence of the Existence of a Deity, as can infallibly convince it to be absolutely true, and so impossible to be false?

P. D. I do not doubt, but that there are such Evidences of the Being of God, as do prove it to any unprejudic'd Mind impossible to be otherwise. And T. G. had no Reason to doubt of this, from any thing Dr. St. had said, who had endeavoured so early to prove the Being of God, and the Principles of Christian Faith; before he set himself to consider the Controversies which have happened in the Christian Church. T. G. therefore might well have spared these Reflections, in a Debate of so different a Nature; but that he was glad of an Opportunity to go off from the Business, as Men are, that know they are not like to bring it to a good Issue. Origines Sacrae, l. 2. & 3.

R. P. T. G. confesseth this is a Digression; but he promises to return to the Matter; and so he does I assure you, for he comes to the Second Thing, which, he saith, the Dr. ought to have done, viz. to have shewed how the Notion of Idolatry doth agree to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome in her Councils. Dial. p. 113.

P. D. It is a wonder to me, you should think him defective in this, when he shews that there are Two things from whence the Sense of the *Roman Church* is to be taken: 1. From the *Definitions of Councils*. 2. From the *Practice of the Church*.

* Defence,
from p.
575. to
605.

1. From the *Definitions of Councils*. And here * he entred upon the Consideration of what that *Worship* was, which was required to be given to Images: And shewed from the Words of the *Council*, and from the Testimony of the most eminent Divines of the *Roman Church*, that it was not enough to worship before Images, and to have an *Intention* to perform those *External Acts*; but there must be an *Inward Intention* to worship the Images themselves; and that the contrary Doctrine was esteemed little better than downright Heresy.

2. From the *Practice of the Church*. For he shews many of your best Divines went upon this Principle, that *God would not suffer his Church to err*; and therefore they thought the allowed *Practice of the Church* sufficient for them to defend those things to be lawful which they saw generally practised. And from hence he makes it appear, that the *Church of Rome* hath gone beyond the *Council of Nice* in Two things.

* Defence,
from p.
556. to p.
575.

1. In making and worshipping Images of God and the *Blessed Trinity*, which was * esteemed *Madness and Pagan Idolatry* in the time of the *Second Council of Nice*; and is justified by the Modern Divines of the *Church of Rome* from the general *Practice of their Church*.

† Defence,
from p.
606, to p.
639.

2. In giving the *Worship of Latria* to Images; † which was condemned by the *Council of Nice*; and notwithstanding is defended by Multitudes of Divines in the *Roman Church*, from the allowed *Practice in the Worship of the Cross*; both before and after the *Council of Trent*.

* Defence,
from p.
639. to p.
699.

After which he enquires at large into the *Publick Offices*, and commended *Devotions* of that *Church* in respect to Images, and from thence he * proves, that 1. As to *Consecration of Images for Worship*. 2. As to the *Rites of Supplication* to them. 3. As to pompous *Procession* with them, the *Modern Church of Rome* doth not fall short of the *Practice of Pagan Rome*.

And do you think all this is not applying the *Notion of Idolatry* home to the *Roman Church*? When, 1. He shews by the Principles of the *Second Council of Nice*, the *Modern Practices of the Church of Rome* are chargeable with *Idolatry*. 2. That the *Practices* agreeable with that *Council* were charged with *Idolatry* by the *Western Church* in the *Council of Frankford*, not from any Mistake of their Meaning, but because they looked on the *Worship* then decreed to be proper Adoration.

Dial. p.
214.

R. P. But T. G. saith, If the *Worship* defined by the *Council of Nice* were *Inferior Worship*, and not *Latria*, as Dr. St. confesseth, then nothing can be clearer than that it was not the *Worship due to God*; and consequently the *Church of Rome* cannot be chargeable with *Idolatry* from any thing contained in that Decree.

P. D. Will T. G. never understand the Difference between the *Intention of the Person* and the *Nature of the Act*? They might declare it to be only *Inferior Worship*, but the *Council of Frankford* took it to be proper Adoration which was due only to God. And if that *Council's Judgment* must stand, all those in the *Church of Rome* who give *Latria* to the *Cross*, must be guilty of *Idolatry*.

Dial. p.
215, &c.

R. P. Doth not the *Church of England* allow *Bowing to the Altar*, which if the *Altar* had any Sense would think were done to it; as T. G. saith, he was certainly informed of a *Country-Fellow*, who being got near the *Altar* in his

his Majesty's Chapel, thought all the Congies had been made to him, and so returned Congy for Congy. And if Bowing may be used out of Religious Respect to the Altar, why not Kneeling, or Prostration, or Fixing our Eyes in time of Prayer, or Burning Incense or Lights, before the Images of Christ and his Saints: But how can Dr. St. purge the Church of England from Idolatry in that Practice, when he saith, that any Image being made so far the Object of Divine Worship, that Men do bow down before it; (and he supposes the same will hold for any other Creature) it doth thereby become an Idol, and on that Account is forbidden in the Second Commandment?

P. D. What would T. G. have done, had it not been for this Practice of Bowing towards the Altar? When yet he cannot but know that the Practice of it is not enjoined by our Church, for the Canon leaves it at Liberty: If the Church of Rome did the same about the Worship of Images, the Parallel would hold somewhat better. But the Church of Rome declares Religious Worship is to be given to Images, and our Church declares that none is to be given to the Altar; and doth not this make an apparent Difference? If the Country-Fellow standing without the Rails fancied the Congies made to himself; what would he have done, if he had stood within an Image of our Lady, and seen all the Courtship that had been used towards her by some of her devoted Servants and Slaves; when he beheld the bare Knees bleeding, the Tears trickling, the Breast knocking, the Eyes scarce lifted up, to shew the greater Reverence and Humility towards the Image, what could he have thought, but that he was shut up within the Bowels of the Goddess they worshipped? Whereas if the Country-Fellow had gone up into the Court, and seen the Ancient Servants make their Reverences after Dinner in the Presence-Chamber, he would soon have been better informed; if some of the old Courtiers had told him it was the Ancient Custom of the Court to make their Reverences in all Chambers of Presence; and from thence when they went into his Majesty's Chapel, they used the same Custom out of Reverence to God Almighty, whose Presence-Chamber they accounted the Chapel to be. What is all this to giving Religious Worship to the Altar? Wherein the Force of all T. G. saith must lie.

R. P. But you do bow before the Altar, as we do before Images.

P. D. I utterly deny that. For your Church declares Bowing before Images, without an Intention to worship the Images, is next to Heresy, (if we are to take the Sense of your Councils from their own Words, and the Explication of Divines;) You explode their Doctrine, who say, that we are only to worship God before them. And is there no Difference between the Acts of these Two Men as to Images themselves? The one declares that he looks on no Religious Worship as due to an Image, but it serves him only to put him in mind of him who is the proper Object of Worship; and he never intends by any Act of his to worship the Image it self: Another saith, the Church requires Images to be worshipped, and for my part I think my self bound to do what the Church requires; and therefore it is my Intention to give Worship not barely to the Object represented, but to the very Image it self, although it be on the Account of its Representation. And the latter Dr. St. hath shewed to be the only allowed Sense in the Church of Rome; and the other rejected either as Heretical, or next to it. Which T. G. never so much as once takes notice of. But however this doth not reach our Case; for we believe the Second Commandment to be still in force, which is express and positive against all Worship of Images, and Bowing down to them, but that which

was lawful among the Jews; notwithstanding, that Precept, viz. to worship God towards the *Mercy Seat*, is still lawful among Christians, viz. to worship God alone, but towards the *Altar*. And thus I hope T. G. will at last be brought a little better to understand the Sense of our Church in this Practice, and how far it is from being a Parallel with your *Worship of Images*.

Dial from
p. 218. to
p. 227.

R. P. T. G. finds great fault with Dr. St.'s Citation out of Card. Lugo, about Submission to Images, because he left out *aliquis*, and *potest dici*; and I tell you, he makes a huge Outcry about it, and fills up several Pages with it.

P. D. Doth he truly? It was a great Sign he wanted Matter to fill up his Book. But I pray on what occasion was this Passage brought in? It may be that will give us some Light into this Matter.

Defence,
p. 599.

R. P. T. G. refers to the Page, but he never mentions the Occasion. It is such a Page.

P. 575.

P. D. Let us see what Dr. St. was proving in that Place. It was, that by the Council of Nice as it is explain'd by the Divines of the Roman Church, True and Real Worship is to be given to Images; and for this he produces the several Testimonies of Suarez, Medina, Victoria, Catharinus, Naclantus, Bellarmine, Soto, Velosillus, Pujol, Tannerus, Tsambertus, Bassens, Sylvius, Arriaga, and at last Card. Lugo. If the thing be not proved which he designed, why is Card. Lugo alone produced? If it be proved, why is Card. Lugo produced at all?

R. P. Because he left out *aliquis* and *dici potest*.

P. D. But suppose the other be sufficient to express his Concurrence with the rest, what Unfairness is there in that, to shorten his Words, when he lays no Weight upon the Manner, but upon the Thing? Had Dr. St. charged Lugo with holding greater Submission than the rest, and then left out the qualifying Expressions, he had done him Injury. But he knew Lugo meant no more than the rest, and produced him for no other Purpose. If there be but any Inward Affection carried to the Image, which may be called a certain kind of Submission to the Image, it is all one to Dr. St.'s Purpose; which was only to prove, as he saith, in the same Page, from the Acts of the Council, and the Judgment of their learned and eminent Divines, That by the Decree of the Nicene Council, such True and Real Worship is to be given to Images as is terminated upon the Images themselves. Did these Testimonies prove this, or did they not? If they did not, why did not T. G. discover them all: if they did, why doth he so vainly cavil about something impertinent to the main Business, in the very last of all? So that, after all this Cry, there is very little Wool, unless it be that which is made of Goat's Hair.

R. P. But this tends to breed an Impression in the Reader, that the Inward Affection Card. Lugo required, was of giving Submission to an Image as Superior; because in another Place he quotes the same Author for making Cultus to signify Reverence towards Superiors.

P. D. But doth not the Cardinal say so?

R. P. T. G. saith nothing to the contrary, which I am sure he would have done, if he had not.

P. D. Well then; Lugo makes worship to be a Reverence towards Superiors; but he saith, that true Worship is due to Images. And is not this making the Image Superior?

R. P. I thought where I should have you; but T. G. hath explain'd Lugo's meaning from himself.

P. D.

P. D. Let me hear it as T. G. that candid and ingenious Dealer, hath it.

R. P. He saith, *When we worship an Image, the inward Affection is not carried to the Image, after the same manner it is to the Prototype; for we worship the Prototype absolutely, i. e. for its own proper Excellency; but the Image only with a relative Worship, i. e. for the Excellency not of the Image it self, but of the Prototype; which kind of Worship he affirms to be far inferior to the other, which is absolute.*

2. *We have not the same inward Submission towards the Image, which we have towards the Prototype; for we submit our selves to the Prototype, acknowledging it to be more excellent than our selves, and superior to us; which kind of Submission we cannot prudently conceive to belong to an Image; nor indeed any at all, by which we submit our selves to it, preferring it before us.*

3. *The sole external Act of kissing or bowing, is not so carried to the Image, but that some inward Affection also goes along with it, which he saith, may be called also some kind of Affection of Submission; by which he means an Affection of submitting our selves to the Image; for as much as the Act of Will from which it proceeds, is an Affection of performing those Acts about their Images, which we are wont to exercise towards our Superiors.*

P. D. Now, I hope, we have the Cardinal's true Meaning. From whence I desire you to observe.

1. That the Difference he puts between the *Worship of the Image* and the *Prototype*, lies in the *inward Estimation of the Excellency* of the one above the other; which is as much as to say, that he doth really think there is more Excellency in *Christ himself*, than in a *Crucifix*. Which deserves a special Remark; especially being made by a *Cardinal*. When one might venture to say, that there is scarce an *Idolater* so sottish in the World, but will acknowledge his *Deity* to be much better than the *Image* of him; and that he worships one for his own Excellency, and the other only out of Respect to him.

2. He acknowledges, that all those Acts whereby we express Reverence towards Superiors, may be used towards Images, as *Bowing, Kneeling, Prostration, &c.*

3. That there is some kind of *inward Affection*, which may be called a certain kind of *Affection of Submission*, going along with these external Acts. And doth not all this amount to true and real *Worship*? Which was the thing Dr. St. designed to prove. For here, without exception, all those Acts whereby our Reverence towards Superiors is expressed, may be used to Images; i. e. all tokens of *Submission* to them, and an *inward Affection of some kind*, which may be called *Affection of Submission*. By which we find it yielded to us, that all external Acts of *Adoration* may be given to Images, provided, that the *inward Affection* be carried after a different Manner to the *Prototype*, and to the *Image*; which no *Idolater* in the World, if *Maimonides* may be believed, would ever deny: If they believed any other Gods besides their *Idols*, as he saith, *there were none but did*. So that Card. Lugo, upon fair Ground, gives up all *Peculiarity* of any *External Acts of Divine Worship*; and for all that I can see, may sacrifice to an *Image*, or offer up the *Host* to it, on the same Reasons that they make their *Prostrations* before it. And he understood the Consequence of his own Doctrine so well, that he doth not seem to boggle at it on the Account of *Adoration*. But as long as T. G. yields, that Cardinal Lugo doth allow all external Acts of *Submission to Images*, and such an *inward Affection* as to make that *Submission sincere and real*, Dr. St. hath all which his Heart could desire from this Testimony of Lugo.

R. P.

R. P. But this amounts to no more, T. G. faith from him, but that the Prototype deserves to be treated honourably, not only in it self, but in all things which have Connexion with it, as an Image or the like.

P. D. That is, God may be worshipped in any Creature; and any Act of Adoration may be performed towards it, if it have a respect to him; whether by a real or imaginary Presence. Which takes away the Distinction of Divine Worship, as it is applied to outward Acts, and all necessary Discrimination between the Worship we give to God, and to his Creatures: And if this be for the Honour of his Sovereignty and Dominion over us, let the World judge.

Dial. p.
228.

R. P. After all this, T. G. faith, That Dr. St. agrees with Cardinal Lugo in the thing, although he quarrels with him about the Words.

P. D. That is News indeed. How doth T. G. make that out?

Defencep.
600, 601.

R. P. Because he saith from Aquinas, That although no irrational or inanimate Being be capable of that real Excellency to deserve any Honour from for its own sake; yet on the Account of a Relation to Divine Things they deserve a different Regard and Usage from other things.

P. D. This is true; but he immediately distinguishes, from St. Augustin, between the Peculiarity of Use belonging to the Sacred Utensils, and the Worship given to Images.

Dial. p.
229, 230,
231.

R. P. That is no Matter how he distinguishes, as long as the Consequence holds from one to the other. For if a religious Respect be due to Sacred Places and Things on the Account of their Relation to God, and an inward Intention of the Mind to express it towards them by an outward Token of Submission, as bowing to the Altar, it comes to the same thing which Cardinal Lugo pleads for to an Image, so that if one be Idolatry, the other must be so too. So that T. G. concludes very triumphantly, That by these Edge-tools, viz. School-distinctions, Dr. St. hath cut the Throat of his own Cause. And then he brings in the Patronus bonæ Fidei again.

P. D. Methinks another writing of the same worthy Author had been much more proper, called Jugulum Causæ. But is it possible for T. G. not to apprehend the Difference of these things? I will once more endeavour to make it plain to you. The Reverence to Sacred Places and Things, differs from the Relative Worship of Images in these things.

Defence,
p. 603.

1. In the Acts belonging to them. For this I need only to repeat Dr. St.'s Words. "Is there no Difference between a Religious Respect (if I may so call it) to sacred Places and Things, and all the most solemn Acts of Adoration, which were ever given to Images by the most foolish Idolaters? Such as Kneelings before them, Prostrations, Praying with their Eyes fixed upon them, as though they were speaking to them, Burning Incense and Lights before them, which are as great Testimonies of Worship as ever were used by the greatest and most foolish Idolaters. And here Cardinal Lugo allows all External Acts of Submission to Images; whereas in the other Case Discrimination is all that is contended for, out of Reverence to them. As for Bowing towards the Altar, it hath been so often answered before, that I shall not repeat.

2. In the Reason of Worship. For if the Reason assigned for the Worship of Images be peculiar to them, then it cannot hold for all Sacred Things and Places. Now the Reason of the Worship of Images is Representation of the Prototype, as present to the Fancy of him that worships; but this cannot hold for the Sacred Utensils and Places, which have their Honour for the sake of the Use they are dedicated to. Thus if Images in Churches were appointed only for Use, without any Worship to be given

ven to them, it would come much nearer to a Parallel, than they can do now, when they are consecrated and set up on Purpose for Adoration; as they are continually in the Roman Church.

3. In the Distinction the Law of God makes between them. For when it most severely prohibits the Worship of Images, it not only allows, but commands the reverencing God's Sanctuary; and the consecrating Sacred Vessels for the Use of the Temple. So that where the Law distinguisheth, we have Reason to do it too: And so the Christian Church did, when it looked on the Worship of Images as unlawful; yet they did shew Respect and Honour to Sacred Things and Places: And Honour is all they are capable of, as St. Augustine saith, but no Worship doth belong to them. So that these Edge-Tools do no Execution at all, but upon T. G.'s Images; which could never have been framed without them, and yet are destroyed by them.

R. P. You think to escape about the Doctor's unfaithful reporting the Sense of Authors, with this One Testimony of Cardinal Lugo; but you are deceived, I have another ready for you of Gregory Nyssen.

P. D. Another! I expected Hundreds upon T. G.'s Outcries. When he saith, the Citations are many and long, and out of Authors of all Nations, and all Ages, and all Religions. What! but another? Dial. p. 226.

R. P. You would have T. G. write an Answer as big as Fox's Acts and Monuments; but you are deceived, he is wiser than so. For he hath a particular Aversion to a great Book upon one Subject. If he can discover Four or Five Citations faulty, that will take away the Reputation of all the rest.

P. D. A very short way, I confess. Methinks One or Two may serve; and save Candle and Firing, and Waste-Paper. Nay one single Testimony may do it, with an end of an old Latin Verse tacked to it, *Crimine ab uno*—especially such a one as this of Cardinal Lugo. But, however let us hear that of Gregory Nyssen.

R. P. It is about the Arians being charged with Idolatry: Which is brought in with a great deal of Pomp among other Testimonies, to shew that the Arians were charged with Idolatry for the Worship they gave to Christ, whom they acknowledged to be a Creature, from thence to Parallel their Worship with that of the Church of Rome to the Saints. Dial. p. 234.

P. D. I am glad to hear but one of those Testimonies challenged; for if that be given up, there are enough remaining to prove his Design: Which you mightily mistake, if you think it was only to parallel your Worship of Saints with the Arians Idolatry. For this is never so much as mentioned by Dr. St.; but he names several considerable Advantages which are gained by it in this Subject of Idolatry.

1. That there may be Idolatry where the true God is owned, and worshipped, as he was no doubt among the Arians; from whence it follows, that the Nature of Idolatry doth not consist in giving Sovereign Worship to a Creature, without respect to the Creator. Which will be of Use to us in the Debate about the Pagan Idolatry.

2. That Relative Latria being given to a Creature is Idolatry; for notwithstanding they looked on Christ as the express Image of God, yet because they gave Divine Worship to him, supposing him to be a Creature, they were charged with Idolatry.

3. That making God the Fountain and Original of those Excellencies for which any Creature is worshipped, doth not excuse from Idolatry. For the Arians were guilty who supposed all the Excellencies of Christ to be derived from God.

4. That

4. That no Distinction of *Doulia* and *Latria*, doth excuse from *Idolatry*; For the *Fathers* make the giving *Doulia* to *Christ* to be *Idolatry*.

5. That the *Notion* of an *Idol* is so far from being a meer imaginary *Figure* or *Chimera*, that it was attributed by the *Fathers* to the most excellent *Being*, even to *Christ* himself, when *Divine Worship* was given to him as a *Creature*.

These are Matters of great Moment, if they hold good. Doth he pass all these by, only to fall upon one single Testimony? If he doth, it is a shrewd sign, though he cried out of *Gregory Nyssen*, yet he was pinched somewhere else. Well; but what is this horrible Crime about *Gregory Nyssen*? Hath he brought him under an *Index Expurgatorius*? Hath he falsified his Words, and corrupted the Text? Or hath he wilfully altered his Sense and Meaning? Hath he done it in all the Quotations out of him, or only in one? Whatever it is, let us have it.

R. P. It is in the Citation out of his Oration *de laudibus Basilii*.

P. D. But the Dr. hath three or four more out of the same Author. It seems they stand well enough. Hath not the Dr. truly cited his Words?

R. P. Yes, T. G. saith, as to the General, truly enough.

P. D. What is the Fault then?

Dial. p.
234, &c.

R. P. That he doth not add the words that follow, wherein he shews what kind of *Worship* that was which the *Arians* gave to *Christ*; viz. Not only to worship and serve him, but also to fix hopes of *Salvation* in a *Creature*, and to expect *Judgment* from it. And was it not neatly done of the Doctor, to wrap up all this in those short words, *The Devil persuaded Men to return to the Worship of the Creature*? Which is a *Laconism* not observed by him on other Occasions: But it was here done on purpose to conceal from the Reader the apparent difference between the *Worship of Saints* in the Church of Rome, and the *Arians Worship of Christ*.

Defence,
p. 519.

P. D. I am glad it is out at last, after so much straining. See how much *Choler* there is in it! Indeed, it might have done him much harm, if he had kept it in any longer. But I wonder the *Laconick Gentleman* doth complain of shortness: Do you think the *Laconian* in *Boccacini* would have made such a Noise for missing a Page or two in *Guicciardin's War of Pisa*? Do you in earnest think Dr. St. should take such pains to conceal that which every one knows, that the *Arians* fixed their hopes of *Salvation on Christ*, and expected him to come to *Judgment*? What wonderful Discovery is this, which T. G. hath made? Nay, Dr. St. himself takes notice of this Objection, that they did give a higher degree of *Worship* to *Christ*, than any do to *Saints*; and returns this Answer to it, That they did only give a degree of *Worship* proportionable to the degrees of Excellency supposed to be in him, far above any other *Creatures* whatsoever. But still that *Worship* was inferior to that which they gave to *God the Father*; and at the highest, such as the *Platonists* gave to their *Cælestial Deities*. And although the *Arians* did invoke *Christ*, and put their trust in him, yet they still supposed him to be a *Creature*, and therefore believed that all the *Power* and *Authority* he had, was given to him: So that the *Worship* they gave to *Christ*, must be inferior to that *Honour* they gave to the *Supreme God*, whom they believed to be *Supreme, Absolute, and Independent*.

Dial. p.
247.

R. P. T. G. takes notice of this Answer, and objects two things against it. First, That it stands too far off from the words of *Nyssen*, at the distance of 350 Pages; and so proves a very late *Salve* for so old a *Wound*.

R. P.

P. D. Especially, considering how poor Nyssen lay a bleeding all that while. Is it not enough for us to answer *Objections*, unless we put them just in the Page you would have them, after the way of *Objections* and *Solutions*? I pity the hard Fate of the *Laconian* that hath 350 Leaves to turn over, longer than the *War of Pisa*. O for the *Gallies*! But I hope he will consider better of it.

R. P. You may Jest as you please at this Answer, but the second is a very solid one; for T. G. shews the *Parallel* to be inconsistent, both with the *Practice* of the *Arians*, and *Doctrine* of the *Fathers*.

P. D. What *Parallel* doth he mean? Dr. St. proves from hence *Inferior* or *Relative* *Worship* given to a *Creature* to be *Idolatry*, in the sense of the *Fathers*. Is this true, or is it not?

R. P. You have not *Patience* to hear T. G.'s Answer out. For,

1. He saith, *The Fathers do acknowledge a Worship due to the Saints*, Dial. p. 248, &c. and particularly *Gregory Nyssen*, in an *Oration* produced by him: And therefore if they had condemned the *Arians* of *Idolatry*, for giving only a like *Worship* to *Christ*, though in a higher degree, they had condemned themselves for the like *Crime*.

2. The *Arians* made no such *Apology* for themselves, as the *Doctor* makes for them, viz. That they gave *Sovereign* and *Absolute* *Worship* to *God*, and only *Inferior* and *Relative* *Worship* to *Christ*.

3. Why might not the generality at least believe *Christ* to be of a *Superior* Order, so as to have true *Divinity* in him, as the *Heathens* did of their lesser *Gods*; and that being assumed as a *Consort* in the *Empire*, absolute *Divine Honour* was due to him?

4. They were chargeable with *Idolatry*, because they did avowedly give those *Acts* of *Worship* to *Christ*, believing him to be a *Creature*; which by the common *Consent*, and publick *Practice* of *Christians*, from whence *Exterior Signs* in the *Duties* of *Religion* receive their *Determination*, were understood to be due only to *God Incarnate*. Which makes their *Case* very much different from that of the *Church* of *Rome*, which gave to *Saints* and *Images* only such *Acts* of *Worship*, as by the common *Use* and *Practice* of the *Christian World* before *Luther*, were determined and understood, when applied to *Saints* and *Images*, to express an inferior degree of *Reverence* or *Worship*, than what is due to *God himself*. This is the *Substance* of T. G.'s Answer.

P. D. I confess T. G. now offers something worthy a serious Debate. Which may be reduced to these Two Things.

1. What those *Acts* of *Worship* were, which the *Arians* were charged with *Idolatry* for giving to *Christ*, supposing him a *Creature*.

2. How far the *Church* of *Rome* is liable to the same Charge, for the *Worship* she gives to *Saints* and *Images*.

1. For the *Acts* of *Worship* which the *Arians* were charged with *Idolatry*, in giving to *Christ* as a *Creature*. The *Strength* of T. G.'s Answer lies in Two Things.

1. That they were given absolutely to *Christ*, as a lesser *God*.

2. That they were such *Acts*, which by the consent of the *Church* did signify proper *Divine* *Worship*.

1. Let us consider whether the *Worship* given to *Christ* could be absolute, upon their Supposition that *Christ* was a *Creature*. T. G. speaks somewhat faintly in this Matter; at first saying only, *Why might it not be absolute?* at least as to the generality? But afterwards he takes Heart, and says roundly, *That the Fathers evermore charge the Arians for giving* Dial. p. absolute 250.

absolute Divine Worship to Christ, although they believed him to be of a different Nature from the Supreme God; which he hopes is far enough from the Doctor's Relative or Inferior Worship. But I am very far from being satisfied with this Answer. For I pray tell me wherein lies the difference between Sovereign Worship, and Inferior: In Acts of the Mind, or in External Acts?

R. P. In Internal doubtless, on T. G.'s Principles, who makes External Acts to signify according to the Determination of the Church.

P. D. What are those Internal Acts wherein the Worship of the Supreme God consists?

R. P. A due esteem of his Excellency, and suitable Affection to it.

P. D. Must not this due Esteem distinguish him from all Creatures?

R. P. Yes, surely; for otherwise it can be no due Esteem; the distance being infinite between God and his Creatures.

P. D. Can a Man then have an equal Esteem of God, and a Creature which he acknowledges to be made by him?

R. P. Certainly not.

P. D. Then it must be unequal, according to the difference of uncreated and created Excellencies.

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Then the Worship must be unequal; and that which is given to a Creature must be Inferior Worship.

R. P. But T. G. saith, they might believe true Divinity to be in him, as the Heathens did of their lesser Gods.

P. D. True Divinity! What is that, when they believed him to be a Creature? Did they take him for an uncreated Creature? For that can be no true Divinity which is not uncreated; and yet you confess they owned Christ to be a Creature. What Nonsense and Contradiction would T. G. cry out upon, if Dr. St. had ever said any such thing?

R. P. Might not they believe Christ to be assumed as Consort in the Empire, and so absolute Divine Honour to be due to him?

P. D. What do you mean by this absolute Divine Honour? For I have already proved it must be Inferior Worship.

R. P. I do suppose Absolute Divine Honour is that which is given to a Being on the account of its own Excellency, and Relative from the respect it hath to another.

P. D. But whether Absolute or Relative, it is proper Divine Honour you mean. And doth not that imply an Esteem of proper Divine Excellency, and is not that proper to God alone and uncreated? How then can this absolute Divine Honour be given to a Created Being?

R. P. How did the Gentiles to their false Gods?

P. D. Just as the Arians, for they made Distinctions in their Worship; as will appear when we come to that Subject.

R. P. What do you make then this Worship of the Arians to be?

P. D. An Inferior and Relative Worship; for they supposed they worshipped God, when they gave those Acts of Worship to Christ, which were agreeable to the Excellencies that were in him.

R. P. But (2.) Those Acts were such, as by the consent of the Church were understood to be due only to God Incarnate.

P. D. Here we are to know, both what these Acts were, and what Power the Church hath to impose a Signification upon them.

R. P. T. G. names these. 1. Worshipping and serving him with Latria. 2. Putting their trust in him as Mediator of Redemption. 3. Invoking him as the Judge of the quick and the dead, &c.

P. D.

P. D. What more can I say? I am afraid here is something beyond the Trick about *Idolatry*, which lies under this *Dragon's Tail*. Are these all which you have to say?

R. P. I have said more, I am sure to hear of it.

P. D. You are mistaken, for Dr. St. had shewed it before. (1.) That External *Adoration* is one of those things which the Fathers charged the *Arians* with *Idolatry*, in giving to *Christ*, supposing him to be a *Creature*; from *Peter's* forbidding *Cornelius*, and the *Angel St. John's* Defence, because this is only proper to *God*; from the plain Testimonies of *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, and *St. Cyril*. (2.) That *Invocation of Christ* as a *Mediator of Intercession*, was condemned as *Idolatry* in the *Arians*; *Athanasius* supposes it inconsistent with *Christianity* to join *Christ* with a *Creature*, in our Prayers together with *God*. (3.) That they made no such distinction of worshipping and serving with *Idolatry*, as *T. G.* insinuates: For he shews from the Testimonies of *St. Basil*, and even *Gregory Nyssen*, *St. Cyril* and *Theodoret*, that the very *Worship* which they condemn for *Idolatry* is called *Doulia* by them. Therefore these are meer Shifts and Evasions which do not remove the *Idolatry* at all. I deny not, but they did put their trust in *Christ* for *Salvation*, and expect him coming to judge the quick and the dead. But I say these were but Expressions suitable to the Apprehensions of that of his Excellencies above any other *Creatures*, but still inferior to *Gods*: And the Fathers did not charge them with *Idolatry* meerly for these *Acts*; but for the other likewise mentioned before.

Defence, P. 165.
175, 178.
P. 166.
P. 163.
P. 171.
P. 178.
P. 180.

R. P. But *T. G.* hath a Reserve still behind, viz. That it is in the Churches Power to determine the Signification of External Acts of Worship, what belongs to Sovereign or proper Divine Worship, and what to Inferior Worship; that at that time the Church might take those for Acts of Divine Worship which afterwards by consent of the Church came only to signify Inferior Acts of Worship when applied to *Creatures*; and therefore the Argument cannot hold from that time to After-Ages.

P. D. I think you have hit upon *T. G.*'s meaning; and in truth it is the only thing to be said in the Case: For if *Idolatry* be a thing in the Churches Power to determine, it is the only way in the World for the Church of Rome to free her self (supposing that Power to be lodged in her); but if it should happen that the Law of God, the Consent of Nations, the Reason of Divine Worship, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, have determined *Idolatry* antecedently to the Power of the present Church; What a Case are you then in? The guilt of *Idolatry* must lie heavily upon you; and if it be so great a Sin as your own Schoolmen determine, you have a great deal to answer for, notwithstanding all the Tricks and Evasions of *T. G.* But why doth not *T. G.* make the External Acts of Theft, Adultery, Murder and Perjury, as much under the Churches Power as those of *Idolatry*? But I forbear now, supposing that we shall meet with this *Idolatry* Notion again before we end this Debate.

R. P. You are mistaken, if you think *T. G.* had no other Answer to give: For he saith, They could not be understood of that Worship which our Church gives to Saints, because they acknowledge an Inferior Worship due to the Saints; for which he quotes *St. Austin*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Hierom*, and *Gregory Nyssen*.

P. D. Had *T. G.* the Confidence to quote *St. Augustin* again for this, when Dr. St. purposely answered this very Testimony in his Book which *T. G.* pretends here to answer, and proves evidently from him, that no

Defence,
p. 336.

Worship was then given to the Saints? And to all this *T. G.* returns nothing, but however he brings the same Testimony again; as whole and as sound, and as much to the purpose as ever. *Gregory Nazianzen* is quoted at peradventure, for I remember seeing in the *Orat. de Nat. Christ.* to that purpose, although I lately read it over. *St. Hierom* speaks only of *Reverencing the Sepulchres of the Martyrs*; but all the weight lies upon *Gregory Nyssen*; and what, I pray, saith this single Witness to the Business?

Dial. p.
238.

R. P. More than you will be willing to hear, or able to answer: For in his *Oration* upon *St. Theodore*, that great and holy Martyr, (which even *Rivetus* himself, that capricious Fanatick in Criticism, doth not question to be his genuine Work) he commends the Peoples Devotion to the Martyrs, he describes the Magnificent Structure of the Temple, the pieces of Sculpture in it, and especially the Picture of the Martyr; then coming to the Shrine he shews the Esteem they had for his Relicks; and if they were admitted to touch his Body, they embrace it as if they beheld it yet alive, and weeping over it as if he were whole before them, they solicit his Supplication and Intercession, beseeching him as a Champion of God, and invoking him as one that could obtain Blessings when he would for them. And then he dilates himself upon the Acts of the Martyr, and the great Benefits they received by him: And at the end of his *Oration* addresses himself to him in these words, We stand in need of many Benefits, do thou intercede and deprecate with our common King and Lord for thy Country. Do thou as a Soldier fight in our Defence: And in case there be need of greater Intercession, call an Assembly of thy Brother Martyrs; let the Prayers of many Just Persons expiate the Sins of Multitudes of Offenders. Admonish *Peter*, excite *Paul*, and *John* also the beloved Disciple, to be Solicitors for the Churches they have founded; that Idolatry may not lift up its Head, that Heresies may not overgrow the Vineyard, &c. But by the Power of thine, and thy Fellows Intercession, O admirable Man, and eminent among Martyrs, the Christian Church may be a plentiful Field of Harvest, &c. If *Dr. St.* had been present at this *Oration*, saith *T. G.* how may we think would his Zeal have urged him to have cried out Idolatry, flat Idolatry, very real Idolatry, meer Heathenish Idolatry.

Dial. p.
242.

P. D. I am not of your Mind in this; for I suppose he would have considered the Allowances to be made for an Eloquent Person in a *Panegyric*al *Oration*; when things are amplified, heightened, improved, with all the most moving Figures and Strains of *Rhetorick*, to excite the Auditors Admiration and Affection to the Party commended. And he must be a great Stranger to the Schools of *Eloquence*, that will form *Doctrines* and *Devotions* from *Apostrophe's* and *Prosopopeia's*. I do not think *Dr. St.* would have charged *Cicero* a jot the more for *Idolatry*, for his praying to the Hills and Woods of *Alba*, *Vos Albani tumuli atque luci, oro atque obtestor*: What! flat *Idolatry*! *Heathenish Idolatry*! praying to Hills and Woods. No such Matter: For so *Rhetoricians* will tell *T. G.* what great Scope *Orators* may take in the Representation of Persons, and the things done by them; and how mightily those Figures both adorn the *Oration*, and move the Auditors: But withal, that these are Figures it is very easie to exceed in, and it requires great Judgment to manage them with a due Decorum. If it were needful for *T. G.* I could produce the Testimonies of both *Greek* and *Latin Rhetoricians* to this purpose. All the Question is, whether *Gregory Nyssen* spake like an Orator in these Expressions; for which we must consider the Character of the Person, and the Occasion of speaking. As to *Gregory Nyssen*, *Gregory Nazianzen* severely rebukes him in a whole *Epistle* for affecting more the Glo-

ry of an Orator, than of a Christian; and this after he was a Priest, and devoted to the service of Christ; insomuch that many Christians were very much offended at him. And what wonder is it to find such a Person, on such an Occasion as making a Panegyric Oration on a Martyr, laying on all his Colours, opening his perfuming Pots, and using more the Figures of an Orator, than the exactness of a Divine? Nay, it was become so general a Custom among their Eloquent Men to exceed in their Panegyric Orations, that I find Theodoret quoted for saying, No Rule of Doctrine is to be taken from them. And it is agreed by your Divines as well as our own, That the Fathers in their popular Orations do make use of such bold Figures, as are not to be made a Foundation for Doctrines to be taken from them. Therefore this Apostrophe to Theodorus by Gregory Nyssen, is no Argument to prove Invocation of Saints, there being a great difference between Flowers of Rhetorick, and Forms of Devotion.

Gregory
Naz. Ep.
43.

Theod.
Dial. 3.

R. P. But he commends the Devotion of the People to the Martyrs, and calls it a Pure Worship.

P. D. That he might well do, as the Solemnities of the Martyrs were observed out of Honour to God and the Christian Religion: For then the Christians met at the Tombs of the Martyrs, to perform the publick Worship of God there; and afterwards erected Churches upon their Memories, so that the place, the time, the occasion of meeting was for the Honour of the Martyrs, but the Worship was given to God alone.

R. P. Doth not Gregory Nyssen take notice of the Peoples soliciting his Supplication and Intercession with God for them, as their Champion, &c.

P. D. I grant he doth so; but observe his Words: He saith, the People when they touch any part of his Body, (which was very rarely granted) they embraced it, as if it had been living, and wept over it; and then he adds *ὡς ὁλοκλήρῳ καὶ φαινομένῳ τῷ μάρτυρι, καὶ τῷ προσβύειν ἐκείνῳ προστάξουσιν, ὡς δορυφόρον τῷ θεῷ, παρακαλῶντες, ὡς λαμβάνοντα τὰς δυνάμεις ὅταν ἐδίδῃ ἐπιγαλέμενοι.* As if he had been whole, and appeared before them, (which last word *φαινομένῳ* T. G. very conveniently left out; which I leave to the Reader to judge of, as a Testimony of T. G.'s Sincerity, at the very same time he charges Dr. St. for the same Fault) they solicit his Intercession, beseeching him as the Champion of God, and calling upon him as one that received Gifts when he pleased. I do not think this Superstition of the People was to be excused, which began most early to appear in the Parts of Cappadocia and Pontus; and the reason of it is not hard to give, from the turning Heathen Festivals into Christian Solemnities to the Martyrs, of which Gregory Nyssen speaks in the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus. But however, this was not any solemn Invocation of him, as a part of Religious Worship, but an occasional and rare thing, and done upon Supposition, as if he had been alive, and then present among them. And that the Practice of these Men, who seemed most to make Addresses to Saints in the Fourth Century, did differ from the Invocation of Saints in your Church, I shall make appear by these Particulars.

Gregory
Nyss. in
vit. Greg.
p. 574.

I. Invocation of Saints is made a solemn part of Religious Worship in the Church of Rome. For which, we do not run to some extravagant Expressions of your Preachers, nor barely to the Ave Maries they use in their Pulpits; of which no single Instance can be produced out of Antiquity, but to the publick, solemn Authorized Offices of your Church. And although you may say, the Church is not answerable for the Indiscretion of Preachers, or the Figures of Poets, yet certainly she is for all standing

standing and allowed Offices of *Divine Worship*. And this is that we charge you with, that by this you make *Religious Worship* of the *Creatures*, a part of your constant and solemn *Worship*. Even in the *Mass* it self, you begin with Confession to *God*, and to his *Creatures* (which *Athanasius* accounted so great an Impiety, to join *God* and his *Creature* together in an *Act of Worship*) and afterwards pray to them. And although in the plain Canon of the *Mass*, you pretend there is scarce any, or but twice or thrice, a direct Invocation of the *Saints*; yet upon *Occasional* and *Anniversary Masses*, such Invocation is very frequent, as in the *Masses* of the Festivals of the *Blessed Virgin*, which are many in the Year; the *Mass* for Women with Child, the *Masses* of the *Apollies*, the Angel *Michael*, and many *Saints*; which it were tedious to repeat. It would be endless to give an Account how much of your *Breviaries*, *Hours*, *Litanies*, and private Offices of Devotion is stuffed out with formal Addresses to *Saints*. If you but cast your Eye on any of the Offices of the *Blessed Virgin*, you cannot question the truth of this. Now I pray tell me, where you meet with any like this in Antiquity; you may pick up some Flourishes of *Orators* or *Poets* in the Fourth Century, but what are these to the standing Offices of the Church, which are the Standard of *Divine Worship*? Name me any one *Liturgy* of the Church, which is Authentick, that had the Name of any *Saint* or *Creature* in it by way of Invocation, before the time of *Petrus Fullo*, who is no Author to be gloried in. And of him indeed *Nicephorus* saith, *That he first brought the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin into the Prayers of the Church*. Before his time, the Fathers utterly deny there was any Invocation of *Saints* in the *Prayers* of the *Faithful*, as *Dr. St.* hath evidently proved from *St. Augustin*: And methinks *T. G.* should have said something or other to it, and not think this poor single Testimony of *Gregory Nyssen* would overthrow all.

Niceph.
Callist. 1.
15. c. 28.
Defence,
p. 340, to
347.

2. The Invocation of *Saints* in your Church is direct and formal, not meerly by way of desire to pray for them, but to bestow Blessings upon them. Of which *Dr. St.* hath produced several late Instances in Books of Devotion, now in use here in *England*; to which many more might be added, if it were needful. And it is a wonder to me, that any Man who hath looked into the Offices of the *Blessed Virgin*, can make the least doubt of this. And considering the Titles given her in the *Roman Church*, it were a Disparagement to her, not to pray directly to her for Blessings. For if she be the *Fountain of Grace and Mercy*, the *Mother of Consolation*, the *Safety of all that trust in her*, the *Dispenser of Graces to whom she pleases*, the *Queen of Heaven*, to whom all Power is committed, the *Mediatrice between her Son and us*; as she is stiled in the *Roman Church*; why may not Men pray as directly to her as to *Christ* himself? As long as these and many other Titles are owned in their *Prayers*, in their Sacred *Hymns*, in their *Commentators* on *Scripture*, and not meerly in their *Poets* and *Orators*. Why doth *T. G.* go about to deceive the World, in making it believe that all their Invocation is only praying to pray for them? Which is all that is pretended to be used in the Ancient Church. And *Cassander* thinks they were rather *Wishes and Desires* than *Prayers*; for which he gives a very good Reason, viz. *That there was a Condition expressed by them*; such as that of *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Oration on his Sister *Gorgonia*. *If thou hast any regard to our Affairs, and if this be part of the Reward of holy Souls, to be sensible of things done below, receive this Office of Kindness from me.* Which shews they had no Confidence or Assurance that

Defence,
p. 293. to
305.

Cassand.
Ep. 19.
Op. p.
1109.

that

that the *Saints* in *Heaven* did understand our Affairs, and therefore all Expressions of this kind in them were rather *Wishes* than *Prayers*. And even *Gregory Nyssen* in this *Oration* upon *Theodore* supposes, That unless he came down from above wherever he was, whether in the *Æthereal Region*, or *Celestial*, or *Angelical*, and were actually present among them, he could not understand the Honours that were done him, nor the Addresses they made to him. And when they did express such an Uncertainty as this, at the same time they made these Addresses towards the Conclusion of their *Oration*s, after the manner of *Orators*, it is plain they are to be understood rather for *Rhetorical Wishes*, than *formal Invocations*. Now let any Man compare this Doubtfulness of the Ancients, with the Confidence expressed in the Church of *Rome*, when they declare it to be *de Fide*, that the *Saints* do hear them, (although the manner be not) and then judge whether their Practices can be of the same kind.

Gregory
Nyssen
Orat. in
Theod. p.
589.

3. The *Invocation* of *Saints* in your Church, doth imply inward submission to a Creature; and therefore goes very much beyond the Addresses of the Ancients. There are Three things which prove this Inward Submission to a Creature in the *Invocation* of *Saints*. 1. Inward Devotion to them. 2. An acknowledged Superiority over them. 3. An Intention to give them *Divine Worship*.

1. *Inward Devotion*. For even *Mental Prayers* to *Saints* are allowed by the Council of *Trent*, as *Dr. St.* told *T. G.* of which he takes no notice, and yet quarrels with him for two other Passages in the same place. Must we impute this to a casual Undulation of the Visual Rays, as *T. G.* very finely expresseth it? I am afraid there was some other Cause for it. For since that Council allows *Internal Prayers* to *Saints*, it must not only certainly suppose their knowledge of the Heart, but a due submission of our Souls to them; which inward Prayer doth import. And therefore suppliciter invocare tam voce quàm mente, which are the Words of the Council of *Trent*, doth not only imply formal Invocation, but internal Submission; both which do belong to Suppliants.

Defence,
p. 293.

Dial. p.
256.

2. An acknowledged Superiority over them; which appears by that Authority and Government which they attribute to them, with respect to particular Places and Things. Whereby they make the *Saints* not bare Intercessors, but Tutelar Deities, and they invoke them as such. *T. G.* saith, they do not make them Authors of those Blessings; not Originally, and Independently; but Subordinately and Ministerially they do. And if this be not Idolatry, no Worship of the Inferior Deities among the Heathens was so. *Lipsius* was no Fool when he made the Blessed Virgin a Tutelar Deity; and the Popes surely understand their own Religion, when they Canonize particular *Saints* to be Patrons of such Places; which may be seen in some of the latest Canonizations. As of *St. Rosa*, that admirable Saint of *Peru*, and others.

Dial. p.
238.

3. An Intention to give *Divine Worship* to them. For what else can be meant by that eminent kind of Adoration, which *Bellarmino* saith doth belong to them; that *Divine Worship*, which *Azorius* saith, you give to the *Saints*; and *Serrarius* saith, many of the wisest Persons among you say, that Latria and Doulia proceed both from the same Vertue of Religion; that is, they are of the same kind. So that this is not merely the Superstition of the Vulgar, but the Judgment of the wisest among you, if *Serrarius* his Judgment may be taken. I will not dissemble what *B. Forbes* observes, that some of the Schoolmen do make the Invocation of *Saints* not to flow from the vertue of Religion, but another of their own making, called Singularis Observan-

D. Forbes
Confid.
modest &
pacif. p.
293.

p. 297.

Concil.
Laodic. c.
35.
Theod. in
Col. 2. 18.

T. G. Ca-
thol. no
Idol. p.
384.

Observantia. But this is only a Trick found out to avoid the Imputation of *Idolatry*, which they thought would fall justly upon them, if they made the *Worship* to be of the same kind, although of a different degree: Since nothing can be plainer in Antiquity, than that all truly *Religious Worship* belongs only to *God*, and cannot be given to a *Creature* without the Guilt of *Idolatry*. For even in the same Age wherein *Gregory Nyssen* lived, the Council of *Laodicea* declared the *Invocation of Angels to be Idolatry*; so *Theodoret* expresseth the Sense of that Council, who certainly understood the meaning of it; τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι, are his Words, which he makes to be all one with τὰς Ἀγγέλους σεβείν. So that *Praying to them* is that part of *Divine Worship* which was condemned for *Idolatry*, being given to *Angels*.

R. P. T. G. saith, *This was a Practice of nominating Angels*, which he saith, cannot with any shew of probability be understood of that *Worship*, which the *Holy Catholick Church* gives to *Holy Angels*.

P. D. Good Sir, his Reason; for to my Apprehension it comes as home to the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, as may be.

R. P. (1.) Because the Council speaks of such as excluded our Lord *Jesus Christ*, making private Assemblies; which Words Dr. St. conveniently omitted.

P. D. Did he so? Let us hear them at length. That *Christians* ought not to forsake the Church of *God*, and go aside, to invoke *Angels*, or make unlawful Conventicles; If any one be found practising this secret *Idolatry*, let him be accursed; because he hath forsaken our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Son of *God*, and betaken himself to *Idolatry*. The Council speaks this of a sort of *Christians*, who yet were guilty of *Idolatry* in praying to *Angels*; therefore *Praying to Angels* is *Idolatry*.

R. P. Yes, such *Praying to Angels* as *Theodoret* speaks of, upon account that the Law was delivered by them, or that *God* being Invisible and Incomprehensible, cannot be approached but by the *Angels*.

P. D. Will T. G. stand to it, that this is *Idolatry*? Then it must be *Idolatry* in the Nature of the Thing, or by some positive Law; if the latter, we see the Council of *Laodicea* accounts it equal *Idolatry* among *Christians* as before: If the former, then *Praying to a Creature* is *Idolatry* in the Nature of the Thing. Which is a very fair Concession, and I suppose the Church of *Rome* will con him no thanks for.

R. P. But it is *Idolatry* on those Accounts I mentioned.

P. D. On what, I pray? Because the Law was delivered by them? How is that possible on T. G.'s Principles, when they were only *God's Ministers* therein? And so *Praying to God's Ministers* in Heaven is *Idolatry*; how then will *Praying to Saints* escape?

R. P. But *Theodoret* adds, they brought us *Salvation* thereby.

P. D. Only Ministerially; and this alters not the Case.

R. P. But suppose they thought Access to *God* was only by them?

P. D. What then? That might prove them no *Christians*, but doth it prove them *Idolaters*? Suppose they were *Jews*, must they therefore needs be *Idolaters*?

R. P. But T. G. saith, good *Angels* are not to be worshipped, but in Subordination to *Christ* the Head, nor their Prayers to be desired as efficacious for us, but through his Merits.

P. D. And what follows? Therefore leaving out *Christ* is *Idolatry*? Doth T. G. talk at this rate, and hope to excuse the Church of *Rome* from *Idolatry*? For I still ask, what it was which made their *Worship of Angels*

Angels Idolatry : Leaving out of Christ might make it *Judaism* or *Heathenism*, but how comes it to be *Idolatry* ?

R. P. I think you will never be satisfied.

P. D. Not with such Answers, I assure you.

R. P. *Baronius* saith, *Theodoret* was mistaken ; and that this Canon is to be understood of *Heathen Idolatry* ; and that the *Oratories* of *Michael* which *Theodoret* saith were built by those *Idolaters*, were in truth built by very good *Catholicks*.

P. D. This is plain dealing : And *Baronius* saw well enough, there was no way to justify the Church of Rome, but by condemning *Theodoret* : But I leave it to any Man's Consideration, whether *Theodoret*, whose distance was not great, either in Age or Place, did not better understand the meaning of this Council ; and the Practices of those Times and Places, than *Baronius* ; and whether his Judgment be not rather to be taken, than that of a Man, who turns every Stone to avoid a Difficulty, which he saw could no otherwise be answered.

R. P. (2.) How can this be the meaning of the Council of *Laodicea*, when it declares for the honouring and celebrating the Feast-days of the Martyrs ?

P. D. Doth *T. G.* call this a second Reason ? Where lyes the Consequence ? The Council of *Laodicea* was for honouring the Feast-days of the Martyrs, therefore the praying to Angels is not condemned by it for *Idolatry*. As though there were no way of celebrating their Festivals, but by praying to Saints and Angels. When *T. G.* proves that meeting at their Memorials on their Anniversary days, and praising God for them, and rehearsing their Acts, was no keeping their Festivals, without praying to them ; he will do something towards making this look like a Reason. In the mean time, let the Reader consider whether praying to Saints was practised by *Greg. Nyssen*, when praying to Angels about the same time by the Council of *Laodicea* is condemned for *Idolatry*. But this is not all which I have to say ; for *Gregory Nyssen's* Practice doth excuse the modern Invocation of Saints from *Idolatry* : I desire to know whether it was singular in him, or the sense of the Church of that Age ?

R. P. No doubt *T. G.* brings it for an Instance of the Sense of the Church : For it were to no great purpose to produce a singular Opinion or Practice of one Man, condemned by the rest of the Church.

P. D. Then I ask, whether offering up ones self, or offering up a Cake to a Saint, be the greater *Idolatry* ?

R. P. A Man's self, certainly.

P. D. Do not they who devote themselves to a particular Saint, chusing her for their perpetual Patroness, vowing themselves to be her slaves, offer up themselves to her ?

R. P. What would you have ?

P. D. I will tell you ; *Epiphanius* who lived in the same Age with *Greg. Nyssen*, condemns those for rank *Idolaters*, who offered up Cakes to the *B. Virgin* ; and do you think he would have excused those who offered up themselves and their devotions to her ? And at the same time he condemns the worship both of Saints and Angels, in the places produced by *Dr. St.* What answer hath *T. G.* made to this ?

R. P. I do not remember he takes notice of it.

P. D. *T. G.* would make an excellent Commentator ; for he knows how to pass over a hard place, as well as any I have met with. But

still I have one question more. Whether *Greg. Nyssen* did argue well against the *Arians* or not?

R. P. Why should you question that?

P. D. Do you think he spake consistently to himself? Or, if not, is his Opinion to be taken from a *Panegyric*al Oration, or a *strict Dispute*?

R. P. A *strict Dispute*; for then men consider every Word, and the Consequence of it.

Bell. de bonis oper. in particul.

l. 1. c. 1.

Greg. Nyssen orat. 1.

de orat.

Orat. 2. de orat. Dom.

Tract. 2. de inscript.

Psalm. c. 3.

Ambros. de obit. Theod.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor.

Hom. 1. in Coloss.

3. Hom. 9.

Aug. Confess. 1. 1. c.

5. Clem. Strom. 1. 7.

Tertul. Apol. c. 30.

Orig. 1. 8. in Epist. ad Rom. c. 10.

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P. D. *Greg. Nyssen* goes upon this Principle, *To give Divine Worship to a Creature is Idolatry*; but the *Arians* in worshipping *Christ* as a *Creature* do give *Divine Worship* to a *Creature*: therefore, &c. To make good the Particulars of this Charge, we must consider what *Greg. Nyssen* makes to be the *Parts* of *Divine Worship*; and if I can prove, that *Greg. Nyssen* doth make *Prayer* to be such a *Part* of *Divine Worship*, then by necessary Consequence he makes *praying to a Creature* to be *Idolatry*. Now it is very well known that *Greg. Nyssen* in several places makes *Prayer* with *Supplication* to be peculiar to *God*; therefore he calls it a *conversing with God*; a *request of good things with Supplication unto God*. In which he agrees with the rest of the *Fathers*, who made *Religious Invocation* peculiar to *God*. *Sed tamen tu solus Domine invocandus es*, saith *S. Ambrose*. I do not pray to any besides thy self; saith *Ephreem Syrus* in the *Officium Diurnum* of the *Maronites*. We call not on the Name of this Man or that Man, saith *S. Chrysostom*, but on the Name of the Lord. This is an Honour, he saith, *God* hath reserved to himself, to call upon him, and will not give it to *Angels* or *Arch-Angels*; as he elsewhere speaks. *Unto God alone do we pray*, saith the *Greek Catena* on the fifth *Psalm*. *To whom shall I call but unto thee*, saith *St. Augustin*. This is the best Sacrifice we can offer unto *God*, say *Clemens* of *Alexandria* and *Tertullian*. It were easy to produce many more Testimonies to this purpose, if these be not sufficient to prove, that in *Greg. Nyssen's* Age, as well as before, *Prayer* was looked on as a peculiar part of *Divine Worship*.

R. P. To what purpose? since no body denies, that *Prayer* as it is a Means to obtain Blessings from *God* as the Author of them, is Peculiar to *God*.

P. D. This Answer doth not take off the force of the Argument. For *Prayer* may be considered two ways. 1. As a Means to obtain Blessings. 2. As a solemn Part of *Divine Worship*. Now if they reserved *Prayer* to *God*, on the latter Account, then it follows, that whatever *Invocation* doth take off from the peculiarity of this Part of *External Worship*, is against the Design of the *Fathers*. So *Origen* argues, that *Invocation* and *Adoration* do imply each other. *Invocare nomen domini & adorare Deum unum atque idem est*. To invoke *God* and to adore him is all one; from whence he proves that those who invoke *Christ* do adore him. And where the *Church* of *Smyrna* declares in her *Epistle* about the *Martyrdom* of *Polycarp*, that they did not worship any other but *Christ*; the old *Latin Translation* renders it, *neque alteri cuiquam precem orationis impendere*. And *Theodoret* makes *praying to Angels*, and the worshipping of them the same thing. So that *Prayer* was looked on as a Part of *Adoration*; therefore whosoever gives the external *Worship* of *Prayer* to another besides *God*, doth give to a *Creature* that which belongs to *God*.

R. P. I know not what you mean, I pray explain your self more.

P. D. Is not *God* worshipped solemnly by us, when we joyn together in *Prayer* to him?

R. P. Yes.

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Is not this *External Worship*, that which the *Fathers* mean, by the *Adoration* that is implied in *Prayer*?

R. P. Suppose it be.

P. D. Wherein lies this *External Worship*? Is it not that we meet together, and join in Acts of *Devotion*, to testify our Acknowledgment of *God's Sovereignty* and *Dependance* upon him?

R. P. What then?

P. D. Then whosoever do use the same *External Acts of Worship* to a *Creature*, do apply that to a *Creature* which the *Fathers* did suppose to belong only to *God*; as if Men kneel and pray to *Saints*, in the same place, at the same time, with the same Ceremonies of *Devotion* they use to *God* himself, they take off the *Peculiarity* of this *Worship* to *God*, and make it common to his *Creatures*.

R. P. This only reaches to the *External Acts*, but the *Intention* and *Design* of the *Worshippers* with us make the Difference.

P. D. I do not now meddle with your *Intention* and *Design*; but I am pursuing the Force of the Argument used by the *Fathers*. To make this yet more plain to you. The *Fathers* use the Argument of *External Adoration* against the *Arians*; for, say they, Peter forbade Cornelius to worship him, and the Angel St. John: From whence they infer, That *God only ought to be worshipped*; and therefore, *Giving External Adoration to Christ, supposing him to be a Creature, is Idolatry*. Is this Argument good, or not? Defence, p. 165.

R. P. Let me consider a little: *It was good then, but it is not now*: For T. G. saith, *It is in the Church's Power to determine the Signification of Exterior Signs*.

P. D. An admirable Answer! Which makes the Arguments of the *Fathers* (in truth) to have no Force at all. For the *Arians* might say, the *External Acts of Adoration* did not signify the same with them which they did with *Catholicks*; for they only signified an *Inferior* and *Relative Worship*, when applied to the *Son*; and *Sovereign* and *Absolute Worship*, when given to the *Father*. So that if there be any Force in what the *Fathers* did argue against the *Arians*, it will make the *Inferior* and *Relative Worship* of a *Creature* to be *Idolatry*; notwithstanding *Greg. Nyssen's Oration upon Theodore*.

R. P. I am like T. G. who hates a great Book upon one Subject; so do I a long Discourse upon one Argument. Methinks *Greg. Nyssen* hath taken up a great deal of our Time; and I have something more yet to say to you, before we part.

P. D. I pray let me hear it; and I suppose it will admit of a quicker Dispatch.

R. P. It is upon the same Head, of the *Doctor's Fidelity in Quoting Authors*; and it concerns the Passage in *Arnobius*, in which T. G. charged him with *Cogging in the Word Divinity, in the Singular Number, instead of Adorable Deities, in the Plural*: And Dr. St. answers with a Protestation, That he translated these Words, *Nihil numinis inesse Simulacris*; which, he saith, are but Two Lines above the Words T. G. charges him with. Dial. P. 252.

P. D. And how, I pray, doth T. G. clear himself? For, in my mind, he is most concern'd to vindicate himself.

R. P. He doth it very well: *For he denies not those Words to be there which D. St. translated*; but he saith, *He ought not to have translated the*

Words of Arnobius to the Heathens, but the Words of the Heathens to Arnobius; since his Design was to prove the Heathens did not worship the Images themselves for Gods.

Arnob.
l. 6. p. 208.

P. D. A pitiful Shift! T. G. charged Dr. St. with *Cogging in the Word Divinity, in the Singular Number*: Dr. St. shews, it was so used but Two Lines before those Words which T. G. cites, and those were the Words he translated. Now, saith T. G. *Those were the Words of Arnobius to the Heathen.* What then? Doth he not confute them in something which they held? If he proves *Nihil numinis inesse simulacris*; must not they hold *Aliquid numinis*, &c.? So that it comes all to one. But to put this out of all doubt: If T. G. had look'd a little farther, he might have found these very Words of the Heathens; *Illud etiam dicere simulacrorum assertores solent*: Surely these are the Heathens; *Non ignorasse antiquos nihil habere numinis signa.* What doth T. G. think now? Had he not better look more about him, before he makes such rude and impertinent Clamours about Dr. St.'s Insincerity in Quoting Authors? Of which you may judge by this one Instance, where himself is so notoriously faulty: And yet from hence he concludes *what a sad Account of Citations we are like to have from him.*

Dial. p.
257.

R. P. What say you to Dr. St.'s Observations of the Council of Trent, about the Worship of Images?

P. D. Have you ever been a Hunting of Squirrels?

R. P. Why do you ask me such an impertinent Question?

Defence,
p. 614.

P. D. Not so impertinent as you think: For the Squirrel's Leaping from Bough to Bough, forwards and backwards, is just like T. G.'s Answer to Dr. St.'s Book. For he makes nothing of Leaping a Hundred or Two Hundred Pages, forwards and backwards, as the Humour takes him. However, let us hear what he hath to say to those Observations. For I remember very well, what the Design of them was; viz. That though the Worship of *Latria* was owned before it by many Divines to be given to Images, and that were against the Decree of the Council of Nice; yet the Council of Trent allows all External Acts of Adoration of Images, gives no Intimation against this kind of Worship; and since it, many of the most eminent Divines of your Church have justified the giving *Latria* to Images, and that from the Words of this Council.

Dial. p.
214.

R. P. But T. G. saith, *these very Divines do not mean by Latria proper Divine Worship, which is due to God and terminated upon him; but that the Act being in their Opinion one in Substance to the Prototype and the Images, it is terminated absolutely upon the Person of Christ for himself, and falls upon the image after an inferior Manner, as a thing only relating to him, and purely for his sake: for which Reason, some call it relative Latria; Others, Secondary; Others, Improper; others, Analogical; others, per accidens; and the Dispute in effect is rather de modo loquendi, than of the Thing it self.*

P. D. To clear this Matter, we must consider, (1.) That the Council of Nice doth deny *Latria* to be given to an Image. (2.) That the Divines of the Roman Church do say that the Practice of the Church cannot be defended in the Worship of the Cross, without giving *Latria* to it. (3.) That the Council of Trent, when just Occasion was given, declares nothing against this; for although it refers to the Council of Nice, yet when it gives the Reason of Worship, it doth it in such Terms, that many of your Divines say, must infer the worship of *Latria* to be given to them.

R. P. What

R. P. What if it doth, saith T. G. since, it is only a Dispute about Words; and all agree, that the Worship proper to God, signified primarily by the Word Latria, is not to be given to Images?

P. D. That must be a little better considered. For do you think it is possible to give the Worship proper to God to an Image, or not? If it be not; why did the Council of Nice declare against it? If it be; tell me in what Acts that Worship of Latria doth consist?

R. P. It is, when Men give Proper Divine Honour to an Image.

P. D. What is this Proper Divine Honour? For you are not one Step forwarder by this Answer. I see I must come to Particulars. Were the Gnosticks and Ancient Hereticks to blame, in their Worship of Images, or not?

R. P. No doubt they were; for they stand Condemned by the Church for that Worship they gave to Images.

P. D. Wherein did their Fault lye?

R. P. In giving Divine Honour and Worship to the Image.

P. D. Did not they worship the Image of Christ?

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Then their Fault lay in Giving Divine Worship to the Image of Christ?

R. P. Yes, Proper Divine Worship.

P. D. What was that Proper Divine Worship? Was it Absolute, or Relative?

R. P. Absolute.

P. D. Then it was Giving Divine Worship to an Image of Christ, without respect to Christ; which is either Nonsense, or a Contradiction. Is it possible to give Divine Worship to an Image of a Person, without respect to the Person? Men may worship a Piece of Wood, or a Stone, without respect to a Person; but to worship that which represents, and on that account, because it represents, without any respect to what it represents, is a Contradiction: Therefore the Worship of an Image, as such, is a Relative Worship; and Proper Latria, as given to an Image, is Relative Latria.

R. P. But Men may give Absolute Divine Worship to an Image: For may not a Man join in his Mind the Image and Person represented, as one Object of Worship; and so give Proper Divine Worship to both, consider'd as one?

P. D. I thank you for that: For so I find some of your Divines have determined, that in this sense, Absolute and Proper Divine Worship may be given to the Cross. And Dr. St. produced several of them, who contended for an Absolute Latria to be due to Images: Such as Ludovicus à Paramo, Paulus Maria Quarti, Gamachæus, a late Professor of Divinity in the Sorbonne, and others. Defence, p. 616. to p. 625. p. 637.

R. P. But T. G. saith, They only differ in modo loquendi.

P. D. I think rather in modo colendi. For are not Absolute and Relative Worship Two distinct Kinds? How else comes the giving Absolute Worship to be Idolatry; and not the giving Relative? And if giving Absolute Worship be Idolatry, all in your Church are guilty of it, who worship the Image and Thing represented, as One Object. If it be not, then there can be none to an Image, as such.

R. P. Yes; If they offer Sacrifice to Images, as the Gnosticks did.

P. D. S. Augustin and Theodoret say, They adored Images, and offered Incense to them. And is not the very same practised in your Church?

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If this were *Idolatry* in them, why not in you? Unless your Church hath Power to change the Nature of *Idolatry*; which is all one with changing the Nature of *Virtues* and *Vices*.

R. P. But they sacrific'd to Images, as the Heathens did.

Defence,
p. 323.

P. D. True: For the burning Incense before Images, was thought to be Sacrificing to them, being joined with Adoration. And the Christians chose rather to dye, than to join in that Act of Worship towards the Images of the Emperors: Whence Dr. St. observed, that burning of Incense towards Images, was the same Tryal of Christians, that Eating of Swines Flesh was of the Jews. I pray tell me, Was there any Harm in this, or not? Supposing the Christians looked on the Emperors as God's Vicegerents, and the Images only as representing them?

R. P. I see what you aim at: You would have me condemn the Primitive Christians, or our selves. According to the Sense of the Church at that time, it was unlawful; but according to the Sense of our Church now, it is lawful to do the same Things out of Honour to the Images of Christ, or his Saints.

P. D. That is, your Church is innocent, if your Church may be Judge. But I now dispute upon your own Principles of Relative Worship; whether those Acts might not have been done to the Emperors Images; which had saved the Lives of so many Martyrs?

R. P. No: For the Emperors then exacted to be worshipped as Gods; i. e. with Divine Worship.

P. D. Was that Divine Worship Supreme, or not? i. e. Did they take the Emperors for Supreme Deities?

R. P. No: But they gave them the Worship of the Supreme Deity.

P. D. Then the Giving this Worship was thought *Idolatry*; though Mens Conceptions were right, as to their being Creatures.

R. P. But what is this to the Worship of Images?

P. D. Was it not lawful to give the same Worship to the Images of the Emperors, as to the Emperors themselves? Might not they look on the Emperors as God's Vicegerents; and so give them Relative Latria on that Account; and then look on their Images as representing them; and so give a Secondary, Improper, Analogical, Relative Latria to their Images? And by this means, the Heathens and the Christians had only differed in modo loquendi; but the Christians had saved their Lives by the Bargain.

R. P. But our Dispute is, of the Images of Christ, and not of Heathen Emperors.

P. D. I only shew the Absurd Consequences of this Doctrine; and how inconsistent it is with the Principles of Primitive Christianity. But I return to the Distinctions of your Divines, about Latria being given to Images. You all agree, T. G. saith, That the Worship proper to God, is not to be given to Images. Is not Latria the Worship proper to God?

R. P. Yes: Proper Latria is; but not Improper and Relative

P. D. Is there any Worship so proper to God, that it cannot be improperly and relatively given to an Image?

R. P. What do you mean? For I do not understand you.

P. D. Rather, you will not. I ask you, Whether there be any such Act of Worship so proper to God, that you may not in respect to God, do that to his Image; or, in respect to Christ, do that to the Cross?

R. P. Al-

R. P. Although there may be none such, yet the Church doth not use all *Acts of Worship* to the *Image*, which it doth to God.

P. D. I do not ask what you do; but what upon your *Principles* you may do. And suppose a Man doth that *Act* which your Church allows not, is he Guilty of *Idolatry*, or *bare Disobedience*, in doing it to an *Image*?

R. P. Of *Idolatry*.

P. D. Then there are such external *Acts of Worship* so proper to God himself, that the doing them to an *Image* for his sake is *Idolatry*. As to sacrifice to an *Image* for the sake of *Christ* is *Idolatry*. Is it not?

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Is the improper and relative Sacrificing to an *Image* *Idolatry*?

R. P. You ask an untoward Question. For I see what you drive at.

P. D. Answer me directly. Is it, or is it not?

R. P. I think it is.

P. D. Then it follows, that this Distinction of *Proper* and *Improper*, *Absolute* and *Relative Latria*, signifies nothing. For if the *Acts of Worship* are proper to God, no relative or improper Use of them can excuse from *Idolatry*; if they are not proper, then it is no *Latria*.

R. P. I must think again of this Matter. For as you represent it, this can never excuse us.

P. D. I wonder so many subtle Men should ever think it would. But I will not thus give it over. When the Council of Nice did forbid *Latria* being given to an *Image*, did they mean to an *Image*, as a piece of Wood, or Stone; or to an *Image*, as an *Image*?

R. P. As an *Image*. For they did forbid giving *Latria* to that which they worshipped; but they worshipped it as an *Image*, for the sake of the *Prototype*.

P. D. Your Reason is unanswerable. Therefore I say, they did forbid all relative *Latria* of an *Image*, call it by what Name soever you please. For the *Worship* of an *Image* as such must be relative *Worship*. Therefore all those who contend for relative *Latria* are condemned by the Council of Nice. Besides, I would fain know of these Gentlemen, whether their improper and relative *Latria*, be *Latria* or *Inferior Worship*; one or other it must be; and it is a Contradiction to say *Latria* is inferior *Worship*; for that is to say, It is *Latria*, and it is not. If it be then true *Latria*, I ask whether the *Image* as an *Image* be God or a *Creature*; if it be a *Creature*, as no doubt it is, then true *Latria* is given to a *Creature*; which according to T. G. must be *Idolatry*. Again; Either it is the same *Act* of *Latria* which is terminated on the *Person of Christ* absolutely, and on the *Cross* relatively; or it is a different *Act*. If the same *Act*; then there is a double *Worship*, and but one *Act*; for there is an absolute *Worship* of the *Person* of *Christ*, and a relative *Worship* of the *Image*; and let it be relative, or what it will, it is a real *Act* of *Worship*; and so there must be two *Acts*, and yet it is but one *Act*. For is the *Image* or *Cross* worshipped, or not? If it be worshipped, there must be an *Act* of *Worship* terminated on it; and how can there be an *Act* of *Worship* terminated upon it, if the same *Act* passeth from the *Image* to the *Prototype*? These are unintelligible Subtilties, and only invented to confound Men's Understandings, as to the true and distinct *Notion* of *Divine Worship*; and to blind their Minds in the Practice of *Idolatry*. Farther, if this be a difference only *de modo loquendi*, as T. G. saith, then the very same *Act* may be proper and improper, absolute and relative, *per se* and *per accidens*. For

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so T. G. saith, that it is one Act in Substance: but it is absolute, as terminated on the Person of Christ; relative, as on the Cross: Proper in one sense, improper in the other; *per se* in the former sense, *per accidens* in the latter. Which Catharinus thought to be no less than ridiculous. Lastly, There is nothing in the World but may be worshipped with *Latria*, by the Help of these Distinctions. For a Divine Presence in the Creatures, is really a far better Ground of Worship, than a bare Fiction of the Mind, that the Image and the Thing represented are all one. But of this we have discoursed already.

R. P. To tell you plainly my Mind, I never liked this giving *Latria* to Images my self; but it being a common Doctrine in our Church, we ought to say as much for it as we can: But I am only for an *Inferior Worship* to be given to them; and so is T. G. if I do not much mistake his Meaning.

P. D. Let us then consider this *Inferior Worship*, as distinct from *Latria*: And concerning this I shall prove, That it neither answers the Reasons given by Councils, nor the Practice of the Roman Church.

(1.) Not the Reasons given by the Councils of Nice and Trent. For which I desire but these Two Postulata. 1. That Images are to have True and Proper Worship given to them; which is expressly determined by those Councils. 2. That the Reason of this Worship is nothing inherent in the Image, but something represented by it. Which is affirmed by those Councils. From hence I argue thus:

To worship Christ only before an Image, is not to give Proper Worship to the Image, which the Councils require to be given. Therefore, either the Image is to be worshipped for it self, which were Idolatry, by your own Confession; or Christ is to be worshipped in and by the Image.

R. P. Christ is to be worshipped in and by the Image.

P. D. Then do you give Christ the Worship due to him, or not?

R. P. The Worship due to him.

P. D. But the Worship due to Christ is Proper *Latria*; therefore you must give Proper *Latria* to Christ, as worshipped in and by the Image.

R. P. True: But we give it to the Image of Christ, otherwise than to his Person; for we worship him absolutely, and the Image respectively and for his sake.

P. D. That is it which I would have; That there is no worshipping an Image on the account of Representation, but you must fall into the Doctrine of Relative *Latria*.

R. P. But may not I shew Respect to the Cross for Christ's sake, without giving the same Worship to the Cross that I do to Christ?

P. D. That is not the Question: But, Whether you may worship Christ, in and by the Cross representing his Person, without giving that Worship which belongs to the Person of Christ? For either you worship the Cross for it self, which you confess to be Idolatry; or you worship Christ as represented by it: If you worship Christ, you must give him the Worship which belongs to him; and that can be no other than *Latria*. Which not only appears by the Doctrine, but by the Practice of your Church, in the Worship of the Cross. Which I prove by the Second Particular; viz.

(2.) *Inferior Worship* doth not come up to the Practice of your Church; because your Church, in Praying to the Cross, speaks to it, as if it were Christ

Christ himself. *O Crux ave, spes unica*, &c. as *Aquinas* observes, and many other of your *Divines*, who never own any *Prosopopœia*; but do say, *That the Cross is truly worshipped with that Worship which belongs to the Person of Christ, on the account of Representation.* And can you imagine so many of your most Eminent *Divines* would have put themselves to so much difficulty in defending a *Relative Latria*, if they could have defended the *Practice* of your Church without it? But they saw plainly the Church did own such a *Worship* to the *Cross*; and when *Occasion* was offered, did declare it; as in the *Place* cited out of the *Pontifical* by *Dr. St.*; which it would never have done, if it had not been agreeable to its sense. Defence, p. 640.

R. P. But this is but one single Passage; and will you condemn a whole Church for that?

P. D. Not, if the Sense of the Church were otherwise fully expressed against it: But here we have shewed that Passage to be very agreeable to the Reason of *Worship*, given by your *Councils*; and to the Solemn *Practice* of your Church in *Adoration* of the *Cross*; and therefore that Passage ought to be look'd on, as a more explicit Declaration of the Sense of the Church. For, let me ask you, if the Church of Rome had been against *Latria* being given to the *Cross*, Whether, in a Book of such publick and constant Use as the *Pontifical* is, it should be left standing; when the *Book-Menders* are so busie in your Church, that scarce an *Index* of a *Father* can escape them, nor such Sentences as seem to thwart their present Doctrine. Of which take this Instance. You remember what *Mr. T. G.* made about *Gregory Nyssen's Oration* upon *Theodore*: Now the same Person disputing against the *Arians*, saith, *That no Created Thing is to be worshipped by Men.* This Sentence, *Antonius*, in his *Melissa*, had put down thus; *That we are only to worship that Being which is Uncreated.* This Book happen'd to come under the *Spanish Index* of *Cardinal Quiroga*; Do you think he would suffer it to stand as it did? No, I assure you; *Deleatur dictio solummodo*, saith he; *satis pro Imperio*: Away with this Only. Why so? Was it not in the Author? No matter for that: It is against the *Practice* of the Church; Out with it. More such Instances might be produced; but I appeal to your self, Whether after such Care hath been taken to review the *Pontifical* by *Clement VIII.* and the Publishing of it with so much Authority, such a Passage would have been suffered to remain, if it had been any ways repugnant to the Sense of the Church?

R. P. But *T. G.* saith, *The Terms of Communion with the Church, are not the Opinions of her School-Divines, but the Decrees of her Councils.* Dial. p. 263.

P. D. And what then? Did *Dr. St.* meddle with the *School-Divines*, any otherwise than as they explained the Sense of *Councils*, or the *Practice* of the Church? And what Helps more proper to understand these, than the *Doctrine* of your most Learned *Divines*? *T. G.* will have one *Mr. Thorndike* to speak the Sense of the Church of England, against the Current Doctrine of the rest; as *Dr. St.* hath proved; yet he will not allow so many *Divines* of greatest Note and Authority, to explain the Sense of the Church of Rome? Is this equal Dealing?

R. P. *T. G.* saith, *That for his Life he cannot understand any more the Idolatry of worshipping an Image, than the Treason of Bowing to a Chair of State, or the Adultery of a Wife's Kissing her Husband's Picture; and that the same Subtilties may be used against these, as against the other:* Dial. p. 264.

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And therefore, notwithstanding the Disputes of School-Divines, honest Nature, informed with Christian Principles, will be Security enough against the Practice of Idolatry, in Honouring the Image of Christ for his sake.

P. D. What is the matter with T. G. that for his Life he can understand these Things no better, after all the Pains which hath been taken about him? Hath not the Difference of these Cases been laid open before him? Do not your own Writers confess, That in some Cases an Image may become an Idol, by having Divine Worship given to it? Is this then the same Case, with a Wife's Kissing her Husband's Picture? Doth not this excuse the Gnosticks Worship of the Image of Christ, as well as yours? If there may be Idolatry in the Worship of an Image, we are then to consider, Whether your Worship be not Idolatry? Especially, since both Parties charge each other with Idolatry; those who will have it to be Latria, and those who will not. And I do not see what Honest Nature can do in this Case, however assisted; unless it can make the Worship of Images to be neither one nor the other. I see T. G. would fain make it to be no more than bare Honour of an Image, for the sake of Christ: But this doth not come up to the Decrees of Councils, the General Sense of Divines, and the Constant Practice of your Church. If ever Worship was given to Images, you give it; by using all Acts of Adoration towards them.*

R. P. But suppose the King had made an Order, That due Honour and Respect should be given to the Chair of State; ought not that to be observed, notwithstanding the Disputes which might arise about the Nature of the Act?

P. D. To answer this, we must suppose a Command from God, that we must worship an Image of Christ, as we do his Person; but here it is just contrary; the Reason of the Second Command being owned by the Christian Church to hold against the Worship of Images now, as well as under the Law. But those in the Church of Rome, who do charge each other with Idolatry, without supposing any such Command, do proceed upon the Nature of the Worship; which must either be Divine Worship, (which one Party saith is Idolatry, being the same which is given to God) or an inferior Religious Worship, which the other Party saith must be Idolatry; being an Expression of our Submission to an Inanimate Thing. And, for my Life, I cannot see what Answer T. G. makes to his.

Dial. p.
265.

R. P. T. G. saith, The Rules of the Church are to be observed in this Case, as the Rules of the Court about the Chair of State.

P. D. What! Are the Rules of the Church to be observed absolutely, whether against the Law of God, or not? Which is as much as to say at Court, That the Orders of the Green-Cloth are to be observed, against his Majesty's Pleasure. But not to insist on that; I say, in this Case, the Rules of the Church help nothing: For they who do follow the Rules of the Church, must do one or the other of these; and which soever they do, they are charged with Idolatry. And therefore Dr. St. had great Reason to say; Where there is no Necessity of doing the thing, the best way to avoid Idolatry, is, to give no Worship to Images at all.

Dial. p.
266.

R. P. What will become of the Rules of the Church, saith T. G. if Men may be permitted to break them for such Capriches as these are?

P. D. Are

P. D. Are you in earnest? Doth T. G. call these *Capriches*? *Idolatry* is accounted both by *Fathers* and *Schoolmen* a *Crime* of the *highest Nature*; and when I am told I must commit it one way or other, by your *Divines*, if I give *Worship* to *Images*, is this only a *Capriche*?

R. P. Will not the same Reason hold against *Bowing to the Altar*; *Bow-* Dial. p.
ing being an Act of Worship appropriated to God? 267.

P. D. Will the same Reason hold against *Bowing out of Reverence to Almighty God*? Which I have told you again and again, is all our *Church* allows in that which you call *Bowing to the Altar*. I see you are very hard put to it, to bring in this single *Instance* upon every turn, against the plain *Sense* and *Declaration* of our *Church*. If this be all T. G. upon so long *Consideration*, hath to say in this matter; it is not hard to judge, who hath much the better Cause.

R. P. I pray, hold from *Triumphing* a while; for there is a fresh *Charge* behind; wherein you will repent that ever you undertook to defend Dr. St.: It is, concerning the *Unjust Parallel* he hath made between the *Heathen* and *Romish Idolatry*.

P. D. I see no Cause to repent hitherto; and I hope I shall find as little when I come to that.

Q 2

THE

THE

Fourth Conference,

About the Parallel between the Heathen and Romish IDOLATRY.

R. P. **H**AVE you considered what T. G. saith, concerning the *Parallel between the Heathen and Romish Idolatry*? And doth not your Heart fail you, as to the Defence of Dr. St. which you promised to undertake?

P. D. No, truly. The more I have consider'd it, the less I fear it.

Dial. p.
276.

R. P. What think you of the Notion of *Idolatry*, he chargeth on T. G.? Viz. *That it is the giving the Sovereign Worship of God to a Creature; and among the Heathens, to the Devil; as if the Idolatry of the Heathens consisted only in worshipping the Devil: Whereas, it appears from the Words Dr. St. cites out of him, that he charged the Heathens with Idolatry, in worshipping their Images for Gods, and the Creatures for Gods; although withal they worshipped Evil Spirits; and T. G. contends, that their Supreme God was an Arch-Devil.*

P. D. Is this such a Difficulty to be set in the Front? I suppose, it is only to try whether I will stumble at the Threshold. If the *Supreme God* whom the Heathens worshipped, was an *Arch-Devil*, as T. G. saith; then, without all Question, they gave their most *Sovereign Worship* to the Devil. And when he pleads so earnestly, That all the *Gods* of the Heathens were *Devils*, under whatsoever Name or Title they worshipped them; what Injury can T. G. think it to his *Hypothesis*, to say, That the *Heathen Idolatry* did consist in giving *Sovereign Worship* to the Devil? Besides, Dr. St.'s Words do not imply, That according to T. G. the Heathens did not give *Sovereign Worship* to other Things; but that they did it *eminently* to the Devil: Which must needs follow, if the *Supreme God* among them was no other than an *Arch-Devil*; as T. G. then asserted, and now endeavours more at large to prove.

R. P. Therefore waving this, I come to the main Point; *Whether the Heathen Jupiter were the true God, or an Arch-Devil?*

P. D. You are just like the Author of a late Scurrilous Pamphlet called *Jupiter, Dr. St.'s Supreme God, &c.* who would fain reduce the whole Question of *Idolatry* to this single Point, without considering either the Occasion of this Question, or the main Arguments used by Dr. St., or the very scope and design of his Discourse: But he is so pitiful a Trifler, that he deserves no Notice at all. That we may proceed more clearly in this Debate, we ought first to attend to the principal Question; which was, whether *Idolatry* be consistent with the Acknowledgment of one Supreme Being? And the Reason of this Question

Question was, because those who did plead the most plausibly in excusing your Church from Idolatry, went upon this Principle, that supposing Men preserved in their Minds the Notion of one Supreme Being, it is impossible they should give to a Creature that Honour which was due to God alone. To overthrow this Dr. St. undertook to shew, that this Principle would equally excuse the Heathen Idolatry, since both the ancient and modern Heathens did own one Supreme God. And if this be granted him, it matters not to the main design of his Discourse whether it were Jupiter or not. And it is a wonder to me, since the Man in T. G.'s Dialogues who argues against Dr. St. professes himself a Disciple of Mr. Thorndike, he should never take notice of this Principle, nor once go about to defend it. But since T. G. acknowledges that the Heathens had a Notion of One Supreme Being ingrafted in their Minds by Nature; the Point then in debate is, on what account they were charged with Idolatry; and whether that will not reach to the Practices of the Roman Church, i. e. whether their Idolatry lay in worshipping the Creature and not the Creator; or in giving Divine Worship, though of different Degrees, to the Creature and the Creator? And here lies the main Strength of this Controversy; and supposing Dr. St. were mistaken as to the Sense of the Fathers, about Jupiter; yet if the true Notion of Idolatry be proved to consist in giving the same Divine Worship to God and his Creatures, his Parallel will be sufficient to make good the Charge of Idolatry against the Church of Rome. Yet, since T. G. seems to lay so much weight upon the Fathers Sense concerning Jupiter, I am content to examine them together with you; but in the first place let us consider, what the Scripture saith to this Point; for as I remember Dr. St. began with that, then he proceeded to your own Writers; and at last brought in the Testimonies of Fathers; and I see no Reason we should go off from this method.

R. P. Since you will have it so, I will begin with the Scripture; and Dr. St. pretends to prove Jupiter to be the Supreme God, from those words Acts 17. *Whom ye ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you.*

P. D. Consider, I pray, the Question between Dr. St. and T. G., viz. whether it were the true God, or an Arch-devil: And Dr. St. argues in these Words. "Did St. Paul mean the Devil when he said, *whom you ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you?* Did he in good earnest go abroad to preach the Devil to the World? Yet he preached him whom they ignorantly worshipped. What saith T. G. to this?"

R. P. From this very Inscription, *To the unknown God*, he notably proves, it could not be understood of Jupiter, who was a known God; and St. Paul could not be said to come to preach their Jupiter to the Athenians, when he expressly tells them, he came to declare to them a God whom they did not know.

P. D. To this I answer, that the Athenians had so confounded the Notion of the Supreme God, with that of the Poetical Jupiter; and the Peoples Fancies were so stained and polluted with those vulgar Representations of Jove, which they learnt from the Poets and Painters, that the Apostle rather chose to preach the true God to them from the Inscription to the unknown God, than from any Altars that were inscribed Jove Opt. Max. Because the People would have imagined, if St. Paul had made choice of any usual Inscription to a Deity worshipped in common with the rest, that he must in consequence allow the Nature and Kind of their Worship. For they joyned Jupiter and the rest of their Gods together,

ther, the *Body* of their *Worship* consisting of an Acknowledgment of one as *Supreme*, viz. *Jupiter*, and of the rest as worshipped together with him; and so their *Worship* being a *complex* thing, it was more agreeable to the Apostles design, which was to destroy their *Idolatry*, not to make use of that *Notion* of *God* which was corrupted by their *Idolatries*, but to take Advantage from the *Inscription* to the *unknown God*, so to declare his *Nature*, as to confute their *Idolatrous Worship*, as he doth in the following Verses. *Jupiter* therefore as he was the *Head* of the *Heathen Worship*, and as he stood in *Conjunction* with their other *Deities*, was a *known God* amongst them, and solemnly worshipped by the *Athenians*; but as by *Jove* was understood the *Eternal Mind* as the *only proper Object* of *Divine Worship*, and therefore ought not to be worshipped with Men's Hands, nor to be joined with his *Creatures*, so he was an *unknown God*. For they had no other Knowledge of a *Supreme God*, than as of one who admitted others into a *Participation* of the same *Worship* with himself. And there were these two Things which made those *Gentiles* disown the *God* of the *Jews*, who agreed with them in the Acknowledgment of *One Supreme God* who made the World, (1.) That he would be worshipped by no *Images* or *Representations* of himself. (2.) That he would admit no *inferior Beings* to have any Share in *Divine Worship*, but all such were accounted *Idolaters* by the *Jewish Laws*, who according to the Eastern Customs worshipped any other as *Mediators*, or *inferior Deities*. From hence the Heathens accounted the *God* of the *Jews* an *unknown* and *unsociable Deity*; there being no *Representations* made of him; nor any others to be joyned in worship with him: Therefore *Dion Cassius* calls him "Ἀόριστος ὁ θεός", a *God* who could neither be described nor represented. If we believe *Georgius Syncellus*, this *Altar* and *Inscription*, To the *Unknown God*, was but lately set up at *Athens*; whence *St. Paul* might have the greater Reason to take notice of it, and from thence to declare how unsuitable their *Worship* was to the *true God*. And therefore *St. Paul* when he supposes the *True God* to be the *unknown God* among them, speaks not in respect of his *Eternal Being*, for even *T. G.* confesseth the Heathens had the *Notion* of one *Supreme God* ingrafted in their *Minds* by *Nature*; but in respect of his way of *Worship*, without *Images* or *Inferior Deities*. For so he pursues his Discourse, by arguing from his *Perfections*, against that way of *Worship* which was in use among them. Whereas, if he had supposed them wholly ignorant of *One Supreme God*, his first and most necessary Work had been to have proved there was such a *One*; but this he supposes as a thing well enough known in *General* by them; but not worshipped by them as he ought to be. *God* that made the *World* and all *Things* therein, seeing that he is *Lord* of *Heaven* and *Earth*, dwelleth not in *Temples* made with hands; nor is worshipped with *Men's Hands*, &c. If *St. Paul* had supposed them ignorant of a *Supreme God*, ought he not first to have proved that there was a *God* who made the world, &c. But since there was no Dispute about that, he shews the incongruity of their way of *Worship* to the *Perfections* of his *Nature*. *St. Augustin* proves from this place, *Whom ye ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you*; that the *True God* was truly though ignorantly worshipped by the *Athenians*. For, saith he, what did *St. Paul* preach to them, but that the same *God* whom they ignorantly and unprofitably worshipped out of the Church, they should worship wisely and savingly in the Church? One *God*, saith he, is worshipped ignorantly without the Church, and yet he is the same *God*: as it is the same Faith which is without Charity out of the Church;

Syn.
Chron.
P. 333.

Aug. c.
Cresc. l. i.
c. 28, 29.

for

for it is One God, and One Faith, and One Catholick Church; Non in quâ solâ unus Deus colitur, sed in quâ solâ unus Deus piè colitur. Not in which alone One God is worshipped; but in which alone One God is piously worshipped. The fault then of the Athenians lay in their manner of the Worship of the True God, and not in the total neglect of it, or in worshipping an Arch-devil instead of him.

R. P. T. G. doth not deny that they had some confused Notion of a Supreme God, but he saith, that he whom they worshipped under the Notion of Jupiter was an Arch-devil.

P. D. It appears by S. Augustin, that they worshipped the same God, while they were Heathens, and when they became Christians, but after a different manner. And as to Jupiter, Dr. St. observes, that S. Paul quotes the Saying of Aratus, For we are his Off-spring; which words are spoken of Jupiter by the Poet, and applied to the True God by the Apostle; and surely he did not mean that we are the Devil's Off-spring; but from thence he infers, that we are the Off-spring of God; So that if S. Paul may be credited rather than T. G. their Jupiter was so far from being the Arch-devil, that he was the true God blessed for evermore.

R. P. To this T. G. answers, that it is no wonder a Heathen Poet should apply the Attributes of the true God to Jupiter; and the Name of Jupiter to the true God, as being the Name of that Deity which was Supreme among them; but S. Paul takes the Poets words by way of Abstraction from Jupiter, and applies them to the true God; leaving out all mention of Jupiter, and changing his Name; which he would not have done if their Jupiter was the true God.

P. D. I pray tell me one thing; did S. Paul only intend to fill up his Discourse with the end of a Verse, as some Writers do, with Omne tulit punctum, &c. or did he intend it by way of Argument to convince the Athenians?

R. P. S. Paul surely did not affect Pedantry, and therefore it must be Argumentative.

P. D. If that be granted, consider the force of the Argument in T. G.'s Sense of S. Paul's Words. For in him we live, and move, and have our Being; as certain also of your own Poets have said, For we are also his Off-spring. For as much then as we are the Off-spring of God, &c. S. Paul proves that we have our Life, Motion, and Subsistence from God, from the Words of Aratus; For we are his Off-spring. Either Aratus did speak of the same God whom S. Paul speaks of, or not? if not, where lies the force of the Argument? if he did, then S. Paul allows Aratus his Jupiter to be the Supreme God. Whosoever reads the Verses in Aratus, cannot imagine he should mean any else; and the Greek Scholiast there saith, by Jupiter he meant the God that made the World. And Dr. St. produced the Testimony of Aristobulus the Jewish Philosopher, to the same purpose, viz. that under the Name of Jove, his design was to express the true God.

R. P. T. G. doth not deny that Aratus might apply the Name of Jupiter to the true God, and the Attributes of the true God to Jupiter: But, he saith, it doth not follow that S. Paul, because he cited him, thought their Jupiter to be the true God.

P. D. Suppose then S. Paul was of T. G.'s mind, and that their Jupiter was an Arch-devil; and see what admirable reasoning he attributes to S. Paul. We have all our Dependance upon God, as certain of your own Poets have said, speaking of him who was really an Arch-devil; For

For we are his off-spring. If an *Athenian* had asked *S. Paul*, whose Off-spring doth *Aratus* say we are? *God's* or the *Devils*? If *Jove* meant by *Aratus* was no other than an *Arch-devil*, how doth this prove us to have our Dependance on *God* for Life and Motion? If he were the *true God*, then I grant it follows; and the *Jupiter* meant by *Aratus* must be the *Supreme God*. If *Aratus* doth give the Name of *Jupiter* to the *true God*, then he that was meant under that Name was the *true God*; and *S. Paul* bringing this Sentence to prove a main point of *Divinity*, must allow him that was called by the Name of *Jupiter* to have been the *true God*. And if *T. G.* doth yield that the *Poet* did apply the Name of *Jupiter* to the *true God*, he gives up the Cause, for that is all which *Dr. St.* contends for: And surely it is not possible for *T. G.* to imagine the *true God* and an *Arch-devil* to be the same. And supposing that *Dr. St.* had such a Faculty as he mentions, of changing the *Devil* himself into *God*; it seems much more desirable, than that of *T. G.* of changing the *true God* into an *Arch-devil*.

P. 303.

R. P. But doth not *S. Paul* say, that the *Heathens* offered to *Devils* and not to *God*; and will you make *S. Paul* to contradict himself?

P. 304.

P. D. *S. Paul* doth not there speak of their *Intention* and *Design*; for they professed to worship the *true God*, and good *Spirits* as *inferior Deities*; but what their *Worship* was in *God's* account; which being so abominably corrupted with *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, was so far from being pleasing to *God*, that it could be acceptable to none but impure *Spirits*. From whence you may do well to observe, that *Worship* is not terminated according to the *Intention* of the *Persons*, but according to the *Nature* and *Design* of the *Worship*; For the *Heathens*, when they were urged, did stily maintain, that the *Spirits* they worshipped, were good in themselves and kind to us, and utterly denied that they worshipped any other, as *Dr. St.* hath shewed; but notwithstanding this, *S. Paul* doth charge them with the worshipping of *Devils* and not of *God*. And the main Argument the *Fathers* had to prove them to be *evil Spirits*, was because they received such *Worship* from *Men*, which good *Spirits* would never have done. This Observation is of necessary use for understanding both *Scripture* and *Fathers*, when they charge the *Heathen Idolaters* with worshipping *Devils* and not *God*; as will appear by our following Discourse. This place doth not therefore prove that the *Gentiles* did not intend to worship the *true God* under the Title of *Jupiter O. M.* but that *Idolatrous Worship* doth not tend to the Honour of *God*, but to the service of the *Devil*.

Defence,
p. 518.

R. P. Do not you remember, when at *Lystra* the *Priest* of *Jupiter* would have offered *Sacrifice* to *St. Paul* as *Mercury*, and to *Barnabas* as *Jove*, in whose Shapes they supposed those *Gods* to have appeared; *St. Paul* not only forbade them to do it, but told them, their *Design* was to convert them from those vain Things to the *Living God*. And can you now think that *St. Paul* meant *Jupiter* by this *Living God*; when he taught them to convert themselves from those vain Things (their *False Gods*) to the *Living God*; i. e. to *Jupiter*? Was this his way to persuade the *Men* of *Lystra* to leave the *Worship* of their *Gods*, to tell them that he came to teach them to worship *Jupiter*?

Page 304,
305.

P. D. Is there no Difference between these Two Questions? Whether the *True God* might not be worshipped among the *Heathens*, under the Title of *Jupiter O. M.*? And whether *Jupiter* of *Crete*, as worshipped by them, was not a *False God*? This latter *Dr. St.* never denied; and

and the former was all he pleaded for, as pertinent to his Purpose. When they did make such a Description of him, as to his Power and Goodness, as could not agree to such a Wretch as the *Cretan Jupiter* was described by the Poets; when they rejected the *Poetical Fables*; and declared as plainly as Men could do, that they understood the *Supreme Governor of the World*; as Dr. St. hath at large shewed; the Question is, Whether, under the Name of *Jove*, they meant the *True God*, or not? But doth he ever so much as intimate, that *Jupiter of Crete* was not a *False God*? Or, that S. Paul, and the *Apostles*, did not go about to convert Mankind from the *Vanities of Idol-Worship*, in the Sacrifices they made to this *Jupiter and Mercury*, as well as any other of their *Inferior Deities*? To make this Matter more clear, which concerns the *Worship of Jupiter among the Heathens*, we are to observe,

Defence,
p. 44, &c.

1. That the Name was more ancient in *Greece* for an Object of Divine Worship, than *Jupiter of Crete*. If this can be made out, then although this Name might be applied to a particular Person, (as it was usual in the *Eastern Parts*, to call their Princes by the Name of their Gods) yet originally it belonged to the *Deity*, and consequently might still be properly attributed to him; and under that Name they might well understand the *Supreme God*. For the proof of this, I make use of an Observation of *Pausanias*, and of others from him; viz. That *Cecrops* was the first who called the *Supreme God Δις*, or *Jove*: *Eusebius* hath it Ζῆα. Hic primus omnium Jovem appellavit, saith *Isidore*. It is well known, that *Cecrops* came out of *Egypt*; from whence *Herodotus* observes, the *Greeks* took the Names of their Gods: *Cecrops* lived in the time of *Moses*, and before the Flood of *Deucalion*, saith *Varro*. It happen'd in his time, say *Eusebius* and S. *Jerom*, in which great part of *Theffaly* and *Greece* were overwhelmed. But *Jupiter of Crete*, by whom *Europa* the Daughter of *Agenor* was taken, was the Fifth in Descent from *Deucalion*, according to *Diodorus*; being the Son of *Tectamus*, the Son of *Dorus*, the Son of *Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion*. His proper Name, *Diodorus* saith, was *Asterius*; whom *Eusebius* follows. S. *Augustin* calls him *Zanthus*; and *Strabo*, *Zathus*; whose Son *Ion* carried the Colonies of *Greeks* into the Twelve Cities of *Asia*, from him called *Ionia*. From hence it appears, that the Name of *Jupiter* did not properly belong to him of *Crete*, but was assumed by him, when he affected *Divine Honours*.

Pausan. in
Arcad.
Euseb.
Chron.
p. 28.
Isid. Orig.
l. 8.
Aug. de
Civ. Dei,
l. 18. c. 10.

2. This *Jupiter of Crete* did obtain *Divine Honour*, under that Name, among the rude and barbarous *Greeks*. And this was the great Discovery made by *Eubemerus*, from the Inscription in the Temple of *Jupiter Triphylus*, in *Greece*: From whence it appeared, that this *King of Crete* was a very busy and active Prince, having great Command both at Sea and Land; and was very successful in Reducing the Barbarous People under Laws and Government, and in many useful Inventions for the Benefit of Human Life: Which made the People after his Death in *Crete*, bestow the greatest Divine Honours upon him, and worship him under the most Sacred Name. For it had been a Custom long before, among the *Greeks*, to Deifie the most Useful Men: As St. *Augustin* observes of *Phegous*, the Brother of *Phoroneus*; of *Apis*, King of the *Argives*, who died in *Egypt*; of *Argus*, who had a Temple and Sacrifices allotted to him; of *Phorbas*, *Jasus*, *Schenelus*, who were all Princes among the Old *Greeks*. And therefore it was no won-

Laet. l. 1.
c. 11.

Aug de
Civ. Dei,
l. 18 c. 35.

der such People should give Divine Worship to this Prince, who had brought them into so much Order, in comparison of what they were in before. From hence we find him not only worshipped in Crete, where he had several Titles from the Places where his Temples stood; as *Idæus*, *Dictæus*, *Arbius*, *Afius*, *Temillius*, and *Scillius*, &c. but in Greece, as *Ithometes*, *Atabyrius*, *Triphylius*, *Olympius*, *Cithæronius*, &c. and wherever the Colonies of Greeks in Asia were, as at *Tarsus*, *St. Paul's* own Countrey: And he was called *Sardessius*, from a City of *Lycia*; *Chrysoforeus*, from a Place in *Caria*; *Tarantæus*, from a City in *Bithynia*; *Dolichæus*, from a City in *Comagene*; *Abretanus*, from a Place in *Myfia*; and *Asbameus*, from a Fountain in *Cappadocia*. Is this now any such mighty Argument to prove, that *Jupiter* could not be taken for the Supreme God; because in *Lysra*, a City of *Lycaonia*, *St. Paul* and *Barnabas* refused the Worship the People would have given to them, as to *Jupiter* and *Mercury*? Among the Grecian Colonies, what wonder is it, if the Grecian *Jupiter* was worshipped? And who ever said, that he was not a False God? But, after all this, suppose they did mean the Great and Original *Jupiter*, the Maker of the World; had not *St. Paul* and *Barnabas* Reason to turn them from the Vanities of their Worship, when they found them so ready to give Divine Honours to Two Men whom they fancied to appear in the Likeness of their Gods, by doing a sudden and unexpected Miracle? And if it were lawful, by the Light of Nature, to give Divine Worship of an Inferior Degree to Mankind; what made the Apostles so concern'd, to run in among them, and to rent their Cloaths, and to cry out, *We are men of like Passions with you*. Therefore, all that Strain of *T. G.*'s Rhetorick, whereby he endeavours to return *Dr. St.*'s Arguments upon himself from this place, hath no manner of Strength or Pungency in it.

But what saith *T. G.* to *Dr. St.*'s other Argument from Scripture? *Rom. i. 19.* *Viz.* That *St. Paul*, to the Romans, doth say, *That which is known of God, was manifest among the Heathens; that his Eternal Power and Godhead were so far discovered, that they were left without excuse in their gross Idolatry*. How could this be, if their Supreme God, whom they worshipped, were only an Arch-devil? Or doth *T. G.* suppose, that they did own One True God, but gave all their Worship to the Devil? And since the Name of *Jupiter* was used to express always the Chief God whom they did own, and by such Characters as could only agree to the True God; is it any ways likely, they should never intend to worship him under that Name? When *Dr. St.* hath shewed from *Dio Chrysostom*, That by *Jupiter* they meant the first and greatest God, the Supreme Governor of the World, and King over all Rational Beings.

Defence, P. 11, 47.

R. P. I do not find *T. G.* takes any Notice of the other Argument from Scripture; but he applies himself to the Fathers.

P. D. But what saith he to the Testimonies *Dr. St.* produced of the Writers of his own Church; a full Jury of them, who frankly acknowledge that the Heathens did own and worship One Supreme God?

Def. from P. 11. to P. 23.

P. D. I suppose he thought none of the rest worth answering: But he finds great fault with the Testimony of *Aquinas*.

R. P. This is a rare way of answering. *Dr. St.* produced Twelve several Authors, of good Reputation: *T. G.* takes no notice of Eleven of them; and because he makes some Cavils at the Twelfth, he would have this pass for an Answer to them all.

R. P. But

R. P. But the Dr. loseth his Credit so much in that, that we need not to examine the rest.

P. D. Why so? It is possible a Man, through Haste or Inadvertency, or as T. G. expresseth it, *through a casual Undulation of the Visual Rays*, may for once mistake; but doth it follow, that he must do it for Twelve times together? But I have not yet found any Cause for these Clamours; and I suppose there may be as little as to this Testimony: I pray tell me, where lies it?

R. P. T. G. makes a great many Words about it; but the short of the Charge is this: *That what Aquinas spoke of some of the Philosophers, viz. the Platonicks, who acknowledged One Supreme God; from whom, they said, all those others (whom they called Gods) did receive their Being; Dr. St. interprets, as spoken of the Generality of the Heathens; who are there said to acknowledge a Multitude of Gods, properly so called.* Dial. from P. 399. to P. 405.

P. D. I know not whether to express greater Shame or Indignation, at this disingenuous Dealing. There needs no other Answer, but to set down Aquinas's Words, and to leave the Reader to construe them.

Hac autem veritate repelluntur Gentiles Deorum multitudinem constitentes, quamvis plures eorum unum Deum summum esse dicerent, à quo omnes alios quos Deos nominabant, creatos esse asserebant, &c. Can any thing be plainer from these Words, than that those Gentiles are refuted, who held a Multitude of Independent Deities; although the greater Number of them (Of whom? Is it not of the Heathens he spake of before? And where is there one Word of Platonists or Philosophers, in the whole Sentence?) do acknowledge One Supreme God, of whom all others whom they called Gods, did receive their Being. What can be more evident from these Words; than that although some among the Heathens might hold a Multitude of Independent Deities, yet the greater Number did not? The single Question here is, Whether *Plures Gentilium* doth signifie the greater Number of Gentiles, or the Small Number of Platonists, who are not once mentioned? But besides this, Dr. St. produces another Testimony out of the same Book of Aquinas; where he makes Three several Schemes of the Heathen Worship: *Viz. (1.)* Of those who held One First Principle; but thought Divine Worship might be given to Inferior Beings. *(2.)* Of those who supposed God to be the Soul of the World. *(3.)* Of those who worshipped Animated Images. If the other had been the General Opinion of the Heathens, he would have ranked it in the first place; viz. of those who gave Divine Worship to many Independent Deities; but he doth not so much as mention it, where it had been very proper to do it. And it is plain from this Testimony of Aquinas, that it is Idolatry to give Divine Worship to any *Creaturas*, although of never so great Excellency. c. Gentis, l. 1. c. 43.

R. P. Let us come to the *Fathers*, I beseech you; for my Fingers itch to be at them: For I see, T. G. hath taken more than ordinary Pains to prove, *That the Fathers make the Heathens Supreme God to be an Arch-devil.* But it is necessary in the first place to state the Question aright.

P. D. I think so too.

R. P. T. G. hath taken some pains to do it; to prevent misunderstanding. For he takes notice of Four several Questions which may relate to this Matter. *(1.) Whether the Heathens did not acknowledge one Supreme* Dial. p. 310.

Supreme God? which he yields, and produces several Testimonies of the Fathers to that purpose. (2.) Whether the Heathens did not pretend that they understood this Supreme God by Jupiter, and accordingly gave him the Titles due to the Supreme God? This T. G. denies not, to be fully proved by Dr. St., but he saith all these Testimonies are impertinent. (3.) Whether the Fathers do not acknowledge that this was pretended by the Heathens? This T. G. accounts impertinent too: For, saith he, they might cite some Sayings of the Heathen to that purpose, and yet be of a contrary Judgment themselves. But the Point in debate between the Dr. and T. G. is this; (4.) Whether it were the Fathers own sense that Jupiter was the Supreme God?

P. D. I pray tell tell me for what end were the Fathers appealed to in this dispute about the nature of Idolatry? Was it not to prove Idolatry consistent with the Acknowledgement of one Supreme God? For doth not Dr. St. propose several ways for the Proof of this concerning the Heathens, either the Testimony of the Heathens themselves; or of the Writers of the Roman Church, or of the Scriptures, or of those Fathers who disputed against their Idolatry, or of the Roman Church it self? Therefore the Fathers were appealed to as Witnesses concerning this main Point; and if it appear from them that it was Idolatry in the Heathens to own a Supreme Deity, and to give Divine Worship to any created Being, then the Notion of Idolatry will reach to the Roman Church. But T. G. endeavours to get off from the close Debate of this, which was the most pertinent of all, and would fain substitute another Question in the place of it, which was but a secondary and accidental dispute occasioned by T. G.'s saying that the Heathens Supreme God was an Arch-devil. Although Dr. St. hath proved that was not agreeable to the general sense of the Fathers, yet any one may see that quite through his Discourse his chief aim was at stating the Nature of Idolatry according to the Sense of the Fathers. From Justin Martyr he shews that the Question between the Christians and Heathens was not about one Supreme God, which he acknowledges to be owned by them; but whether Divine Worship ought in general to be given to any Creature, and in particular to the Heathen Gods? And he lays the force of the Christian Doctrine as to Worship, upon that peremptory Declaration of the Will of God; *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* The same he shews as to Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Cyril, and all the Fathers who managed the Dispute against the Heathen Idolatry. Is it impertinent to the right stating the Nature of Idolatry, to consider whether they who charged the Heathens with it, did at the same time confess they owned One Supreme God? Doth not T. G. himself grant that it is very material towards the right Understanding the Nature of Idolatry to consider what was the design of the Fathers to charge them with Idolatry in? Whether in worshipping the Creature and not the Creator with Divine Worship; or in worshipping more Gods than one properly so called; (which he seems to fix the Heathen Idolatry upon) or in giving the same Worship to God and his Creatures (which Dr. St. asserts.) Which Notion soever of these be true, it cannot be said to be impertinent for Dr. St. to prove his Notion to be the Sense of the Fathers. And if the Heathens did acknowledge One Supreme God, as T. G. grants, and the Fathers do allow this in their Disputes of Idolatry; which T. G. cannot deny; then the Question comes to this, whether they charged them with Idolatry only for neglecting to worship the Supreme God which they owned; or in holding one Supreme and many Supremes at the same time? For if they believed

lieved *one Supreme God*, as *T. G.* grants, and yet held *many independent Deities* which they worshipped as such, they must hold *one Supreme* and yet *many*; for every *independent Deity* must be *Supreme*. I wonder therefore if *T. G.* designed to debate this matter fairly, why he should account the other Questions impertinent; and account that the only Point in debate, Whether according to the *Sense* of the *Fathers*, *Jupiter* was the *Supreme God*?

R. P. Do not you remember how *Dr. St.* insulted over him as to the *Sense* of the *Fathers* in this Matter; and had he not Reason then to speak to this Point?

P. D. I allow him all the Liberty he can desire, provided he do not reject the main Evidence as to the Cause of *Idolatry* to be *impertinent*; which he would cut off by this Trick, that they do not refer to his Question about *Jupiter*. But since you have such a mind to tell me the *Sense* of the *Fathers* in this Matter, let us hear and consider them in order.

R. P. *T. G.* begins as *Dr. St.* doth with *Justin Martyr*: and he shews from him, that the *Devils* appearing in human Shapes were the first beginners of *Idolatry*, the People taking them for Gods, and worshipped their Images. Dial. p. 287.

P. D. This is no great discovery to *Dr. St.* for he takes notice of this very Opinion of *Justin Martyr*. Defence, P. 29.

R. P. But he makes *Jupiter* to have been one of these *Devils* in his first Apology, Where he saith, the Poets and Mythologists not knowing that the Angels and Dæmons begotten by them had been the Authors of the infamous Practices he there speaks of, attributed them to God himself, and to the Sons begotten by him, and to those who are called his Brethren, Neptune and Pluto.

P. D. What follows from hence, I beseech you?

R. P. That according to the *Sense* of *Justin Martyr*, *Jupiter* the *Supreme God* was a Devil.

P. D. That should be better proved; For how doth it follow from *Justin's* Words? That which *Justin* saith is, that what he attributes to Devils, the Poets attribute to God himself, and his Sons: And what then? It thence follows that *Justin* thought they attributed very unworthy things to God, but not that he thought him to be a Devil. For doth not the same Author prove that their Poets as well as Philosophers did own One Supreme God, and that *Homer* calls him Emphatically, Θεὸς αὐτός, which is the very Expression *Justin* useth in this place, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Θεόν; and by that, he saith, is meant the truly existent Deity, whom he calls τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν.

R. P. But *Justin* saith, the Devils were the Causes of *Idolatry*, and the Poets say the true God was the Cause; therefore according to *Justin Martyr* their true God was a Devil.

P. D. Which is just like this kind of Reasoning. The Poets and Mythologists of the Roman Church attribute the Miracles wrought by Images to the true God; others say, they are wrought by the Power of the Devil; therefore they make the Papists God to be a Devil. Which is altogether as true Reasoning as the former. For *Justin* saith, he believes *Idolatry* to have come from the Devils; the Poets they say it came from God: And although he quotes this Opinion of theirs, it doth not follow that he thought their God to be a Devil; but that they attributed those Things to God, which did come from the Devil. So much for the first Testimony, let us come to the next; and if the rest prove like it, notwithstanding

withstanding T. G.'s fluttering, all his Fathers will be but a Cove of one still.

Defence,
P. 288.

R. P. The next is *Athenagoras*, who first shews from what the Poets and Historians relate concerning the Heathen Gods, that there was nothing that might induce us to believe Saturn, Jupiter, Proserpine, and the rest of them to be Gods, but rather that they were Men, and by their Actions Devils: And then that Jupiter according to the Interpretation of the Philosophers was no God.

P. D. Is not this, the same *Athenagoras* who said, that the generality of Mankind were agreed in this, whether they would or no, that there was but One God? And who proves this from the Testimony of the Heathen Poets and Philosophers, and that with the very Name of Jupiter too?

Athenag.
Leg. pro
Christian.
p. 5, 6.

Τὸν ἑνὸς Ζῆνα τὸν δ' ἕνα Θεόν

Doth *Athenagoras* yield this to be a good Proof concerning One True God, and yet deny the true God to be meant by Jupiter? No; but we must consider a Threefold Sense of Jupiter among the Fathers.

(1.) The Original Jupiter, the Father of Gods and Men among the Poets, the Supreme Mind and Governor of the World among the Philosophers; the One God confessed by all Mankind; whom *Athenagoras* mentions under that Name, in the Verses of *Euripides*. And if *Athenagoras* took this Jupiter for a Devil, he doth not prove any thing to his Purpose from those Testimonies of the Poets and Philosophers: For his Design was to vindicate the Christians in holding the Unity of the Godhead, which I desire T. G. to observe; You accuse us, saith *Athenagoras*, because we reject your popular Gods, and assert One God; yet saith he, you condemn not your Poets and Philosophers who applied themselves most to the Consideration of Things, and agree with us in the Unity of the Godhead. What force were there in this Argument, if the God they owned were not the True God, but an Arch-devil? How could the Christians plead the Consent of the Wiser Heathens with them, if they owned a Devil instead of the true God? Suppose any loyal Subjects in the late Times had been accused as Enemies to the Government, would it have passed for any Vindication of them to have pleaded that they owned O. C. who was a single Person, as well as our lawful King? It is true, they both agreed in a single Person, but the Rights of those Two single Persons were so opposite to each other, that the same Men could not be Friends to both, or both be said to own the same Monarchy. But when the Christians pleaded the Consent of the Heathens, it was not meerly to purge themselves from Atheism; but to shew that the wisest Heathens were of their Mind; As T. G. confesseth, the Fathers appealed to the Testimony of the Consciences of Men to this purpose, as giving Evidence for Christians, (mark that.) What Evidence was this for Christians, unless it were not only for One God, but for the True God? For they who did own One God, who was so far from being the true, that in the Fathers Judgment, he was the greatest Enemy to him in the World, viz. an Arch-devil; these were far from giving Testimony to the Christians; as who would say, that the Indians who worship the Devil, do give Testimony to the True God? If therefore it was the Arch-devil, as T. G. saith, whom the Poets and Philosophers according to the Fathers, did give Testimony to, instead of producing their Evidence as they did on all Occasions, they ought

Dial. p.
312, 313,
314.

ought to have rejected it with Scorn and Indignation. For what Consent could there be between *God* and the *Devil*? If the *Fathers* thought they owned *one supreme Devil*, and yet produced their Testimonies to justify their Belief of *One True God*, it would have been just as if the King's Subjects should have said to O. C.'s Friends; why are you angry with us for not submitting to his Government, since D. and H. and P. and the rest, own a *single Person* as well as we? True, would they have said, but our Difference is the more irreconcilable, for you are for one single Person and we for another; and their Interests can never be united, there being a Competition between them for the same Power. Thus when *Athenagoras* and the rest of the *Fathers* produce the Testimonies of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, &c. to shew their Consent with the Christians in the Acknowledgment of *One Supreme God*; we will suppose the Emperor *Antoninus* to whom *Athenagoras* addressed himself, to ask him this Question, You produce their Testimonies to prove their Consent with you as to *One Supreme God*; do you mean the same God; or an *Usurper* and an *Arch-devil*? If you think it was not the same, but his utter Enemy, What Madness is it to produce those who owned him whom you account the greatest Usurper, to prove a Consent with you, who pretend to discover his Usurpation, and do cry out upon him as the greatest Enemy to God and Mankind? If you think they meant the same God with you, who is the *Lord and Governor of the World*, we cannot deny the Force of your Allegations, and judge it unreasonable to condemn you for that Doctrine, which the wisest among our selves did own. Since therefore T. G. confesseth that the Heathens did own *One Supreme God*, and that under the Name of *Jupiter*, and that the *Fathers* do produce many Testimonies of theirs to that purpose; and that, as it appears, to shew their Consent with Christians as to the *Unity of the Godhead*, as *Athenagoras* saith expressly; what can follow more naturally from hence, than that the *Fathers* did look upon that *Jupiter* whom they owned to be the *One Supreme God*, to be the same *True God*, whom the Christians worshipped? And when *Athenagoras* produced the Testimony of *Plato* concerning the *Maker and Father of the Universe*, he immediately adds, ἐνα τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ αἰδίδεν ὡς Θεόν· understanding thereby *one unbegotten and eternal God*. Was this meant by *Athenagoras* of the *True God*, or of the *Arch-devil*? And from hence he argues thus; If *Plato's Opinion* were not *Impious or Atheistical*, neither is ours who hold the same God who made the World. What Force is there in this Arguing, if *Athenagoras* did not look on *Plato's God* and the *Christians* to be the same? And in another place speaking of *Plato's* Saying concerning *Jupiter*, that he rides first in Heaven upon his winged Chariot, ordering and disposing all Things; and an Army of Gods and Daemons follows him; he subjoyns this Caution, that this is not to be understood of *Jupiter the Son of Saturn*; but that this Name belongs to the *Maker of all Things*. Can there be a plainer Testimony than this, that there was a more ancient and greater *Jupiter* than the *Son of Saturn*, and he no less than the *Maker of the World*? When *Athenagoras* himself makes this Distinction, and owns that the Name of *Jupiter* belongs to the *Maker of all Things*, is it possible to think that by this *Jupiter*, *Athenagoras* did not mean the *Supreme God* but an *Arch-devil*? But he goes on and saith, that *Plato* added the word *Great* to *Jupiter* on purpose to distinguish the *Celestial Jupiter* from the *Terrestrial*, and him that was *unbegotten*, from him that was *begotten*; and not only *Junior* to the Hea-

Legat. p.
26.

ven

ven and Earth, but to the Cretans who stole him away to prevent his being killed by his Father.

(2.) The Poetical Jupiter. Of him Athenagoras speaks, when he joyns him with Saturn and Proserpina. Where he mentions the Poetical Theology; and he saith, That Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod, were not much inferior in Age to the Gods they describe, as to their Genealogies, Shapes, Actions and Passions; which he shews at large to be unworthy of any who are called Gods. Towards the latter end of his Apology, he gives the true Account of these Things, viz. that those whom they worshipped for Gods had formerly been Men of Interest and Power, and either through Fear or Flattery had Divine Worship given to them; and particularly of Jupiter, he proves from Callimachus, that he was born in Crete, although the Poet will by no means allow that he died and had a Sepulchre there. From hence he shews, that under the Names of Deified Men the evil Spirits did assume the Divine Worship which was given to themselves; which he proves from the cruel and impure Actions which they did put Men upon. He shews, that the Image of Neryllinus who lived in their time did give Answers to those who consulted it; and so did that of Proteus, or Lucian's Peregrinus, who cast himself into the Fire at Olympia; since therefore the Images themselves could not do these things, nor those whose Images they were, he concludes they were Evil Spirits who were busy about those Images, and wrought upon the Imaginations of those who came to consult them. And who denies that these were Evil Spirits which drew Men to Idolatry, and encouraged them in it, as Athenagoras observes, who under the Names of great Men did assume Divine Worship to themselves? And in this Sense Dr. St. never denied that Jupiter of Crete was a false God, and the Devil under his Name drew Men to the Practice of gross Idolatry.

(3.) The Allegorical Jupiter. For Athenagoras saith, that the Poetical Fables were so filthy and base, that the Philosophers had no other way, but to turn them into Allegories; and to interpret them Physically of the Nature and Mixture of the Elements. And thus according to Empedocles, Jupiter was Fire, Juno Earth, Pluto Air, Nestis Water. However, saith Athenagoras, these are but Elements, and Parts of Matter, and therefore cannot be Gods nor deserve Divine Worship. The Stoicks made Jupiter to be Fire, Juno Air, Neptune Water. Others made one part of Air to be Jupiter, and another Juno: However they cooked and dressed their Allegories, they were but Pork still; it could arise no higher than a Worship of the Elements instead of God. And now let any one judge how sufficiently T. G. hath proved from Athenagoras, that the Supreme God of the Heathens was an Arch-devil. I pray proceed to your next.

R. P. Theophilus Antiochenus saith, that neither the Mother of the Gods, nor her Children are Gods, but Idols, the Works of Men's Hands, and most impure Devils: Which T. G. saith, was cited by him in the same Page with Origen before, although Dr. St. makes so much sport with him about crying out the Fathers, when he named, he saith, only Origen.

P. D. And was not this true? Dorth T. G. name any more than Origen to prove that Jupiter according to the Fathers was an Arch-devil? Look the place and you will find it punctually true. I grant he mentions Theophilus Antiochenus in the same Page; but to what purpose? Not to prove the Supreme God an Arch-devil; but the inferior Deities to be inferior Devils: Which was a thing never denied by Dr. St.; and therefore this Testimony signifies as little now, as it did before.

R. P. But

R. P. But you will not so easily reconcile *Tertullian's Testimonies* with Dr. St.'s abominable pretence, as T. G. calls it, that the God of the Romans was the true God. Dial. p. 290.

P. D. It is one thing to say, the God of the Romans was the true God, and another to say, they did worship the True God under the Title of Jupiter O. M. For the former may imply that they had no other Gods besides him to whom they gave Divine Worship; which I dare say never came into Dr. St.'s Head. But all that he asserted was, that the Romans did own and worship the Supreme God under the Titles of Jupiter O. M. and gave such Characters and Descriptions of him as could agree to none but the Lord and Governor of the World: Which he proved from many Testimonies of Cicero, Seneca, and others the gravest of the Roman Writers. And what doth *Tertullian* say, to take off these Testimonies?

R. P. First, he saith, we are not ignorant that those who act and are pleased and counterfeit a Divinity under those Names (of dead Men) and consecrated Statues, are wicked Spirits, i. e. Devils. Tertul de spect. c. 10

P. D. And what then I beseech you? Was Jupiter O. M. one of these dead Men? if not, to what purpose is this Testimony brought; unless it be as Countrey People say for want of a better?

R. P. Not so, for he saith elsewhere, We worship one God whom ye all know by the Light of Nature: As for the rest whom you think to be Gods, we know them to be Devils. Ad Scap. c. 2.

P. D. Admirable! who can stand before such Demonstrations? *Tertullian* here grants they all knew the True God, therefore the Supreme God of the Romans was a Devil. He might as well have brought another Testimony out of the Book *de spectaculis*; No Man can be ignorant of that which Nature suggests, that God is the Maker of the World. Were the Romans ignorant of that which *Tertullian* saith, no Man could be ignorant of? And when they made use of the most proper Epithets of Good and Great to describe and worship him by, is it probable they should not understand him? Or that *Tertullian* should think their Supreme God was an Arch-devil; when he saith in the Words cited by T. G. he was the same God whom the Christians worshipped? Doth T. G. consider what he writes? when he puts down this for a Testimony against Dr. St. We worship one God whom ye all know by the Light of Nature. Doth it not hence follow, that the God whom the Gentiles knew, was the same whom the Christians worshipped? and he was not certainly an Arch-devil. I pray judge, whose Pretence is the more abominable upon his own Testimonies. De spect. c. 1.

R. P. For all this, *Tertullian* shews, that Jupiter worshipped in the Capitol was not the true God. For speaking of the Supplications the Heathens made there, he saith, they were averse both from God and Heaven. Apol. c. 40.

P. D. And had he not great Reason to say so, when he saith, The Romans with full Bellies, and wallowing in all kind of Luxury, did offer up their Sacrifices to obtain Rain, and thought to have it drop down from the Capitol upon them, if the People went barefoot thither? Doth not God himself tell the Jews they were far from him, when they seemed most to draw nigh unto him? i. e. their Sacrifices and Oblations signified nothing, while they continued in their Sins. I should not stick to say that intemperate and wicked Men are averse both from God and Heaven, though they walk Barefoot, and make the richest Presents to the true God.

But how doth this prove they did not intend to worship the true God there? Although withal, their Worship, even in the Capitol, was Idolatrous Worship; both as to the Image of Jupiter, and the Conjunction of their Gods with him; therefore whatever their Intention was as to the Worship of Jupiter O. M. their Supplications might well be displeasing to the True God; and on that account they might be said to be averse from God and Heaven.

Apolog.
c. 24.

Dial. p.
290.

R. P. I have another Testimony of Tertullian still good; which if I mistake not will put you hard to it. It is in his Apologetick. We are esteemed not to be Romans but injurious to them, because we do not worship the God of the Romans. 'Tis well he is the God of all, whether we will or no. But among you it is lawful to worship any thing but the true God; as if he were not the great God of all, whose we are all. What could be said more express to remove that abominable Pretence of the Doctor's, that the God of the Romans was the true God?

Apolog.
c. 16.

Dial. p.
301.

P. D. I see no Reason in the World for your accounting the Doctor's Pretence abominable, unless he justified the way of Worship then used, which he confesseth to be abominable both in the old Romans and others who too much imitate their Idolatries. Observe, that Tertullian speaks of their Worship, which being Idolatrous, the Christians had just Reason to refuse joyning with the Romans in it. From hence they were accused for worshipping another God from him whom the Romans worshipped; and Tertullian before mentions the several Suspicions which they had concerning the God of the Christians; some said it was the Head of an Ass, some the Cross, some the Sun, and some set forth a ridiculous Picture with the Ears of an Ass, a Book and a Gown, and called this the God of the Christians. Tertullian upon this declares that the Christians worshipped the God that made the World, and none else, or as he said to Scapula, the God whom all Men know by Nature. And in that very Chapter from whence those Words are cited, he saith, it was the common Opinion among the Romans, that there was one God higher and more powerful than all the rest, of perfect Wisdom and Majesty: For the greatest part, saith he, did make this Scheme of Divinity, that the chief Power lay in one God, to whom the rest were only Ministerial and Subservient. I am afraid T. G. will allow my Sense of these Words no more than he is wont to do Dr. St.'s. I will therefore give you Tertullian's own Words. *Nam & sic plerique disponunt Divinitatem, ut imperium summæ Dominationis esse penes unum, officia ejus penes multos velint.* Which Words are of mighty weight and consequence in this Matter, towards the right understanding Tertullian's Meaning. Here we see from whence Aquinas had his *plures eorum*, and in what Sense it must be understood. From hence it appears, that the Generality of the Heathens did not assert a Multitude of independent Gods: nor were charged with Idolatry on that account. And to let us see whom they meant by this Supreme God, he produces in the next Words the place of Plato mentioned by Athenagoras, of the great Jupiter in Heaven with his Army of Gods and Demons.

R. P. But Tertullian saith, the Christians did not worship the God of the Romans; and the Romans would not suffer them to worship the True God: How could this be, if they did own and worship the True God?

P. D. I will tell you, The God of the Romans was he who was worshipped after an Idolatrous Manner in the Capitol and elsewhere: The Christians chose rather to dye than to worship God after this manner: The Romans would permit no other kind of Worship than their own:

And

And when the Christians refused to joyn in their Worship, they could not believe, let them say what they would, that they worshipped *that God whom all Men know by the Light of Nature*. The God of the Romans is the God worshipped after the Roman manner, as the God of the Jews, of the Turks, and of the Christians, is the God worshipped according to those several Laws, although he be the same God in himself the Master and Governor of the World. This place then doth imply no more, than that the Roman Religion as it stood at that Time, and the Christian, were inconsistent; but it doth not follow from hence that the Romans did not intend to worship the Supreme God under the Title of Jupiter.

R. P. Before we leave *Tertullian*, I have something more to say to you concerning him: It is about a Passage of his Book *ad Scapulam* cited by Dr. St. where he endeavours to prove, that the Heathens Jupiter was the Supreme God, by a Miracle wrought upon the Heathens Supplications to him under the Name of Jove. Dial. p. 371, &c.

P. D. Are you sure that Dr. St. ever meant any such thing?

R. P. T. G. quotes his words, *God*, saith he, *shewed himself to be the powerful God, by what he did upon their Supplications to him under the Name of Jove*.

P. D. But doth not Dr. St. expressly say, that it was upon the Prayers of Christians, that Miracle was wrought?

Defence,
p. 47.

R. P. Yes, T. G. takes notice of that, and from thence proves that he wilfully corrupted *Tertullian's* Text, and makes a very Tragical Business of it. Methinks I see the great *Dionysius* with his Birchen Scepter walking round him, telling him of his Faults, and then one or two Lashes; but lest his Pain should be too soon at an end, he takes off his Hand, and walks the other turn, with a Stern and Magisterial Countenance, bidding others beware, and telling them what an Example he will make of him; he lays on again, with such a Spring in his Arm, and so many repeated Strokes, that I even pity the poor Doctor, and I could not think *Dionysius* himself could have expressed more Severity on such an Occasion; but I consider, it is against an Heretick, and it is necessary sometimes to let you see how sharp we can be. Dial. p. 284.

P. D. You need not to tell us that; but we had need to keep out of your Lash as long as we can, for we expect no great Kindness from you, if ever we fall under it. But why should T. G. think that Dr. St. designed to corrupt *Tertullian's* Sense in that place, when himself had before owned that the Miracle was wrought by the Prayers of the Christians? He would never have done this, if he intended the other. I do confess the Words, as they lye, are capable of that Construction T. G. puts upon them; but in common Ingenuity they ought to be understood according to his own former Sense of them; unless the Force of the Argument lay in the other Sense; which I do not perceive it doth. For Dr. St. designed to prove in that place from *Tertullian*, that the Heathens did acknowledge one Supreme God, from the Testimony of their Consciences, and lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven upon any great Occasion: And then brings in those Words before mentioned, which are there produced for no other end, but to shew that the same powerful God was owned by the Gentiles and Christians in that famous Miracle. He did not intend there to prove, as T. G. suggests, that Jupiter whom they worshipped in the Capitol was this one Supreme Being, from the Testimony of *Tertullian* and the Miracle wrought by God himself upon the Heathens Supplications to him under the Name of Jove; And where he did purposely

Defence,
p. 91.

posely set himself to prove this, he there confesses that the Miracle was wrought at the Prayers of the Christians, and that the whole Army made the Exclamation, *Deo Deorum & qui solus potens*, whereby they did in *Jovis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddere*, saith Tertullian; and Dr. St. adds, that the Heathens did intend this Honour to their own Jove. From whence it appears that all the Force of the Argument from this Testimony lies in this, that the Heathens did confess there was One Supreme and Powerful God, whom they called Jove. And this I say in Dr. St.'s Name is the whole Strength and Force of his Argument, and that he never thought of what T. G. imposes upon him, viz. that God wrought that Miracle upon the Supplications of the Heathens, to prove that Jove was the True God: which was not necessary to his Design. But I do insist upon it, as an invincible Proof of that which he intended, the Acknowledgment of One Supreme God, whom they called Jove. I do yield then, that the Miracle was wrought by the Prayers of the Christians; that the Christians did not pray to God under the Name of Jove; that the Heathens did attribute the Honour of the Miracle to their Jove; that in the Titles they gave to him on this Occasion they did give Testimony to the mighty Power of that God whom the Christians worshipped; I will not deny, that M. Aurelius did write a Letter to the Senate, wherein he acknowledged this Miracle to be wrought by the Christians, (although it may be that was not the Letter which is extant in Baronius.) But after all these Concessions, I say, that Dr. St.'s Argument holds good, that the Heathens did acknowledge One Supreme God under the Name of Jove. For what could the Army mean else, by that Acclamation, *Deo Deorum & qui solus potens*? From whence it unavoidably follows, that the Heathen Army did acknowledge One Supreme and Omnipotent God, whom they called Jove: And in Antoninus his Column at Rome, this God is described under the Title of *Jupiter Pluvius*: Therefore according to the Sense of the Heathen Army, this Jupiter was *Deus Deorum, & solus Potens*. T. G. could not but see, that herein lay the Strength of Dr. St.'s Argument; but he dissembles it, and makes him to aim at what he never thought of, and catching hold of an ambiguous Expression, he runs away with that, and uses him with more Severity than ever Dionysius turned Pedant, or reforming Stepmother used; which are his own Expressions upon a far less Occasion.

R. P. But Tertullian distinguishes the true God from him who was worshipped under the Name of Jove.

P. D. I deny not, that Tertullian doth distinguish the Worship of the True God from the Worship of Jove. And when the Heathens attributed such Miracles to their Jupiter, with a design thereby to justify the Heathen Worship, the Christians had great Reason to stand upon this Distinction; and to complain that what the Christians obtained by Prayers and Fasting, they attributed to their Jupiter, i. e. what the Christians hoped would convince them of their Idolatry, they used for an Argument to prove that God was not displeased with it. But it doth not follow, from any thing Tertullian hath said, that he did not suppose the Heathens did not intend to worship the True God under their Jupiter, when he confesses the greatest part of them did suppose one Supreme God, and that the Christians worshipped the same God whom all Men knew by the Light of Nature.

R. P. What

R. P. What say you to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who affirms the Gods of the Heathens to be Devils; and among the rest he reckons up Jupiter himself; so far was he from thinking Jupiter to be the true God? Dial. p. 290.

P. D. Dr. St. had prevented this Objection, by saying that in that place *Clemens* speaks of the Poetical Theology, and of Jupiter of Crete; but withal he shews, not only that *Clemens* doth acknowledge that all Mankind had a natural Knowledge of the true God, but that they meant him under the Name of Jupiter: And commends the manner of Speaking concerning God as grave and decent, where the Divine Perfections are attributed to Jupiter: He quotes a Saying of *Xenocrates* wherein he calls God, ὁπάριον Δία, the Supreme Jove, and some others of a like Nature. Which seem to be as plain Evidences as Dr. St. could desire. And what Answer doth T. G. give to them? Defence, P. 75.

R. P. He saith, it doth not follow from hence that it was the Sense of *Clemens* himself, that Jupiter who was worshipped in the Temples was that True God. And his meaning was not to assert Jupiter to be that Supreme Being, but from the Epithets and Titles of Omniscient, Omnipotent, &c. which the Poets and Philosophers attributed unto God under the Name of Jupiter, to convince them, that there was but one Supreme Being, Maker and Governor of the World. P. 77.

P. D. His Design then was to convince them of that, which he proves they all knew already. If they had such a Knowledge of God, as T. G. grants that *Clemens* doth prove from their Testimonies, either it was the True God they knew, or a false God or an Arch-devil. If the latter, they do not reach to what he brings them for, which was to prove the imbred Notion of one Supreme Disposer of things; if the former, then all those Titles and Epithets did express the True God; according to *Clemens* his own Sense of them. But doth T. G. think that they gave the Titles and Epithets of Omnipotent, Omniscient, &c. to the Devil? and that *Clemens* believed it at the same time, when he proves from hence that all Men have the natural Knowledge of God? If he can think so, he must make *Clemens* a Man of much Reading, but of no Judgment. But I pray reflect a little; T. G. confesses that *Clemens* saith, that those Epithets were attributed to Jupiter with a great deal of Decency and Gravity concerning God; then according to T. G. the Devil may very decently and gravely be said to be an Omnipotent and Omniscient Devil. For I pray observe but this one Passage, and you will find what pitiful Shifts T. G. is put to. The things which the Poets attribute to Jupiter in express Terms *Clemens* saith are spoken with great Decorum of God: And at the same time he grants, that they meant God by their Jupiter; what then follows but that although they used the Name Jupiter, yet under that Name they spake those things of God which were very agreeable to him. No, saith T. G. this is not his Meaning, but that they spake those Things concerning their Jupiter, which being applied to the True God would be spoken with great Gravity and Decency. Which in plain terms is, that they attributed the Perfections of God to the Arch-devil, which was very ill done of them one would think, and horrible Blasphemy; But however, saith T. G. these things may be said to be spoken with great Gravity and Decency concerning God, because if you take them from the Devil and apply them to God, they are decent Expressions. Let us suppose *James Naylor* riding through the Streets of Bristol, assuming to himself the Title of the Son of God, and some of his Followers crying Hosanna to the Son of David: would T. G. say this were spoken with Decency and Gravity; because Dial. p. 361. Dial p. 359, &c.

cause it would be so, if it were rightly applied to his Son *Christ Jesus*? *T. G.* doth not seem here to consider wherein the *Decency* of Speech lies; for there is the greatest *Indecency*, nay *Blasphemy* in the Misapplication of the best Titles and most glorious Attributes. And were there no other Reason to convince me of the Sense of the *Fathers* in this Matter, this alone were sufficient; that if *T. G.*'s *Hypothesis* were true, all those great Things which the *Heathens* spake of their *Jupiter* were most *Abominable Blasphemies*; for the *Divine Perfections* were attributed to the chief of *Devils*. And if to attribute the miraculous Works of God to the Devil be the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*; what then is it to give to the Devil all the *Perfections of God* himself? And yet, if *T. G.* say true, the *Fathers* must believe that the most learned and wise of the *Heathens* did so, when they spake of the *Wisdom*, and *Power*, and *Goodness* of their *Supreme Jupiter*: And if they did believe they were guilty of such horrible *Blasphemy*, would they so often quote, approve, extol these Sayings as they do? Would they not rather have reprov'd, censured, and condemned them for them, as the most intolerable Reproaches of the *Divine Nature*? Would they have born such Things in *Plato*, *Euripides*, or any other *Philosopher* or *Poet*? For to call a Stone, a Stock, a dead Man, a God; to attribute Life, Sense, Understanding to meer Matter, were tolerable *Blasphemies* in comparison with making the Devil to be the *Supreme Governor of the World*; to be *One and All*; to be *infinite Wisdom* as well as *Power*; and yet all these must be thus given to the Devil by the wisest *Poets* and *Philosophers* which the *Heathens* ever had. Nay farther, their best and most understanding Men who are most commended by the *Fathers* themselves, must be the greatest *Blasphemers* of all others, and be thought so by the *Fathers* at the same time when they magnify their Sayings, for the *Wisdom*, *Gravity*, and *Decency* contained in them. This is so gross, so wild, so absurd an Imagination as could hardly enter into any Man's Head who had any manner of Esteem for the *Fathers*. And I would advise *T. G.* rather to let the *Fathers* quite alone, than to fix such Absurdities upon them.

R. P. Methinks you are grown very warm of a sudden; but I have another *Father* to cool you; and he is *Minucius Felix*.

P. D. He is but a *Paterculus*, a very diminutive *Father*, as *T. G.* speaks; however I hope he is able to speak for himself.

R. P. He saith, the impure Spirits lurking in the consecrated Statues gained to themselves the Authority and Esteem of a Deity that was there present.

P. D. And what then? How often must you be told, that the Question is not, whether the *Devils* were not assisting in the Practice of *Idolatry*? Which *Dr. St.* never questioned; either by Presence in Consecrated Images, or by assuming *Divine Honours*, under the Names of Deified Men: But this doth not come up to the Question in hand; which is, Whether the *Fathers* did not believe they did intend to worship the *Supreme God*, under the Name and Titles of *Jupiter O. M.*? I will make this plain to you, that (if possible) you may understand the Difference of these Questions. You know what Boasts are made in your Church, of the Miracles wrought by our *Lady* of such and such a Place; as of *Mointague*, *Hall*, *Loretto*, &c. What do you mean by this; but that such Images which are there of her did affect them; not by the Power of the Wood or Stone, but of some Spiritual Power which was present in or about them. Suppose now a Person who hath
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heard of the Coming of *Satan* with *Signs* and *lying Wonders*, should believe that the *Evil Spirits* did endeavour to retrieve *Idolatry* in the Christian World, after the Way by which they advanced it in the Heathen World; and so concludes, that they work these Pretended Miracles: Might not such a one say, *That impure Spirits lurk in your Consecrated Images; and there receive Divine Worship under the Names of Saints and Angels; and yet at the same time believe that you worship One Supreme God?*

R. P. But here the Case is different: For *Minucius* saith, *That Saturn, Dial. p. and Serapis, and Jupiter, (mark that) confess themselves to be Devils.* 291.

P. D. Two ways *Jupiter* might be a *Devil*, and yet not prejudice Dr. St.'s Assertion. (1.) As he assumed the *Honours* given to the *Poetical Jupiter*; who was really a *Prince of Crete*: But the *Poets*, by attributing to him the Villanies of many others, (as to the Ravishing of Women, &c.) had made him one of the greatest *Monsters of Wickedness* that ever was: And therefore, it was no wonder the *Devil* should be worshipped under his Name, (not intentionally, but terminatively) in as much as all this Worship ended in the Service of the *Devil*; who was always very active to subdue the Minds of Men to the Folly and Wickedness of *Idolatry*. (2.) As he was busy about *Consecrated Images*, even to the *Supreme Jupiter*. Thus, although the *Greeks* and *Romans* might set up *Images*, with *Scepters*, and *Globes*, and *Thunderbolts* in their Hands, on purpose to declare that they intended to worship the *Supreme God* by them; yet this way of Worship being so disagreeable to the *Divine Nature* and *Perfections*, God might justly suffer the *Impure Spirits* to be active in those very *Images*, which were consecrated to himself: And they might by this means run away with that Honour, which they intended to give to the *Divine Majesty*. But the Question still remains; Whether, notwithstanding all this, the Heathens did not design to worship the *Supreme God*, under the Name of *Jove*? And nothing of this Nature doth shew, that the *Fathers* believed the contrary: And as to *Minucius Felix*, Dr. St. had produced a material Passage out of him to prove, *That they who make Jove the Chief God, are only deceived in the Name, but agree in the Power.*

R. P. I am glad you mention that Place; for T. G. hath at large proved, *That Dr. St. hath corrupted both the Sense and Words of Minucius, to make him speak as he would have him.*

Dial. p.
354.

P. D. I am now so used to these false and shameless Charges of T. G. about Dr. St.'s Corrupting of Authors, that I dare stand the shock, let T. G. make use of all his Strength and Skill.

R. P. T. G. saith, *That Minucius intended nothing less than to assert Jupiter to be the One Supreme God; but that he argued only ad hominem, (as we say) from what the wiser Heathens pretended they thought of Jupiter; That they ought to acknowledge but One Supreme God, Maker and Governor of the World. And the Design and Sense of Minucius was this; That although they were deceived, in their Pretence of assigning Jupiter to be the Supreme God; yet by what they affirmed of him, viz. That he was the Prince, or the Chief; and the Poets setting forth One Father of Gods and Men; they were sufficiently convinced, that they ought to acknowledge but One Supreme and Undivided Power, by which the World was made and govern'd: Which was the Point Minucius was proving in that place. But the Doctor, by putting in, and leaving out what he thought might make*
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for his Advantage, hath corrupted the very Text of Minucius, to make it speak his Sense.

P. D. A very heavy Charge! But what if there be no ground for all this? Is not T. G. a Man of admirable Dexterity, and unparallel'd Ingenuity? I will take T. G.'s own Translation of the Words; and if from thence all that Dr. St. saith, doth follow, there can be certainly no Cause for all these Clamours. Those also, saith he, who will have Jupiter to be the Prince, or Chief, are deceived in the Name, but agree as to the Unity of Power. The matter lies within a narrow Compass: Either they who agreed as to the Unity of Power, and called that Power by the Name of Jove, did mean the same God with Minucius, or not. If they meant the same God, Dr. St. gives the true Sense of Minucius; for then, they who make Jove the Chief God, are only deceived in the Name, and agree in the Power: (And it is ridiculous Pedantry, to quarrel at his Translating, *Qui Jovem Principem volunt*, They who make Jove the Chief God. And for putting in *only*, it is no more than the Sense implies: For if they agree in the Thing, they must be only deceived in the Name.) This is therefore the single Point to be debated; Whether, according to Minucius, they understood the same God, or not? And to make this out; I desire no other Method than what T. G. proposes; viz. To consider the Design of Minucius in that place. Providence being supposed, he saith, the Question is, Whether the World be Governed by One, or more? And after other Arguments for Monarchical Government in general, he produces the Consent of Mankind in Lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and Calling upon God, and saying, God is great, God is true; and, if God grue. Is this, saith he, the Voice of Nature in the Common People; or the Confession of a Christian? Where nothing can be more evident, than the Consent between the Voice of Nature, and the Confession of a Christian, as to the same God. And then it immediately follows; *Et qui Jovem Principem volunt, falluntur in nomine, sed de unâ Potestate consentiunt*. These agree too as to the Unity of Power, who would have Jove to be Chief. Is there not all the Reason that may be, to understand this Agreement to be with those mentioned before; viz. the Common People and Christians; who all consent in the Unity of Power? But these call that Power by the Name of Jove: And although Minucius thinks they are deceived, in attributing that Name to God; yet he yields that they agreed in the Thing. This is the plain and easy Sense of Minucius: Let us now consider T. G.'s Sense of these Words, and see how well that agrees with his Design. His Sense is this: They who would have Jupiter to be the Prince or Chief, were agreed as to the Unity of Power; but were so much deceived, not only in the Name, but in the Thing it self, that they attributed this Power, not to God, but to the Devil. For, saith T. G., Minucius his own Thoughts were, That this Jupiter was a Devil. Let this be supposed, and his Meaning is this: The Common People call upon God, and say, God is true; God is great; and therein agree with the Confession of Christians; and they who will have Jove, i. e. the Devil to be the Chief of Gods, do agree as to the Unity of Power. They who make God to be Chief, and the Devil to be Chief, do both agree that One is Chief, I grant: But will any Man of common Sense say, only that these are deceived in the Name; who thinks at the same time they mean the Devil? Are they not deceived in much more than the Name; in the very Thing it self? Do they not set up an Usurper, instead of God; and his most Invererate Enemy; and

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attribute *Infinite and Undivided Power* to him? And is this dwindling Expression fit for a Christian; to say only, *falluntur in Nomine*; they are deceived in the Name? No: But he ought to have told them, they were deceived much more in the Thing, than in the Name. It was but a Trifle, in Comparison, what Name they used, if their Sense and Meaning were good. Call him *Jove*, or what they pleased, if they meant the same Thing, it was only a Difference about a Name: But if they did really attribute the *Divine Perfections to the Devil*; this was a Crime of the highest nature, it was *notorious Blasphemy*; and no true Christian could pass it over so gently and slightly, as *Minucius* doth, if he were of *T. G.*'s Opinion. But to convince us that he was far from it, he afterwards produces the Consent of *Philosophers* with the *Christians*; So, he saith, (in the same Page of the *Leyden Edition*) that they did consent with them. And surely it was no Consent with *Christians*, to give the *Divine Perfections* to the Devil. Speaking of *Thales*, he saith, *Vides Philosophi principalis nobiscum penitus Opinionem consonare.* (I forbear to translate, lest *T. G.* should want Matter to fill up some Empty Pages, as he did, by proving that *volunt* doth not signify *Making*, &c.) However, *Minucius* shews, that this Prince of *Philosophers* did fully agree with the *Christians*. Wherein, I beseech you? In attributing that *Power* to the Devil, which they give to God? This is an Agreement, which, I dare say, no *Christian* would ever own. And therefore it must be, in acknowledging the same *Divine Being* which the *Christians* did. And after he hath reckoned up the several Opinions of the most noted *Philosophers*, he hath this remarkable Expression; *Exposui opiniones omnium fere Philosophorum, quibus illustrior gloria est Deum unum multis licet designasse nominibus: I have set down the Opinions of almost all the famous Philosophers, who all set forth one God though under many Names: And lest any should fall into T. G.'s extravagant Imagination, that this was not a Consent in the same Being, but as to a meer Unity of Power, though lodged in the Devil himself, he adds these Words, Ut quisvis arbitretur, aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse, aut philosophos fuisse jam tunc Christianos.* Let *T. G.* construe this to his Sense, if he can for his Heart. Would any Man in the World, who believed the *Heathens Supreme God to be the Devil*, have said, either that the *Christians* now were *Philosophers*, or the *Philosophers* then were *Christians*, i. e. that those who asserted that *God*, and those who said, the *Devil* were *supreme Governor of the World*, were of the same Opinion. Which is so foolish, so ridiculous an Assertion, that I wonder to find *T. G.* resolve to maintain it. And I now desire you, or any Man to judge whether the half dozen Fathers *T. G.* hath produced before *Origen*, can amount to a Covey of One. I have exercised great Patience in examining these Testimonies, and not after *T. G.*'s way turned off all the rest, because one was defective; and if you have any more that speak to the point, I am content to give you all the Satisfaction you can desire, provided they prove more than that in general, the *Gentiles sacrificed to Devils*, which was never denied.

R. P. *T. G.* produces the Testimonies of *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, *S. Cyprian*, *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Hierom* and others. Dial. p. 293, &c.

P. D. To what purpose?

R. P. To prove that they were wicked Spirits who delighted in their Worship and Sacrifices.

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P. D. Who

P. D. Who ever denied this? Will T. G. quote the *Fathers* from one end to the other, to prove that all Men are Sinners? Name me those who seem to speak to the point, and I will answer them.

R. P. You cannot deny that *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and *S. Augustin* do speak to the point about *Jove* being worshipped as the Supreme God, will you hear them?

P. D. Yes; what have you to say more about them?

Dial. p.
296.

Arnobius saith, that *Jupiter O. M.* to whom the *Capitol* was Dedicated, was not the True Omnipotent God: And *Lactantius* makes *Jupiter* the King of those Celestial Gods, which the Evil Spirits feigned.

P. D. Are not these the Two Persons whom Dr. St. goes about to excuse for applying the Poetical Fables to *Jupiter O. M.*?

Dial. p.
320.

R. P. That is a fine way of defending the *Fathers*, to take the Parts of the Heathens against them; as Dr. St. doth.

P. D. He never doth it as to the main of the Cause, as to any of them (which were to take the Part of Idolatry against Christianity; which in my Opinion, others are far more liable to the guilt of than he) nor doth he charge any of them with wholly mistaking the State of the Question; but he instanceth in two Rhetoricians (who must be excused in many other Things, as it were easy to shew) and he saith of them, that they could not forbear giving a cast of their former Employment in this Matter. And when Dr. St. saith, we ought not to charge the Heathens with more than they were guilty of; doth T. G. think we ought? But I am of another Opinion, though we should grant their Supreme God to be a Devil, for we ought to give the Devil his due.

Dial. p.
324, 325.

R. P. But what say you to *S. Augustin*, whom Dr. St. represents as the most baffled by the Heathens in this point? Is not this kind of Procedure more suitable to the Design of *Julian*, than of the Reformation?

Defence,
P. 94.

P. D. Cannot a Man write against your Idolatry; but he must be another *Julian*? i. e. A Man cannot write like a Christian, but he must be an Apostate. Are you the only Christians in the World? And your Peculiar Doctrines the only Christianity? If it be, it is a Christianity, which the Christian Church never knew in its best Ages; a Christianity never taught by Christ nor his Apostles: But for *S. Augustin*, I do not find that Dr. St. thinks him in the least baffled in this Matter; but being a Learned and Ingenuous Man, he saith, That he quitted the Argument from the Poetical Fables concerning *Jupiter*; and reduced the Controversy to its true Point, about the Idolatry committed in the Worship of Inferior Deities. But what an Itch of Calumniating had seized T. G. when he could not hold from Paralleling Dr. St. with *Julian*, merely for giving an Account of the State of the Controversy about Idolatry, as it was managed by *S. Augustin*?

R. P. This leads us into another weighty Subject; viz. On what Account the Fathers charged the Heathens with Idolatry.

P. D. I grant it is so; and tends very much to the right Understanding the Nature of it. And what Account doth T. G. give of it?

R. P. I assure you, T. G. shews himself to be a Man very well versed in the Fathers, and seems to have them at his Fingers ends: Nay, he hath such great Plenty of them, that they serve him not only for Freight, but for Ballast too; filling his Margin, as well as his Book, with them:

them: And had he not studied Brevity, he might have outdone the Dr. himself in being Voluminous.

Dial. p. 347.

P. D. No doubt of it; if he had a Mind to produce all that the Fathers say on the subject of *Heathen Idolatry*; but let us pare off all impertinencies which tend only to amuse and confound a Reader, and keep close to our Subject. Tell me on what account T. G. saith, the Fathers did charge the Heathens with Idolatry.

R. P. I suppose it may be reduced to these following. (1.) In worshipping their Images for Gods. (2.) In worshipping a Multitude of false Gods. (3.) In worshipping the Creatures and not the Creator. And as to every one of these he shews how false Dr. St.'s Parallel is of the *Heathen Idolatry*, and the *Worship* practised and allowed in our Church.

P. D. I pray begin with the first of these; and let us hear what account T. G. gives of the *Heathen Idolatry* in the *Worship of Images*.

R. P. The Images, he saith, were erected to the Memory of dead Men, whom the People out of Flattery or Affection had placed in Heaven; but evil Spirits as it were incorporated themselves in those Images; and by working strange Things about those who worshipp'd them, they gained the Reputation of Gods; and consequently the Images were held to be Gods, and worshipped as such. Dial. p. 330.

P. D. I am far from being satisfied with this Account of the *Heathen Idolatry* in the *Worship of Images*. For when a Man pretends to give an account of a thing, there are three Things he ought to regard; First, that it be Full. Secondly, that it be Clear and Distinct. Thirdly, that it be General. But I shall shew you, that this Account fails in all those Particulars, and withal that it doth not clear the *Image Worship of the Roman Church*.

(1.) That it is not full, because it supposes all their Idolatry as to Images to lye in taking the Images of Deified Men for Gods on the Account of the Presence of Evil Spirits in them. But I find another Reason alledged out of the Fathers against the *Worship of Images* by Dr. St. which T. G. takes no Notice at all of; viz. that *Image Worship* was very unsuitable to the Divine Nature, as well as repugnant to the Will of God; and although the latter Reason may seem to hold only for those who received the Scriptures, yet the former doth extend to all Mankind. For he shews from the Fathers, that Zeno the Stoick, Antisthenes, Xenophon, Numa, and others, condemned the *Worship of Images* on this account, because they were a disparagement of the Divine Nature. And for this, he produces the Testimonies of Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Origen, Lactantius, and many others. Is this Account true, or false? if false, why is it not proved to be so? if true, why is it not allowed? Is this fair or honest Dealing, in pretending to answer, and not taking notice of the main Objections; or to give Account of the Fathers Opinions of this Matter, and to say not one word to all this? But it is one thing to write an Answer to a Book, and another to write a Book which must pass for an Answer.

Defence, p. 419, 60 p. 431.

(2.) This Account is not clear and distinct. For it doth not express whether it were Idolatry or not, to worship Images, where there was no Incorporation supposed of Evil Spirits, nor doth it shew how it could be Idolatry on that Supposition. I do not deny, that there was such an Opinion among the Heathens, that Spirits might possess Images, and be incorporated with them; but I say this was a particular Opinion, and not the general Belief. For Hermes, from whom S. Augustin, gives the most exact Account of this Hypothesis (from the *Asclepian Dialogue*) looks upon

De Civ.
Dei. 8.
c. 23.
C. 24.

upon it as a Divine and Peculiar Art of drawing invisible Spirits into Images in such a manner as to animate them; and thereby making Gods. Which, he saith, is the most wonderful of all Wonders, that it should be in Men's Power to make Gods. Not by producing the Divine Being; but by so uniting it to the Image, as to make that a fit Object for Divine Worship. But you of the Church of Rome pretend to do as much as this comes to with Five Words; and somewhat more, for you pretend to annihilate a Substance which they did not: But as to the main Wonder, yours is of the same Nature, viz. so to unite the Divinity to the Species of Bread and Wine, as to make them together a fit Object for Divine Worship. And therefore T. G. doth not at all clear the Nature of Idolatry, as to Images, by such an Hypothesis, which doth justify the Worship of Images upon his own grounds. For this Principle being supposed, that God was really incorporated in the Image, it was as lawful for them to Worship that Image, as for you to Worship the Host. If you say, those were Evil Spirits and not the True God, that doth not clear the Matter. For we are not now disputing whether they were good or bad Spirits which were in those Images; but on what Account they were charged with Idolatry in the Worship of Images. If it were for worshipping their Images as Gods on the account of one of their Gods being incorporated in the Image, this I say, is no account at all on T. G.'s Principles; for then such an Image was as fit an Object of Worship, on their Supposition, as the Adoration of the Host is on yours. So that this is rather a clearing the Worship of Images from the Charge of Idolatry among the Heathens, than giving any Account of it: All the Idolatry in this Case lying in the Worship of Evil Spirits, and not in the Worship of Images.

Def. p.
466. &c.
Euseb.
Præp. l. 4.
c. 1.
Dial. p.
293.

(3.) This Account is not general as to the Heathens. For many and those the most Learned among them declared, that they did not take their Images for Gods; as Dr. St. proved in his First Book, not barely from the Testimonies of the Heathens, but from the Fathers too; which Passages he repeated and urged against T. G. in his Defence. And among others he produced the Testimony of Eusebius speaking of the Heathens in general, who saith, they did not look on their Images as Gods; and of him, T. G. saith, that no Man understood the Heathens Principles better. And yet after all this, T. G. hopes to have it pass for a good Account of the Heathens Idolatry as to Images, that they took their Images for Gods.

(4.) This Account doth not clear the Practice of your Church in the Worship of Images.

Dial. p.
335.

R. P. There I am sure you are mistaken. For do we take our Images for Gods? And T. G. well observes, that when the Fathers spake against the Worship of Images, from their Vileness and Impotency; they did not found their Arguments meerly on the Matter of the Images, and the Art of the Artificers, but upon these two Conditions conjoyntly taken, viz. that they were held to be Gods, and yet were made of such Materials; whereas we do not believe our Images to be Gods, nor worship them as such, as the Heathens did. For the Council of Trent declares that it believes no Divinity in them, for which they ought to be worshipped.

P. D. This is the utmost which can be said in your Defence; and to shew you how far this is from clearing your Worship of Images, I shall consider, (1.) The Force of the Fathers Arguments. (2.) The difference of the Heathens Opinions from yours as to the Divinity of Images. And if their Arguments be such as equally hold against your Practices;

etises; and your Answers do not really differ from theirs; then the Parellel will hold good between your Idolatry and theirs in this Particular.

1. For the Force of the *Fathers* Arguments; the thing to be considered is, whether they held only in *Conjunction with believing their Images to be Gods*. What Connexion was there between this *Hypothesis*, and the *Disparagement* which *Images* did imply to the *Divine Nature*? For this was wholly on the account of *Representation*; (and this is the great Argument the *Fathers* insist upon.) *The infinite distance between God and the Work of Men's hands; the disproportion that dull and senseless matter, however Carved and Adorned, doth bear to a Divine Majesty: That no Image of God ought to be worshipped, but what is what he is, i. e. his Eternal Son; the Light of Nature teaching Men that it was greater Purity of Worship, greater Reverence to the Deity, less Danger of Error to Mankind, to worship God without an Image*; are all Arguments used and pressed by the *Fathers* against the Worship of *Images*; which have their full Strength and Force, supposing nothing were intended beyond bare Representation. What think you of the *Christian Church* condemning the *Carpocratians* for worshipping an *Image of Christ*? Did they believe *Christ* incorporated in that *Image* too? Or did *Epiphanius* believe him to be so in the *Image* on the *Veil*, or the *Council of Elvira* in the *Pictures* upon *Walls*? By all which we see what Numbers of Arguments the *Fathers* used against the *Worship of Images*, which have no relation at all to the believing their *Images* to be *Gods*. Besides, several other Arguments they used which would lose their Force upon this Supposition; as those taken from the meanness of *subjecting our selves to vile and senseless Images*; and all the Enforcements drawn from the *Matter and Form* of them; which would have no great Strength if this had been the general Belief of the *Heathens*, that the *God* whom they worshipped was incorporated in the *Image*; And therefore why might not he be worshipped thereby, as well as *God incarnate in human Nature*, notwithstanding all the *Vileness* and *Contemptibleness* of our *Flesh*?

2. As to the difference between them and you about the *Divinity* of *Images*, I do grant, that your *Church* doth in terms declare against it. And so in probability would a *Council* of the *Wiser Heathens* have done; as appears by the Testimonies of *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Maximus Tyrius*, and many others. But when Men attribute such *divine Effects*, as *Miraculous Cures* to *Images*, what can they believe but there is some *Divinity* either in or about them? And when this is assigned as the *Reason* of the *Worship* of such an *Image*, as at *Loretto*, or *Mointague*, or elsewhere; and of the mighty *Resort* thither on that account; what is this but to believe such *Divinity* to be in or about them? which doth inhance the *People's Devotion* to them. And this was the general persuasion of the *Heathens*; not, that there was an *Hypostatical Union* between the *Deity* and the *Image* by *Incorporation*: But that there was a *virtual* and *powerful Presence* of the *Deity* in and about the *Image* by reason of its *Dedication*. And upon this Account, of a more peculiar *Presence* of the *Deity* after *Consecration*, and because *Divine Worship* was given to them, it was, that the *Heathen Images* were called *Gods*. According to *Minucius* his account of the *Image-God*; *Quando igitur hic nascitur? ecce funditur, fabricatur, scalpitur; nondum Deus est: Ecce plumbatur, construitur, erigitur; nec adhuc Deus est: Ecce ornatur, consecratur, oratur; tunc postremo Deus est, cum homo illum voluit & dedicavit.* From which it appears, it was so-
lemn

Dial. p.
336.
Hier. in
If. 44. l.
12.

lemn *Dedication* and *divine Worship* which made the *Heathen Images* to be looked on as *Gods*. And on these Accounts the *Scripture* as well as *Fathers* call the *Heathen Idols* by the Name of *Gods*, in the places produced by *T. G.* As, when they are said to be *molten Gods*, Lev. 19. 4. And the *Gods of the Nations* are *Idols*, Isa. 44. 16, 17, &c. Where *St. Hierom* observes, that the residue thereof is made a *God*, when the *Maker* worships what he has made; and begs for help from the work of his own hands. And in this Sense I grant the *Heathens* did make their *Images Gods*; and so do all those who give *Divine Worship* to them.

Dial. p.
336.

R. P. But *Dr. St.* seems to say, that there never were any such *Fools* in the *World* who worshipped their *Images as Gods*: Which *T. G.* proves abundantly from plain and express Words of *Scripture*.

Defence,
p. 541.
P. 724.

P. D. By the very same I have mentioned already: And which in the former Sense *Dr. St.* never denied. All that he saith, is this, As though there ever had been such *Fools* in the *World*, to say there was no other *God besides their Images*: And as I remember he quotes *Maimonides*, saying there were none such. But if *T. G.* can find out such *Fools* in the world, by my consent he shall have the *begging* of them.

Dial. p.
340.

R. P. *T. G.* grants there were some of the wiser *Heathens*, who did not worship their *Images as Gods*, but the *Deities* represented by them: Against these the *Fathers* prove at large, that they were but *Men* whom they commonly worshipped, and some of the worst of *Men*.

P. D. Wherein did the *Nature* of this *Idolatry* lye? In worshipping bad *Men* instead of good? or in giving *Divine Worship* to any *Men*?

R. P. You are so troublesome, that you will not let a *Man* shew his Skill in the *Fathers*, but you interrupt him with such idle *Questions*.

P. D. I have a mind to bring you to our *Business*; for nothing is more easy than to tell long *Stories* of the *Heathen Idolatries*, out of the *Fathers*. I must press you again to tell me, wherein the *Nature* of this *Idolatry* consisted.

Dial. p.
398, 399.

R. P. I shall desire you as you are a *Lover of Truth*, to answer me ingenuously but this one *Question*, which I take to be very *Material* towards the true understanding the *Nature* of *Idolatry*, viz. *Whether you do not think that the Heathens, at least the generality of them, did not acknowledge and worship more Gods than one?*

P. D. I will answer you as freely as you can desire, provided you answer me another *Question* which I take to be as *Material*, viz. *Whether the Generality of the Heathens did not worship Deified Men?*

Dial. p.
343, to
343.

R. P. What need you ask that, when I have told you already, *T. G.* takes a great deal of pains to prove it from many *Testimonies* of the *Fathers*? As I was about to have shewed when you interrupted me; because the *Places of their Birth* were known, and their *Sepulchres* extant, &c.

P. D. I pray remember this; and now ask what *Questions* you please.

R. P. I see you have no mind to answer: But *T. G.* proves that the *Generality of the Heathens* did believe them whom they publicly worshipped, to be *Truly and Properly Gods*, and not only in Name, or by way of *Participation*.

Dial. p.
403, 406.

P. D. But have you forgotten already, what you so lately told me, that *T. G.* proved that the *generality of the Heathens* did worship *Deified Men*?

men? and that these were their Gods; viz. Jupiter, Saturn, Juno, Æsculapius, &c. I pray consider, were these their Gods or not?

R. P. Doubtless they were; for T. G. hath plainly demonstrated it from the Fathers.

P. D. And were those who were only Deified-men, truly and properly Gods, and not by way of Participation?

R. P. I confess you stagger me, surely T. G. did not lay these two Assertions together, that the Heathen Gods were originally Men, and yet were truly and properly Gods: But he proves this latter Assertion, that I am sure of.

P. D. So you were but just now of the former; however these contradict each other; let us hear his Proofs of this latter, which is not so true as the former.

R. P. First, The whole Christian World till Dr. St. did ever condemn the Heathens of Polytheism. Dial. p. 406.

P. D. And so doth he too. Only he doth not believe Deified-men to be independent Deities. They were Gods, as they gave them not barely the Name and Title of Gods; but as they supposed them to be admitted into some share in administering the Affairs of the World; and had therefore Divine Worship given unto them.

R. P. Secondly, The Heathens accused the Christians of Atheism, because they denied them to be Gods who were publickly worshipped.

P. D. The Heathens did not believe there was any such God who disallowed the worship of any other Gods besides him; and therefore when they found the Christians utterly reject their worship, they charged them with Atheism. But is not this an admirable way of reasoning, from the Heathens Objections against the Christians? Might he not prove as well that the Christians God had Asses Ears, that they eat Children, that they had promiscuous Conjunctions, &c. for all these were objected by the Heathens, as well as Atheism? And Athenagoras whom T. G. cites, shews what kind of Gods those were, whom the Christians rejected, in the very beginning of his Apology, such as Hector, Helena, Agamemnon, Erichtheus, &c. and because the Christians rejected such Deities, they were accused of Atheism; but doth this prove Hector, and Agamemnon to have been Original and Independent Gods?

R. P. Thirdly, They persecuted the Christians to death, and they willingly suffered it, for maintaining there was but one only true God, who deserved Divine Honour to be given to him. Dial. p. 407.

P. D. Very true. Because they thought it unlawful to give Divine Worship to any Creature whatsoever. But did not the Heathens require Divine Worship to be given to Deified-men?

R. P. Fourthly they erected Temples, instituted Priests, and appointed Sacrifices to be offered to them.

P. D. That is, they gave them Divine Worship; and what then? they did so to Deified-men, saith T. G.

R. P. Fifthly, The Fathers bring infinite Arguments to prove that those whom the Heathens called Gods, were not really and truly Gods; which had been a superfluous Labour, if the Heathens had not believed as well as called them Gods.

P. D. And did not the same Fathers bring infinite Arguments to prove that these Gods were but men? Their design was to shew that nothing but what was truly and essentially God, could deserve Divine Worship; which

which their vulgar Gods were so far from being, that they were meer Men, and some of the worst too.

R. P. Sixthly, Many of those who wrote against the Heathens had been such themselves; and therefore would not charge them with more than they were guilty of in this matter.

P. D. Those were the very Men T. G. cited to prove their Gods had been Men, and had Fathers and Mothers, and Uncles and Aunts, as other Mortals have.

Dial. p.
408.

R. P. Seventhly, The Devils perswaded most of the Heathens that they were Gods, as St. Augustin saith, by their fallacious Signs and Predictions.

De Civ.
Dei l. 8.
c. 22.

P. D. St. Augustin speaks of their Dominion over Mankind by reason of Idolatry; which might have been, although the Heathens had only worshipped Deified men; but I grant, that the Heathens did give divine Worship to Dæmons too; whom some believed to be Intercessors between the Gods and Men; carrying up our Prayers to them, and bringing down their help to us, as he there expresseth it; and others thought them to be Gods, i. e. a superior kind of Spirits; however all agreed in giving divine Honour to them. But those who believed them to be Gods, i. e. of a higher rank than the subservient Dæmons, did not suppose them to be self-existent and independent Deities, but to have received their Being by Participation from God; and supposing them good, St. Augustin thinks their Notion of them not much different from what Christians have of Angels: And that it was a controversy about a Name, whether they be called Gods or not; but he is far from thinking it so, whether Divine Worship were to be given to them? For this he utterly denies, it being inconsistent with the Christian Religion, as he proves in the beginning of his Tenth Book. From whence it appears, that the Controversy was not about the Name of Gods; but about giving Divine Worship to any Creature. For St. Augustin would allow them to call them Gods, if they reserved Divine Worship as peculiar to God; but if they did give this to them, it was no excuse to call them Angels, or inferior Gods; as the Platonists did. And when he saith, the Devils had perswaded the greatest part of Mankind by their lying Wonders that they were Gods: His meaning is no more than that they were good Spirits; which he saith, Apuleius, and others, observing them more narrowly, found they were not, but a sort of malicious and deceitful Beings; notwithstanding which, he saith, these agreed with the rest in giving Divine Worship to them. So that whatever men do give Divine Worship to, that they do make a God of, whatsoever Notion they have of its Original, and receiving Being from another.

De Civ.
Dei, l. 9.
c. 23.
L. 10. c. 1.

R. P. Eighthly, The wisest of the Heathens not only concurred with the vulgar in the external practice of worshipping many Gods, but looked on it as a point of State-policy, not to let the People know that they were no Gods whom they worshipped.

P. D. And what then I beseech you? They were rather willing to maintain Idolatry, than to hazard the disturbance of Government; therefore the Gods whom they worshipped were truly and properly Gods. All that follows from hence is, that there were many Follies and Superstitions among the People, which they thought better to let them alone in, than to run the hazard of all by a Change; that the Poets, and Painters, and Statuaries had tainted the Religion of the Vulgar with false and unworthy Notions of their Gods; and would in spite of Laws represent their Gods in the publick Sports doing things unfitting for Men to do or see; that although they thought it were much better to have these

Things

Things redressed, yet they had so much greater Regard to the *safety* of the Government than to the *Honour* of Religion, that they chose rather to let Things stand as they found them; and to joyn with the People in the same Acts of publick Worship, retaining their Opinions to themselves. But we shall have occasion to discourse of these wiser Men afterwards.

R. P. I have one thing yet more to say, which I am sure ought and Dial. p. will weigh with you more than all the rest. 411.

P. D. So it will, if it weighs any thing at all.

R. P. It is, that God himself forbids the Jews to have any other Gods besides him: And yet he doth not forbid the Name of Gods to be given both to Angels and Men.

P. D. Is this the weighty Observation? The Bit reserved to close up the Stomach with? God doth allow, I grant, the Name of Gods to be given to Creatures; but where doth he allow Divine Worship Internal or External to be given to any other Being besides himself? Whether Angels, or Stars, or Elements, or whatsoever Creature it be, to give that Worship to it, which is due only to God, is to make other Gods besides him, and this I thought had been agreed on all sides.

R. P. If they give Divine Worship to any one of these as an absolute Deity, as T. G. well observes; and not if they refer the worship they give to them to the true God. Dial. p. 412.

P. D. What means the giving divine Worship as to an absolute Deity? Is it to suppose that which they worship to be truly and properly God, as T. G. saith? That is to suppose it not to be a Creature. And upon this ground those who supposed the Spirits, or Stars, or Elements to be Creatures, could not be guilty of Idolatry in the Worship of them: And so the greatest part of the Heathen World will be excused from it. Or is it to give Divine Worship to the Creatures without any respect to God the Maker of the World, and of all things in it? But then either they did at that time believe him to be the Maker of those Beings, or they did not: If they did, either they worshipped them as created, or as uncreated Beings; if as created Beings, how could they wholly pass by the Creator? if as uncreated, how could they at the same time believe them to be created by him?

R. P. T. G. was aware of this, for he puts the question concerning Dial. p. the Heathens, how those who acknowledged one Supreme Being, could think 419. any others to be truly and properly Gods besides him? And he resolves it thus, that the generality of the Heathens had no clear and distinct Notion of one Supreme Being; but only the Wiser Philosophers.

P. D. By this answer, none but the dull and stupid Vulgar could be guilty of Idolatry, such who believed (if any did) there were no other Gods besides their Images; or if there were, they never considered more, than that they were all called Gods alike, and they knew no Distinction between one Chief and the rest: But if they happened to suppose one Supreme and the others made by him, as I have shewed from Tertullian they generally did, then they are free from Idolatry in all Acts of Worship performed with that Opinion. For if Idolatry doth suppose a Belief of more Gods than one truly and properly so called, then all those who did own and acknowledge one first Cause from whence all other Beings were derived, could not be guilty of it, and consequently all those who had the true Knowledge of God could not commit Idolatry, because they could not at the same time believe but One True God, and many true Gods.

And if the true Notion of *Idolatry* doth consist in believing and worshipping many Gods truly and properly so called; then let us see how many of the *Heathens* will stand clear from the Guilt of it.

(1.) All those who worshipped *Deities Men*, and believed them to be such, although they gave them the *Worship proper to true Gods*. For as long as they did not think them to be such, it could not be *real Idolatry*: And so *Cicero, Varro, and Seneca*, and the rest of the wise *Statesmen* will be excused.

(2.) All those who believed *Inferior Gods* having their first Being from one Supreme; as the ancient *Poets, Platonists*, and many others.

(3.) All those who worshipped the parts of the World with respect to one God, as the *Stoicks* and others.

(4.) All those who opposed *Christianity* upon this ground, that although there were but one Supreme God, yet others might receive *Divine Worship* together with him: And upon this Principle the most bitter Enemies of *Christianity* disputed, viz. *Celsus, Porphyrius, Hierocles, Julian, Maximus, Symmachus*, and others. And to own it not to be *Idolatry*, to give *Divine Worship* to Created Beings, supposing them not to be owned to be truly and properly Gods, is in plain Terms to give up the Cause of *Christianity* against *Heathen Idolatry*. And this I insist upon as the main Argument in this Matter, and desire you or *T. G.* or any one else to answer it. Dr. St. hath made it evident from the Testimonies of *Celsus, Julian*, and the Modern *Platonists*, that the Dispute about *Idolatry*, between them and the *Christians* was not, whether there were only one God truly and properly so called, and others only by participation from him; for this they yielded. But the Question was, Whether upon that Supposition that they were inferior and subservient Gods, they might not have *Divine Worship* given to them in a degree suitable to their Excellencies? And upon this Point the Hinge of the Controversie turned. Either the *Christians* were right in condemning such Worship for *Idolatry*, or not? If not, the Cause of *Christianity* is given up to *Celsus* and *Julian*: If they were in the right, then *Idolatry* doth not lie in believing and worshipping many Gods properly and truly so called; but in giving *Divine Worship* to any Creature whatsoever. And why did not *T. G.* answer to this, which was the most material Point of all others? But run out into long Discourses of the Ignorance of the vulgar *Heathen* (which no Man doubts any more than the Ignorance of vulgar *Papists*, although I hope not to the same Degree) concerning the true God. And yet we could tell him of another sort of *Statesmen*, who love to keep the People in Ignorance, lest they should by the help of the Scriptures see too far into these Matters. And some of your own Church have told us, That they could find no difference between the common Peoples Opinion of *Saints*, and what the *Heathens* had of their Gods. And thus the Parallel holds good still. But the common People, though more gross in their Apprehensions, and do commit greater Follies in their Practices, may yet be safer in their Ignorance, than those who ought to inform them better. But when we enquire what is lawful, we must not run to the Practices or Opinions of the *Vulgar*, as *T. G.* doth here; but to the State of the Case, as it was managed by those who best understood it. And they did not put it upon that Issue, whether it were lawful to worship many independent Deities; but whether it were lawful to give *Divine Worship* to any created Beings, on the account of that Power and Authority which God had put into their hands?

And

And if this were not *Idolatry*, *Celsus* and *Julian* thought *Heathenism* justified, and the Doctrine of *Christianity* overthrown; and so did *Origen*, *S. Cyril*, and *S. Augustin* too.

(5.) The Modern *Idolaters* will be excused too, if the Nature of *Idolatry* doth consist in a Multitude of independent Deities, or of Gods truly and properly so called: For Dr. St. hath proved abundantly, that the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Nations, which are, or have been charged with *Idolatry* by the Roman Church, do own one Supreme God, and others as inferior Deities. And this he chiefly proves from the Testimonies of those of the Roman Church, who have been sent as *Missioners* to convert them from their *Idolatry*. And what saith T. G. to that?

R. P. Truly he had forgotten to speak to it, but a Friend of his putting him in mind of it, he hath added something by way of Appendix about it; to shew how unnecessary it was to speak to it.

P. D. All in good time: But it was well the Printer informed him of two or three vacant Leaves too, or else we might have wanted those rare Observations. But why so unnecessary to answer an Argument of that Consequence? Which to my apprehension hath effectually overthrown this Hypothesis of T. G. That *Idolatry* lies in the Esteem and Worship of many Gods truly and properly so called: For if that were the general Supposition that *Idolaters* went upon, that there was one Supreme, and many inferior Deities, as Dr. St. hath proved of the * *Arabians*, † *Persians*, * *Brachmans*, (who are shewed to have no other † Esteem of the Inferior Deities than you have of your Saints, and that they give only a relative Worship to them, and to their Images) and of the very * *Tartars* and † *West-Indians* †, and * *Northern Idolaters*; how then can T. G. hope to make it appear to any Man of common Sense, that the Nature of *Idolatry* lies in the worshipping many independent Gods? If T. G. were sent upon a Mission to them, I would fain know by what Arguments he could convince any of these of *Idolatry*? T. G. charges them with *Idolatry* for worshipping many Gods truly and properly so called: They deny it, and say they worship only one Supreme, and others in subordination to him; what hath T. G. further to say? Will he tell them, he knows better what they do, than they do themselves? I say therefore it is impossible upon T. G's Principles, to convince these *Heathens* of *Idolatry*. But there is another thing, I think, very material in this Discourse concerning the Modern *Idolaters*, which is, T. G. insinuates, that although some few of the wiser sort of *Heathens* might understand the difference between the Supreme God and inferior Deities, yet the generality of the People did not; and so might easily worship many Gods properly and truly so called: Whereas by this Discourse it appears that the difference between the Supreme and inferior Deities, was a thing known and received among the most rude and barbarous Nations. And it is no great Civility towards the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to imagine them to be more sottish *Idolaters* than the *Tartars* and *West-Indians*. I will confess freely to you, that I think there was not a more absurd and impious Scheme of Divinity extant in the most barbarous Parts of the World, that are come to our knowledge, than the Poetical Theology of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, if it be understood literally; and therefore the common People who had the Poets in mighty Esteem, lay under great Disadvantages; but yet, the Poetical Fables being rejected by their Laws, as well as by their wise Men, and the Poets themselves confessing one Supreme God, but above all, the natural sense of

* Defence
p. 103.
† p. 109.
* p. 114.
† p. 122.
123.
* p. 141.
† p. 143.
p. 157.

Dial. p.
419, 421.

Conscience, did keep up the Notion of one God among the People, who was Lord over all; insomuch that upon any solemn Occasions they made their Appeal to him, as the Fathers observe. *Lactantius* saith, not only the Wise, but all sorts of People confessed the Unity of God; even those who seemed to assert the Multiplicity of Gods truly and properly so called; for these are his Words, *Quod quia intelligunt isti assertores Deorum; ita eos præesse singulis rebus ac partibus dicunt, ut tantum unus sit Rector eximius. Jam ergo cæteri non Dij erunt, sed satellites ac ministri; quos ille unus maximus, & potens omnium officiis his præfecit, ut ipsi ejus imperio ac nutibus serviant.* Let T. G. construe this to the Confusion of his Hypothesis, that the Heathen Idolatry lay in the Worship of many Gods truly and properly so called; when even *Lactantius* saith the contrary so expressly: Those cannot be Gods truly and properly so called, who are under the Command of another; and this is *Lactantius* his own Argument, *Ergo Dij non sunt quos parere uni maximo Deo necessitas cogit.* And this Truth, he saith, of the Unity of God is so plain, that no Man can be so blind not to discover so clear a light. *Seneca* in his Exhortations quoted by *Lactantius*, calls the inferior Gods the Servants to the Supreme; *Ministros Regni sui Deos genuit*: And the difference between them and the Holy Angels he places in this, that these would not be called Gods, nor be worshipped as Gods. The former we see *St. Augustin* makes nothing of; so that the true Ground why the Heathens attributed Divinity to them, was because they gave to them Divine Worship, which the Christians utterly refused. The same *Lactantius* saith in general of the Romans, That in any great Distress they made their Application to the Supreme God, and prayed to him, and expected help from him, and begg'd Relief from others per ejus Divinum atq; unicum Numen; and these Beggars surely were some of the common sort of People: From whence it follows, that the generality of the Heathen, even among the Romans, did not esteem and worship many Gods properly so called.

R. P. But methinks, you seem to have forgotten T. G.'s Appendix about the Modern Idolatry, as well as he had to write about it, till he was put in mind by a Friend.

P. D. I am not very apt to believe T. G. could forget so material a part of the Doctor's Book: But there was some other Reason for passing it over, which it is not hard to conjecture. But I thank you for putting me to ask you, why he thought it so unnecessary to speak to it.

R. P. First, because the Doctor reduces their Worship to one of these two Principles, either that God hath committed the Government of the World to inferior Deities; or that God is the Soul of the World: Now T. G. having proved that those who do hold the latter Principle, are guilty of Idolatry; and those who hold the former, of the exterior Profession of it, in concurring with the Vulgar in the external Practice of their Idolatry, it would have been but actum agere, to repeat the same things over again.

P. D. This is scarce a tolerable Shift; for the great force of that Discourse lay in two Things; (1.) The almost universal Consent of Idolaters, that there was one supreme God, against T. G.'s Hypothesis of many Gods truly and properly so called. (2.) That all these were charged with Idolatry by the Roman Church; and therefore according to the sense of that, Idolatry could not lie in worshipping many independent and absolute Deities. But the prettiest Shift, is, that he had condemned the Platonists for the exterior Practice of Idolatry, in concurring with the Vulgar, and therefore he need not speak to whole Nations, who agreed in that

that Principle of Worship, and yet are charged with Idolatry. If I were given to quoting ends of Verses, I would cry, *Risum teneatis amici.*

R. P. Secondly, the Force of the Parallel lies in Citations.

P. D. And what then? ought he not to examine and disprove them?

R. P. No such Matter; he hath found out a far better way than that; he proves that Dr. St. hath forfeited all Right of being believed in things of that kind.

P. D. Commend me to T. G. for shifting. This is really the notablest Trick I ever met with. He finds abundance of Authors quoted, both new and old, to prove something he doth not like. What should he do? Must he search and examine them one by one? No, that is intolerable; And how if they prove true? Therefore the only way is to say, he hath lost all Credit in his Citations. Which is as much as to say, he deserves to stand in the Pillory for suborning Witnesses, and why should he be credited in any thing he saith? But this is a very high Accusation, and T. G. in Common Justice is bound to prove it, or else he deserves the same Infamy himself.

R. P. Yes, he proves it, by his notorious misrepresenting and corrupting the Fathers.

P. D. I think I have sufficiently cleared the Doctor's Integrity and Faithfulness therein; but I am sure you cannot so well clear T. G. from bearing False Witness against his Brother.

R. P. But he gives one Instance in this Case, viz. A Testimony of Trigautius, wherein he translates, *Certum Triadis modum inducit quo tres Deos in unum deinde Numen coalescere fabulatur.* They worship the Trinity after a certain manner, with an Image having three Heads, and one Body. T. G. saith, an ordinary Reader will here find neither Head nor Foot.

P. D. That is very strange, when there are three. But must T. G.'s Quibble destroy all Dr. St.'s Credit? Any one that reads Trigautius will find he exactly expressed his Sense: But our Dionysius will make him construe Word for Word, or else he must be set in the Pillory, for suborning Testimonies. Methinks this favours a little too much of Dionysius indeed.

R. P. But he charges him more with another Testimony of Trigautius, where he leaves out the Emphatical Words which shew the difference between the Worship which the Chinesees give to Confutius, and to the Tutelar Spirits. For first, he omits the Ceremony of the Magistrates taking the Oath before the Tutelar Spirits: Then he leaves out what Trigautius affirms, That the Worship was not the same. (3.) He omits *Nam* and *Divinam*; which shew the Reason of the difference to be the Divine Power which they believ'd to be in the Tutelar Spirits.

P. D. And what if T. G. be mistaken as to every one of these? shall we not applaud him for a Man of wonderful Integrity, and most commendable Ingenuity? (1.) Dr. St. doth not omit the Ceremony of the Magistrates taking their Oath to or before these Tutelar Spirits; for he saith expressly, that the Mandarin's are to swear in the Temple of the Tutelar Spirit when they enter into their Office: And he particularly insists upon it, as one of the Instances of the Allowances the Jesuits gave to their Converts to go and perform all External Acts of Adoration in the Temple of the Tutelar Spirits, provided they directed all those Acts to a

Crucifix

Defence,
p. 132.

P. 130.

Crucifix which they held in their Hands, or conveyed secretly among the Flowers of the Altar. (2.) He distinguishes the *Worship* of *Confutius* from that of the *Tutelar Spirits*. For he saith in that very place, *that they make no Prayers to him, neither seek, nor hope for any thing from him; but that they acknowledge the Tutelar Spirits to have power to reward and punish.* Is not this enough to shew the difference of their *Worship* to any Men of Common Sense? (3.) Is not a *Power to reward and punish* in the *Tutelar Spirits* set down by Dr. St. out of *Trigantius*? And to what end should he then leave out *Nam* and *Divinam*, but that he thought them needless when the Sense was expressed? But the *Birchen Scepter* would be of little use, unless *Dionysius* shewed his *Authority* upon such Occasions. Judge you now whether upon the account of such pitiful Cavils, Dr. St. hath forfeited his Right of being believed in his Citations.

R. P. T. G. gives a Third Reason, viz. *because it appears from his own Citations, that these Modern Idolaters either worshipped a False God for the True one; or False Gods together with the True one, if they worshipped him at all.*

P. D. This can be no Reason at all; for Dr. St.'s Design was to shew that *Inferior Deities were False Gods*; and that it was *Idolatry* to give *Divine Worship* to *Creatures*, although Men did acknowledge one *supreme God*. But unless T. G. can prove these *False Gods* to have been *Gods truly and properly so called*; i. e. *Absolute and Independent Deities*, his *Hypothesis* is utterly overthrown by this Discourse of Dr. St. which was the true Reason he had no mind to meddle with it.

R. P. Lastly, *It is not credible, he saith, that the Cardinals de propaganda Fide, with the full Consent of the Pope, should make such Decrees about Idolatrous Acts, as should condemn the giving External Acts of Worship to Saints and Images as Idolatrous.*

Defence,
P. 136.

P. D. Dr. St. punctually produced the *Resolution* made by the *Cardinals* about the *Worship* of *Confutius*, and the performance of *External Acts of Idolatry* in the *Temple* of the *Tutelar Spirits*, by the *Jesuits Converts* in *China*. He names the *Date*, the *Place* of *Printing* it, and saith the *Copy* he had seen was attested by a *Publick Notary*: Nay, he directs T. G. where he might see not only the *Decree*, but an *Explication* of it. And after all, *is not this Credible?*

R. P. Dr. St. sets down the *Resolutions*, and doth not let us know what the *Queries* were.

P. D. He thought those might be easily understood by the *Case*; viz. about performing the *same External Acts of Worship* with *Idolaters*, but with a *different Intention*; i. e. The *Mandarins* were permitted by the *Jesuits* to go into the *Temple* of *Tutelar Spirits*, and to use all the *External Acts* of *Adoration* which others used, provided they directed them to the *Crucifix* and not to the *Idol*; which the *Cardinals* declare to be utterly unlawful, notwithstanding this *Intention*. From whence Dr. St. observed, (1.) That they called the *Worship* of the *Tutelar Spirits* *Idolatry*, although they looked on them only as *inferior Deities*; and consequently *Idolatry* doth not consist in worshipping many *Absolute and Independent Gods*, or *truly and properly so called*. (2.) That *Inferior Worship* on the account of *Created Excellency*, is *unlawful*, when it appears to be *Religious*. This he proved from their condemning the *Worship* of *Confutius*, which the *Jesuits* allowed. And T. G. is so much mistaken in think-
ing

ing that Dr. St. had any design to correct the Testimony of Irenaeus by confounding the Worship of Confucius and the Tutelar Spirits, that his Argument is the stronger for the distinction between them. For although no Prayers be made to Confucius, the Divine Power be supposed to be in him as in the Tutelar Spirits, yet because he had a Temple in every City, with his Image in it; and all other External Rites of Adoration used, as Genuflections, Wax-Candles, Incense and Oblations; (such as your Church useth to Images without Prayers) yet these are condemned as Idolatrous. And although the Cardinals might not then reflect on the Consequence of this Resolution, as to their own Practices, yet I cannot but admire at the Wisdom of that Providence which once directed Caiaphas to speak a great Truth beside his Intention, that so over-ruled the Congregation of Cardinals to condemn their own Idolatry under the Name of Confucius. For if the using those External Acts of Adoration towards the Image of Confucius be Idolatry, why shall it not be so where Prayers are added, as they are in your Church to the Images set up in your Churches? Let T. G. tell me wherein the Nature of that Idolatry lay, which consisted in External Acts of Adoration, without any Opinion of Confucius being a God truly and properly so called. (3.) That External Acts are capable of Idolatry, however the Intention of the Mind be directed. For although the Cardinals believed the Crucifix to be a proper Object of Divine Worship, yet they condemned those Acts as Idolatrous which were directed to it in the Temple of the Tutelar Spirits. And upon the whole Matter, I think no Impartial Reader will believe that T. G. hath said any thing to purpose upon this Matter, and that he had better left those few Leaves still vacant, than have filled them with such an insignificant Postscript; and he hath no reason to thank his Friend for putting him upon laying open so much the Weakness of his Cause. For from hence it farther appears that the Modern Idolaters will likewise be excused, if the Nature of Idolatry doth consist, as T. G. saith, in worshipping many Gods, truly and properly so called.

R. P. But you are mistaken, if you think T. G. placeth the Nature of Idolatry wholly in this, for he saith, that the Heathens were guilty of Idolatry in worshipping Nature instead of God; either the several parts of the Universe, as Sun, Moon, and Stars, &c. understanding the Fire by Jupiter, the Air by Juno, &c. or the Soul of the World, as the Stoicks did; whereby the Heathens did, as T. G. often repeats it from Vossius, Relicto Deo in Naturæ Veneratione consistere; forsaking God, stay in the Worship of the Creatures: And for this he quotes Athanasius, S. Augustine, and Athenagoras.

P. D. It is sufficient for Dr. St.'s Design, if the Worship of Images, and of Intellectual Beings under one supreme God, were Idolatry among the Heathens, for then it must remain so among Christians; as well as Murther and Adultery are the same wherever they are found. But since you have proposed it, I shall consider with you how far the Worship of the Creatures in general is Idolatry. But I have some few Questions to ask you about this sort of Idolatry. (1.) Whether you think the Heathens Idolatry did lye in worshipping meer Matter as God? Or, (2.) In worshipping God as the Soul of the World, and the several Parts of it with respect to him? Or, (3.) In acknowledging a Creator, but giving all the Worship to the Creatures?

R. P. In all these, according to their several Opinions.

P. D.

Voss. de
Idolol. l. 7.
c. 5.

P. D. Do you really think any of them did worship *meer Matter*, without Life, Sense, or Understanding, for God? For either they did believe some other God, or not. If they did, how is it possible they should not worship that which could hear, and understand, and help them; and worship that which could do none of these? If they did not believe any other God, they were *Atheists* and not *Idolaters*. For are not those *Atheists* who acknowledge no other God but *meer Matter*; i. e. no God at all? For so *Vossius* himself saith, those who held *meer Matter* to be God, *verbo Deum fatebantur, re negabant*: Did only seem to believe a God whom they really deny'd. For what kind of God, saith he, was that which had neither Sense nor Reason?

R. P. It was *Idolatry* then to worship the Parts of the World with a respect to God as the Soul of it; which as T. G. saith in his *Postscript*, is to make a *False God*.

P. D. There are two Things which deserve to be considered as to this Matter. (1.) In what Sense making God the Soul of the World is setting up a *False God*? (2.) How far the *Gentiles* could be charged with *Idolatry*, who worshipped the Parts of the World with respect to God as the Soul of it?

R. P. Do not you think making God the Soul of the World is setting up a *False God*?

P. D. I pray tell me what you mean by the Soul of the World. For either you mean the natural series of Causes, or the more subtile and active Parts of Matter diffused through the Universe, without Mind and Understanding; or you mean an *Intelligent Being*, which by *Wisdom* and *Providence* orders and governs the World, but withal is so united to it, as the Soul is to the Body: If you mean the former, I say all such who held it were really *Atheists*, and only differed in the way of speaking from those who worshipped *meer Matter*: For let them call God the Soul of the World never so much, they mean no more than that there is no other God but the Power of Nature. If you mean an *Understanding Being Governing the World*, whose Essence is distinct from Matter, but yet is supposed to be so united to it as the Soul is to the Body, then I pray tell me in what Sense you make him to be a *False God*, and how it comes to be *Idolatry* to worship the Parts of the World with respect to him?

Dial. p.
349.

R. P. St. *Augustin* proves against *Varro*, that God was not the Soul of the World, if there were any such Thing, but the Creator and Maker of it: And he shows that this Opinion is attended with impious and irreligious Consequences.

P. D. I do not go about to defend the Opinion, but I hope I may ask, Wherein the *Idolatry* lay of worshipping one God under this Notion, as he animated the World, and the several Parts of it?

Aq. c.
Gentesl 3.
c. 120.

R. P. In worshipping the several Parts of the World with *Divine Worship*; not with a respect to the Body, but to God as the Soul of it; for therein *Aquinas* placeth their *Idolatry*.

P. D. Is *Relative Latria* *Idolatry*?

R. P. Why do you ask me such an *Impertinent Question*?

P. D. Nothing can be more pertinent, for this is *mere relative Latria*.

R. P. It was *Idolatry* in them, but yet not so in us when we worship the *Crucifix* with respect to *Christ*.

P. D. You

P. D. You may as well say, Lying with another Man's Wife was Adultery in them, but not in You. I pray shew the difference.

R. P. You would fain bring me back again to the Worship of Images; but you shall not. For I say, their Idolatry lay in worshipping God, as united to the Parts of the World, and giving Divine Worship to them on that Account.

P. D. Will you stand to this?

R. P. Why not?

P. D. Then I will prove worshipping the Host to be Idolatry on the same Grounds. For in both Cases there is a Supposition really false, but which being true, would justify the Act of Worship; and if notwithstanding that Supposition, that God is the Soul of the World, the Worshipping of God as so united, is Idolatry, then the Worship of the Host, notwithstanding the Supposition of Christ's Body being united to the species, is Idolatry too; they being both Acts of Adoration given to those Objects which in themselves deserve no Worship, but yet are adored upon such a Supposition, which being true, would justify the performance of them.

R. P. You are much mistaken in your Parallel. For, as T. G. well observed, in the worship of the Host, the Act of Adoration is not formally terminated upon the Bread, supposing it to remain, but upon God: But we conceive the Bread not to be there at all; but in place thereof the only True and Eternal God. And whatever is taken for an Object of Worship, the Understanding must affirm (either truly or falsely) to be; but Catholics, whether mistaken or not in the belief of Transubstantiation, do not in their Minds affirm the Bread to be, but not to be; because they believe it to be converted into the Body of Christ. But they who worshipped the Parts of the World, with a respect to God as the Soul of it, did however believe those to have a Real Being, and not to be turned into the Substance of God.

Cathol. no
Idol. p.
327, &c.
Dial. p.
432, 433.

P. D. All that this proves is, that you do not take the Bread it self for God; no more did they, who worshipped the Parts of the World, as Members of that Body to which God was united as the Soul, take those Parts for God. But in both cases there is a Supposition equal to justify the Worship if true; and if notwithstanding this Supposition, the Heathens were guilty of Idolatry; why are not you upon a far more unreasonable Supposition than that? If Christ's Body be present in the Eucharist, you say, you may worship it as there present; so say they, if God be the Soul of the World, we may lawfully worship the several Parts of it. But you say, whatever is an Object of Worship, must be supposed to be; whereas you suppose the Bread not to be, but to be converted into the Body of Christ; which alters not the Case; for the Question is not about the bare being or not being of the thing, but of the being or not being of a fit Object of Worship. I will make the Matter plain to you by this Instance: One of the most common Idolatries of the Heathen World was the Worship of the Sun; they who did worship it, did suppose it to be a fit Object for Worship; but they who looked on the Sun as a meer Creature, could not think so: Therefore to make any Creature a fit Object for Worship, there must go a farther Supposition, viz. of the Divinity being in it, or united to it. Now the main Point lies here; Whether on supposition, that the substance of the Sun doth not remain, it would not be Idolatry; but on supposition that it doth remain, it would be Idolatry? I pray then answer me; Would it be Idolatry or not to worship the Sun,

suppose a Man believed the very *substance* of the Sun to be turned into the *Divinity*?

R. P. No surely. For that is our own case.

P. D. How comes it then to be *Idolatry*, supposing the *Divinity* united to the *substance* of the Sun?

R. P. In one case we may be supposed to worship a Thing which is; but in the other we cannot be supposed to worship that which at the same time we believe not to be.

P. D. If it be *Idolatry* to worship that as God, which is not God, then the *Worship* of the *Host* may be *Idolatry*, though you suppose the Bread not to be. For to suppose that not to be, which really is, doth no more alter the Case, than to suppose that to be God which is not; for that is to suppose that not to be a Creature which is. For the *Worshippers* of any Parts of the World might profess as solemnly as you do about the Bread, that if they did believe the Sun to be a meer Creature, they should abhor the thoughts of worshipping it; but believing it either to be God it self, or at least that the *Godhead* is united to it, Why are not they as excusable as those who declare they abhor the thoughts of worshipping the Bread? But they believe it not to be Bread, but the Body of the Son of God.

Catho. no
Idol. p.
318.

R. P. But T. G. observes, that the Formal Term of *Idolatrous Worship* is an undue Object, viz. a Creature instead of the Creator; but *Catholicks*, in case of a mistake, would have no other Formal Object in their Minds, but the Creator himself.

P. D. As though the Nature of *Idolatry* did consist in the *Worship* of a Creature, knowing it to be a meer Creature. Might not the *Heathens* have said they had no other Formal Object of Adoration in their Minds but God; but supposing him united to the Parts of the World, they might worship them on his account; as well as those of the Church of Rome give Adoration to that which appears to be meer Bread? If they who worship the Sun, on the account of the *Divinity* which is in it, or united to it, be yet guilty of *Idolatry*, because though on supposition the *Divinity* were so united, the *Worship* would be lawful, yet the supposition being false, they are guilty of *Idolatry*; why then should not those be equally guilty of it, who worship a *Divinity* as present under the species of Bread, if the substance of Bread doth still remain? for then the *Worship*, however intended, falls upon a meer Creature, as it did in the former Case.

R. P. Those who worshipped the Sun, did suppose the substance of the Sun still to remain; but *Catholicks* do not suppose the substance of Bread to continue, but in place thereof do worship the only True and Eternal God.

P. D. It is true, they did suppose the substance of the Sun to remain, but they did not intend to terminate their *Worship* on that substance, but on the *Divinity* united to it; and to suppose that not to be Bread which is really Bread, doth no more excuse from *Idolatry*, than supposing that not to be a meer Creature, which really is no more. But to drive this Matter home to you, I will ask a farther Question; Were those *Idolaters* who worshipped the Parts of the World as a part of the substance of God himself; so that he is One and All?

R. P. Suppose they were.

P. D. Did not they believe there was no other substance but of God present in what they worshipped?

R. P. And what follows?

P. D.

P. D. Do you not perceive? That to suppose that not to be which really is, and that to be which is not, doth not excuse from Idolatry.

R. P. I must talk a little farther with T. G. about this Matter. But I have another Reason yet to charge the Heathens with Idolatry, viz. That they forsook the Worship of the Creator, and staid in the Worship of the Creature.

P. D. Do you mean that they gave him no External Worship, or that they gave him no Worship at all? Or do you think any that believed in God, gave him no inward Worship, i. e. no Reverence or Esteem suitable to his Excellency?

R. P. Why do you ask these Questions?

P. D. Because many of the Heathens thought External Worship beneath the Excellency of the Supreme God, as Dr. St. hath fully shewed from the Testimonies of Porphyrius, Numa, the Platonists, the Mandarins in China, and the Inca's of Peru. Is it then Idolatry to deny External Worship to God out of Reverence to his Majesty, and to give it to Inferior Beings?

Defence,
p. 64, 65.

R. P. It is Idolatry to give all External Worship to his Creatures, and to reserve none to himself; because some External Worship is due to him.

P. D. If External Worship be due to God, it is not because he needs it, but because it is fit for us his Creatures, to testify our subjection to him as our Creator.

R. P. Be it so.

P. D. Ought not that Worship then to be so peculiar to him, as to manifest the different Esteem we have of the Creator and his Creatures?

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Is it not then an Injury to God's Honour to give that Worship which ought to be peculiar to himself, to any of his Creatures? and that which the Scripture calls Idolatry?

R. P. But how will you know what External Acts of Worship those are which are peculiar to God? for therein lies the great Difficulty.

P. D. Either we suppose God to have revealed his Will to Mankind, or not. If not, we have the Light of Nature, and the Consent of Mankind to direct us; if he hath, we must consider the Revelation he hath made of his Will in this Matter. For since God hath the Power to determine our Duty, and he knows best what makes for his Honour, it is but just and reasonable that we should judge of these things according to his Will. What he appoints as due to himself, becomes due by his Appointment; and to give that to another which he hath made due only to himself, is without question the giving the Worship due to God to his Creatures; which is Idolatry. Our Business therefore is, to consider whether God hath appropriated any Acts of Worship to himself; what those Acts are; how far the Obligation of them doth extend to us; what we find to that purpose in the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles; what the Sense of the Christian Church hath been concerning them in the best and purest times of it. If you can think of any better ways than these, I pray acquaint me with them.

R. P. I see what you are coming to, viz. The Appropriate Acts of Divine Worship; but before we debate that Business, I have something more yet to say to you about the Heathen Idolatry.

P. D. What is that ?

Dial. P.
430.

R. P. T. G. observes, that the Heathens did worship their Gods as sharers with Jupiter in the Divine Power and Authority, and upon that account believed them to be truly and properly Gods, in whose Power it was to bestow those Benefits upon them, which they desired, and they were justly charged with Idolatry by the Fathers for so doing. And he observes from T. Godwin in his Roman Antiquities, that some were Gods by their own Right, others only by right of Donation: Of the former sort were those who were Partners in the Government of the World. Now, saith he, to give wor-

P. 425.

P. 431.

ship to any other besides God, as a sharer with him in it, though but in this or that Particular, will be Idolatry; and in this Consideration, were there no other, they might be justly charged with it by the Fathers; but in our Church we own God to be the sole Giver of every good and perfect Gift, and make our Addresses to Angels and Saints as his Ministers and Servants, not to obtain of them the Benefits we desire, but of God alone by their Intercession through his only Son and our only Redeemer Jesus Christ, as the Council of Trent hath declared.

R. D. Here are two Things to be cleared, (1.) How far the Heathens did make other Gods sharers with the Supreme in the Government of the World. (2.) How far your Opinion and Practice differ from theirs.

I. How far the Heathens did make other Gods sharers with the Supreme in the Government of the World. For which we are to consider a double Hypothesis which was received among the Heathens.

Dr. St. De-
fence, p.
457, 458.

Aug. de
Civit. Dei,
l. 4. c. 11.

First, Of those who worshipped the same God under several Names and Titles with respect to particular Powers; which Dr. St. proved from Plotinus, Plutarch, Apuleius, and your own Simon Majolus, who on this account commends the Poetick Theology beyond that of Pythagoras and Socrates. And this Hypothesis S. Augustin takes particular notice of, viz. That the same God was Jupiter above, Juno in the Air, Neptune in the Sea, and in the bottom of it Salacia, Pluto upon Earth, Proserpina under it, Vesta in the Hearth, Vulcan in the Forge, Apollo in Oracles, Mercury in Trade, Mars in War, Ceres in Corn, Diana in the Woods, Minerva among Wits; with many more which he reckons up, and then concludes, that all these Gods and Goddesses are but one Jupiter; or the several Parts and Powers of the same God; and this, he saith, was the Opinion of many learned, and great Men among them. (Quæ sententia velut magnorum multorumq; Doctorum est.) All these made no sharers in Divinity by believing them to be truly and properly Gods, but only different Titles and Powers of the same God.

Oros. l. 6.
c. 1.

Cypr. op.
p. 448. Ed.

Goulart.

Aug. c.

Faust. l.

20. c. 10.

Secondly, There was another Hypothesis more general than this, viz. of one Supreme God and many inferior who were employed by him. Of which you may remember the Words of Tertullian, that the greatest part asserted the Supreme Power to be in One, and the subordinate Offices to be in many. And Orosius saith, that both the Philosophers and common Heathens did believe One God the Author of all Things; but under this God they worshipped many Inferior and Subservient Gods. In the Council of Carthage, under Cyprian, Saturninus a Tucca (who was both a Bishop and Confessor) saith, that the Heathen Idolaters did acknowledge and confess the Supreme God, Father and Creator. And this was so known a thing, that Faustus the Manichee charged the Christians with being of the same Faith with the Pagans, as to one Supreme God. Although therefore the Heathens did own and worship many Gods, yet they looked on them as inferior and sub-

subordinate to the Supreme, and only employed by him in the Administration of things under him. And as for the Partners you mention, they were not such *quoad plenitudinem potestatis*; but only made use of in their particular Offices; you know the Distinction; and it serves better here than in the Court of Rome. But I cannot but wonder, when T. G. had upbraided Dr. St. for two Pages together with his Father Livy, Father Varro, Father Cicero, Father Seneca, Father Virgil, &c. he should at last sink so low as to quote Father T. G. in his *Roman Antiquities* against him; surely any one of those Fathers in a matter of *Roman Antiquities* would weigh down a hundred Father T. G.'s; and yet even this Testimony doth not prove that the Gods that were supposed to be in Heaven by their own right were Supreme and independent Deities, but the *Dij consentes* were of a higher Rank than the *semidei* or *indigites*, the one having been always in Heaven according to the Platonists Supposition, the other being assumed from among Men; which comes at last to the Distinction of Angels and Saints.

Dial. p.
316, 317.

2. How far your Opinion and Practice do differ from theirs. And here I pray remember that I go not about to compare the Heathen Gods with Angels and Saints as to their Excellencies, for the Apostle tells us, however the Gentiles intended it, they did really sacrifice to Devils and not to God: But I am only to compare the Heathens Nation of Worship and yours together. And if you do allow Gods by participation, viz. Spirits assumed into such a share of Government as to have the care of some Things and Places committed to some more than to others; and if Addresses and Supplications are allowed to be made to them on that account, I desire to know how the Heathens are justly charged with Idolatry, and you not? Was it Idolatry to pray to Diana as an inferior Deity which presided over Hunting, and is it none to pray to S. Hubert on the like account? Was it Idolatry to pray to Vesta to preserve from the Fire, and is it none to pray to S. Agatha? If two Persons in the same Storm prayed as to their Tutelar Deities, the one to Neptune, the other to S. Paul; is the one guilty of Idolatry, and the other not? If two Women in Travail prayed for help, the one to Lucina, the other to the B. Virgin, is the first only guilty of Idolatry? They might be accused of Ignorance and Folly in making a bad choice, but I do not see how the Heathens could be charged with Idolatry, and not the other. When Saints are Canonized to be Particular Patrons of Places, as S. Rosa lately for Peru; why may not the Inhabitants make particular Addresses to her as their Patroness, and Tutelar Deity, as Lipsius did to the B. Virgin? Is not this to make such a Saint a sharer in the Government of the World, as much as the Heathens did their Tutelar Gods under one Supreme? And therefore upon T. G.'s own ground, you are as justly charged with Idolatry as the Heathens were. For the Heathens did not look on their Tutelar Gods as the Original Givers, but as the subordinate Ministers.

R. P. But as T. G. saith, we do not pray to them to obtain the things we desire, but that they would be our Intercessors with God for us.

P. D. I wonder T. G. would say this again without answering what Dr. St. had said in his late Defence to shew (1.) That the very words of the Council of Trent do allow more than bare intercession. (2.) That formal Prayers to them to bestow Blessings, are allowed and practised among them; of which he produces several Instances of present use in the approved Books of Devotion. (3.) That such Prayers do not contradict any received Doctrine of the Roman Church: and he challenges T. G.

Def. p.
293, &c.

P. 296, &c.

P. 300.

to

to shew, what *Article* of your *Creed*, what *Decree* of your *Church*, what *Doctrine* of your *Divines* it doth contradict, for any Man to pray directly to the *Virgin Mary* for the *Destruction* of *Heresies*, *Support* under *Troubles*, *Grace* to withstand *Temptations*, and *Reception* to *Glory*? And what can we beg for more from God himself? But I do not yet understand how you can charge those *Heathens* with *Idolatry*, who owned a *Supreme God* and worshipped *inferior Deities* as *subordinate* to them, and their *Images*; but the Charge will return upon your selves.

Dial. p.
437.

R. P. Will you never be satisfied? Did not T. G. say, *They were justly charged with it on Two Accounts.* (1.) *Because those Images were instituted by Publick Authority, for the Worship of false Gods; and they concurred with the Vulgar in all the External Practices of their Idolatry.* (2.) *Because, though in their Schools they denied them to be Gods, yet they gave Divine Honour to them as the People did.*

P. D. You must excuse me, Sir; I have such an Imperfection in my Understanding, that it will not be satisfy'd, without the Appearance at least of Reason; which, I confess, I cannot yet see in this Answer. For, I pray, how comes it to be *Idolatry* in them, who give only an *Inferior and Relative Worship*, if that *Worship* be not *Idolatry*?

Dial. p.
438.

R. P. T. G. saith, *They were not guilty of Internal Idolatry, but of External; complying with the Vulgar, who did worship them as truly and properly Gods; and that in such a manner that they were judged to do the same thing: And therefore, it was at least an Exterior Profession of Idolatry in them.*

P. D. But you have not yet proved, That the *Gentiles* did worship many *Independent Gods*: And I have very lately shewed the contrary, from the expresse Testimonies of the *Fathers*; and therefore this Answer doth not reach to the Case. Yet suppose, that against the general Sense of understanding Men, the Common People should take the *Inferior Gods* for *Independent and Absolute Deities*; Is not this the Case of your own Church? As Dr. St. observed, the Common People take their *Images* for *Gods*, or take the *B. Virgin* for the *Queen of Heaven*, and pray to them accordingly; which is both *Internal* and *External Idolatry* in them; however T. G. and their Learned Men, comply with them in all their *External Acts of Worship*: Are they guilty of the *Exterior Profession of Idolatry*, or not?

Dial. p.
441.

R. P. I thought where you would be: But it is the same Case of some few Men complying with a Common and Publick Custom of *Idolatrous Worship*; and of those who follow the Publick Profession, and do the same Acts with some Private Men, who turn them to *Idolatrous Worship*?

Dial. p.
444.

P. D. But if the Publick Profession of the *Gentiles* was to worship One *Supreme God*, as I have already proved, then the Case is the very same, as to the Profession and Practice of *Idolatry*; which is the main thing insisted on. And the shewing of many other Circumstantial Differences will not vary the Case, and destroy the Parallel. If this be all you have to add about the *Heathen Idolatry*, I pray let us come to the *Appropriate Acts of Divine Worship*. For, since God may appropriate Acts of Worship to himself; since upon that they become due only to him; since *Idolatry* is Giving to the Creature the *Worship due to God*; Dr. St. from hence proves, That they who do those Acts, by way of Worship, to any Creature, must be guilty of *Idolatry*.

R. P. As

R. P. As to this mighty Argument, T. G. saith, the only thing to be considered at in it, are the many Equivocations, False Suppositions, and Self-contradictions contained in it. Dial. p. 447.

P. D. Fair and soft, Good Sir; let us not have so many Charges at one time: Take which of them you please, provided you hold to it, and not ramble from one to another.

R. P. What is it you understand by *Appropriate Acts of Divine Worship*? For more or less may be required, and so the Term be equivocal.

P. D. I mean such, which by his Appointment and Command become due to him: And by his Prohibition to give them to any other, they become due only to him.

R. P. There is something still wanting to make the Argument conclusive against us; which is, That God hath so tied these Acts to his own Worship, that in all Cases, and upon all Occasions imaginable, they become incommunicable to any other, and this so fastned to them, that it cannot be separated from them. For if the Appropriation may be separated upon any Accounts, we may and will pretend it is. Dial. p. 448.

P. D. How doth it appear necessary, that such an Appropriation must be in all Circumstances? Is it not sufficient that it be in all Acts of Religious Worship? For instance, Adoration is an appropriate Act of Divine Worship, but he doth not hereby exclude mens bowing to each other on account of civil Respect; but where the Circumstances of Time, Place, &c. do shew it is for Religious Worship, there Dr. St. saith it ought to be given to none else but God.

R. P. But if those Acts be communicable to any other besides God, as limited with such and such Circumstances, they are not absolutely appropriated to God in all cases and upon all accounts imaginable; and so the Argument doth not conclude. Dial. p. 449.

P. D. I wonder to hear you talk at this rate. For the Force of your Argument lies in this, If it be lawful to bow to one another on a civil Account, then Religious Worship is not appropriated to God; what a strange Consequence is this? Dr. St. doth say, that the Circumstances of Time and Place, &c. do put a sufficient Discrimination between Acts of Civil and Religious Worship; as between eating and drinking upon a natural account at a common Table, and eating and drinking at the Eucharist. What a senseless way of reasoning were this, for a Man to say, that eating and drinking could not be appropriated to that Act of Divine Worship in Celebration of the Lord's Supper, because Men eat and drink upon other Occasions? It is true, they do so and must do so if they would live; but what then? May not Christ therefore institute a Supper of his own, with such Rites and Solemnities belonging to it, as may sufficiently discriminate it from a common eating and drinking? And were it not a horrible Prophanation to appoint such a Supper as that of our Lord's is, in commemoration of S. Francis, or Ignatius Loyola? I see, I must put some Questions to you to make you apprehend this a little better, than I fear you do. Is not the Celebration of the Eucharist an appropriate Act of Divine Worship now under the Gospel?

R. P. I do not well know what you mean.

P. D. So I thought by your way of talking. Is it lawful to meet together at Mass, to set apart Bread and Wine, and afterwards to partake of them with a design to commemorate S. Francis and St. Rosa, by such a Solemnity?

R. P. I

R. P. I think not; because that would be a prophane Imitation of our *Lord's Supper*, which was instituted by *Christ* himself for the Commemoration of his own Sufferings.

P. D. But is it not lawful to eat Bread and to drink Wine together?

R. P. Who doubts of that?

P. D. But eating Bread and drinking Wine are the same Acts in Substance which are used at the *Lord's Supper*.

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Then the Substance of the Acts being the same when done upon a civil and a religious Account, doth not take off from the Appropriation of them to God when the Circumstances declare it to be an Act of Religious Worship. Therefore when a Dispute arises concerning the Nature of an Act, whether it be for Civil or Religious Worship, common Prudence is to judge of that from the Circumstances of it; if once it be found to be for Religious Worship, then comes in the Consideration of the Law of God, and the Appropriation of all Acts of Religious Worship to God alone. And by this time I hope you understand how impertinent it is to say, that if there be appropriate Acts of Divine Worship, they must be so in all Cases and upon all Accounts imaginable. Which is as much as to say, that eating Bread and drinking Wine in a solemn manner, in a place appointed for Divine Worship, cannot be appropriated to the *Lord's Supper*, unless we never eat Bread, or drink Wine, but upon that Occasion.

Diall. p. 450.

R. P. But what are these appropriate Acts of Divine Worship? For it may be some further light may be gathered from the Acts themselves.

P. D. Dr. S. hath named six; Sacrifice, Religious Adoration, Solemn Invocation, Erecting Temples and Altars, Burning of Incense, Making of Vows.

R. P. Hath God tyed us by his command to offer Sacrifice, or burn Incense, or make Vows to him? How then can he argue the Romanists guilty of Idolatry upon the account of giving Acts appropriated to God to others beside him, when himself if put to it, will deny that God hath commanded them to be done at all to him?

P. D. To clear this matter a little more to you, you may consider two things concerning appropriate Acts of Divine Worship. 1. The general Prohibition of giving Religious Worship to any thing besides God. Mat. 4. 10. Which our Saviour hath delivered in those words, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* Which the Primitive Church took for their fundamental Rule of Worship; and understood it in this sense, That all Acts of Religious Worship were to be performed to God alone. And therefore of what kind soever the Acts were, whether we were tied to perform them to God or not, if they were looked on as Acts of Religious Worship given to any Creature, they utterly and peremptorily refused to do them, and rather chose to suffer Martyrdom; as was plain in the case of burning Incense to the Emperors Image. No Christians did then think that we were tied to offer Incense to God, and yet they esteemed it Idolatry to offer Incense to any Creature; therefore it is not necessary to the Nature of Idolatry, that the Act of Worship be such as we are tied to give unto God; it being sufficient that it is an Act of Religious Worship; and the giving of any such to a Creature is Idolatry; and without this, it is impossible to defend the Martyrs of the Primitive Church; which all Christians are bound to do.

2. As

2. As to particular Acts of Divine Worship, though they are always unlawful to be given to any thing besides God, yet we are not tied after the same manner to perform them to him. For (1.) Some Acts of Worship are natural and always equally agreeing to the Majesty of God; such as Prayer and Invocation; Dependence on his Goodness and Providence; Thanksgiving for Mercies received, and all internal Acts of Worship, which result from the Relation we stand in to God, and the Apprehensions we ought to have of his Perfections; as Fear from his Power, Submission from his Providence, Faith and Trust in him from his Truth and Wisdom, Love from his Goodness, &c. All these are necessary Acts of Worship, and proper to God. (2.) Some Acts of Worship are appropriated to him when they are due, but they are not always due; such as making Vows, and swearing by his Name. Although we are not tied to perform these at any certain times, yet whenever they are done, they must be done to God alone. (3.) Some Acts are not necessary to be done to God at all; and yet it is unlawful to do them to any other. And of this kind are the offering Sacrifices and burning Incense; which were strictly required under the Law; but that Dispensation expiring after the coming of Christ, the Obligation to those Acts was wholly taken away; and yet it was Idolatry to use them to any thing besides God, because they were Acts of Religious Worship; and therefore if to be performed at all, they were so due to him that they could not without Idolatry be applied to any besides him. And thus, I hope, I have a little helped your Understanding about these appropriate Acts of Divine Worship.

R. P. But the force of the ceremonial Law being taken away; whatever is not obliging by the Law of Nature, or some express Declaration of the Will of Christ, is left at liberty for the Church to use conformably to the light of Nature and the design of Christ's Doctrine. Dial. p. 452.

P. D. All this I yield. But that which I insist upon, is that fundamental Precept of Worship as declared by Christ, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve.

R. P. But do you think that Christ hath made a re-establishment of those Acts in the new Law which were before peculiar to God, as Sacrifice, Incense, &c. for then Christians will be as much bound by this Precept to give them to God, as not to give them to any other. But if they are not re-established, how doth it follow, that because they were appropriated to God by the Law, therefore now that Law is taken away, they are forbidden to any other besides God? Dial. p. 454.

P. D. I do not say that Christ did intend a re-establishment of those Acts of Worship which were peculiar to the Law of Moses; but I do say, that Christ by this Precept as explained by himself, doth make it utterly unlawful to perform any Act of Religious Worship to any but God alone. And if this be all you have to prove the Mass of Equivocations, False Suppositions, and Self-contradictions in Dr. St.'s Discourse of appropriate Acts of Divine Worship, it had been more for T. G.'s Honour to have passed over this with as much Silence as he did many other places which he found too hard for him.

R. P. Suppose this Argument were good, it proves nothing against us, who neither give any Act absolutely appropriated to God to any else besides him; nor any other in the manner it is appropriated to him. Dial. p. 455.

P. D. If you perform any Act of Religious Worship either to Saints or Images, this Discourse must concern you; because the Law against the Worship of Images is still in force among Christians; and our Savi-

our's general Rule doth forbid all External Acts of Religious Worship being applied to any besides God.

Dial. p.
456.

R. P. Nay, supposing those External Acts of Worship to be now due to God by his Law, the giving them to any besides himself will not be to give to the Creature the Worship due to God, unless it be done with intention to give them to a Creature as esteemed worthy of Divine Honour. For that is the Definition of real Idolatry.

Dial p.
467.

P. D. Then the Mandarins in China, who performed all External Acts of Adoration in the Temple of the Tutelar Spirits, secretly directing their Intention to a Crucifix, were not guilty of Idolatry; notwithstanding the Decree of the Congregation at Rome. For they did not perform those Acts, with an intention to give the Worship to the Tutelar Spirits as esteemed worthy of Divine Honour. Then the Thurification of the Primitive Church, who through Fear offered Incense, could not be charged with Idolatry; nor Marcellinus, though he sacrificed in the Temple of Vesta, when he only complied with Dioclesian. But did not *T. G.* blame the Philosophers for an exterior Profession of Idolatry? What is that I beseech you? Is it Idolatry or not? Doth not *T. G.* grant, that there ought in Reason to be some peculiar external Acts appropriated to the Worship of God as most agreeable to his incommunicable Excellency? Why no, I pray; is it not, because God's incommunicable Excellency requires an External Worship peculiar to it self? And if so, is it not to give the Worship due to God to something else, to apply those Acts which are peculiar to himself, to any thing besides him? This Debate in truth comes to this Point at last, whether there ought to be any such thing as a peculiar external Worship of God or not? For, if external Worship be due to him, and such Worship be due to him alone for his incommunicable Excellency, then the giving external Worship to a Creature, must be giving to it what is due only to God. And to resolve the Nature of Idolatry into the inward Intention, is all one as if one should say, that Adultery were to lie with another Man's Wife with an Intention to Cuckold her Husband; but if a Man did it out of Love to her Person, it were no Adultery. Why is there not an external Act of Idolatry, as well as of Perjury, Theft, Murder and the like? Where doth the Scripture give the least Intimation that the Nature of Idolatry is to be taken from the inward Intention, when the Law is expresse against the outward Action? And all Men are charged with Idolatry who are guilty of the external Acts, without running into the Thoughts and Designs of their Hearts? Nay, your own Authors cannot deny that there is an external Idolatry as well as internal; and where the outward Acts are Idolatrous we ought to presume there was an implicit and indirect Intention; and no more is necessary to make an Act Idolatrous than a voluntary Inclination to do it. This is therefore a meer subterfuge, and can never satisfy a Man's Conscience, nor excuse the Roman Church from Idolatry.

Dial. p.
457.

R. P. But *T. G.* grants, that supposing such an Appropriation of external Acts to remain in force; to apply such Acts to a Creature may and ought in Reason to be interpreted to be real Idolatrous Worship; because Idolatry is a sin directly opposite to Religion, as a false Worship to a true one.

P. D. What is it then but to cavil about Words, to deny that to be real Idolatry which at the same time he confesses ought to be interpreted to be so? For since we cannot judge of Men's Intentions but by their Actions, when we dispute about the Idolatry practised in any Church, we can

can be understood only of that which lies open to our Judgment, and that can be only the *external Act*. And since T. G. grants, that the thing which the Dr. means is confessed by your selves to be inconsistent with Salvation, there is nothing further necessary to be done, but to debate whether you are guilty of that Sin or not, in applying appropriate Acts of Divine Worship to a Creature. Dial. p. 461.

R. P. But doth not Dr. St. himself shew from Card. Tolet, that Idolatry doth suppose an Error in the Mind, in judging that to deserve divine Honour which doth not? Dial. p. 458.

P. D. I grant it, but that only shews what practical Judgment doth precede a voluntary Act of Idolatry: As it is distinguished from an involuntarily compliance. In this later Case, Persons are really Guilty as to the external Act; as a Man that takes away his Neighbours Goods out of Fear of his own Life is really Guilty of Theft, although the Fear he was in may lessen the wilfulness of it: So Idolatry when committed through the Power of a sudden Passion, is a Sin of the same kind with other Idolatry, but not so wilful and deliberate a Sin. But in case of wilful Idolatry, there must be a practical Judgment determining the Will to the Act of Idolatry. If you ask me what that Judgment is, whether true, or erroneous; I say it is an erroneous Judgment, for it determines the giving Divine Worship to that which doth not deserve it. Not as though Idolatry implied the believing that to be truly and properly God which is not; (which T. G. would infer from thence) but it implies only the practical Judgment determining the Will to give Divine Worship to that which really deserves it not. As for instance; suppose an Image of our Lady to stand before two Persons; the one declares against the Worship of it, though he may be forced to do it, he is guilty of real but involuntary Idolatry (taking involuntary as to the free Inclination of the Will); the other readily and spontaneously falls down upon his Knees before it, and says his Prayers to the Image as gravely and devoutly as if the B. Virgin were present; both these do concur in the same external Act of Worship, but from a very different Judgment; the one judges it fit to comply for his own safety; the other judges the thing fit to be done: But it is not necessary that he judges the Image to be the B. Virgin her self, but that he ought to give such Worship to her Image; so that judging Divine Worship to belong to that which doth not really deserve it, is all the erroneous Judgment necessary to a wilful Act of Idolatry; and if this be any kindness to T. G. much good may it do him. Dial. p. 459.

R. P. But T. G. saith, that from hence it follows, that it is not real Idolatry to worship an Image with Divine Worship unless it be done out of an erroneous Judgment, as to a thing that deserves Divine Honour. Dial. p. 459.

P. D. No such matter; for from hence it only follows, that in a wilful Act of Idolatry there must be a practical Judgment determining the Act of Divine Worship to an Image, though it deserves it not. So that this doth not refer to the manner of applying the external Act to the Object as deserving Divine Honour, but only the antecedent Judgment that the Act of Divine Worship be given to such an Object.

R. P. Again T. G. saith, that from hence it follows, that the case of the Heathens and ours is different, because their Idolatry proceeded upon an erroneous Belief of a Creatures deserving Divine Honour when it doth not; but we do no such thing.

P. D. Cannot T. G. understand the Difference between an erroneous Belief and an erroneous practical Judgment? I do not deny that the Hea-

thens had a very erroneous Belief in many Particulars ; and so have other Idolaters too. But the Question now is, what Error of Judgment that is, which the wilful Act of Idolatry doth suppose ; and I say, it requires no more than an Error in the practical Judgment, determining the Will to give Divine Worship to that which doth not deserve it. And herein I see no difference between the Heathens Idolatry and yours.

Dial. p.
465.

R. P. But let us now set aside the strict Notion of Idolatry, and consider, whether the Church of Rome be guilty of damnable Sin in the manner of their Worship, which must either be in not giving to God the Worship due to him, or by giving the Worship due only to him to his Creatures.

Defence,
p. 204, &c.

P. D. The latter is that which Dr. St. chiefly insists upon, although, he saith, your Divines are to blame in the first Particular, because they reserve no one Act of external Adoration as proper to God, and to be performed by all Christians ; and for this he quotes the Resolution of Cardinal Lugo.

Dial. p.
469.

R. P. I wonder you would mention that Citation of Lugo, since T. G. saith, the Dr. is so unhappy in his Citations : And the Jesuits will say, that he evidently abuses both his Authority and his Eminency.

P. D. I have had so much Experience of T. G.'s intolerable disingenuity in this matter, that I durst venture an even Wager (which is the way T. G. proposes often in his Dialogues for ending such Disputes) that Dr. St. hath not miscited Cardinal Lugo.

R. P. T. G. saith, that Cardinal Lugo doth not deny Sacrifice to be an external Act of Worship proper to God ; for his words are, qui non potest offerri nisi soli Deo, as may not be offered but to God alone ; but, he saith, that Sacrifice is not properly an Act of Adoration in the strict Sense, but of another kind distinct from it.

P. D. Those are not Lugo's Words, but *sicet non possit offerri nisi soli Deo* ; yet I shall not insist upon that. For that which sufficiently clears Dr. St. is, the Consideration of his Design in bringing those words of Lugo, which was to prove that there is no one external Act of Adoration which is proper to Latria, or the Worship peculiar to God. And are not Lugo's Words plain and full to this purpose ?

R. P. That cannot be denied ; but he takes Adoration in the stricter Sense.

P. D. Let him take it in what Sense he will ; doth he not speak of the Adoration proper to Latria, or the Worship peculiar to God ? And doth not Latria take in any peculiar Act of Divine Worship ? And if there be no external Act of Adoration peculiar to God, doth it not follow, that there is no peculiar Act whereby you express your inward Submission to God in all things ? for that, Lugo saith, is the strict Sense of Adoration he there means. And doth not this fully prove what Dr. St. brought this Testimony for ?

R. P. But the Church of Rome doth hold Sacrifice to be peculiar to God.

Dial. p.
217.

P. D. And doth not Dr. St. say as much ? For his words are, that you confess, that Sacrifice is so peculiar to God that it ought not to be offered to any else ; but not as an Act of Latria, saith Cardinal Lugo, for there is no Act of Adoration that is so ; but upon another Account, as it signifies God's absolute Dominion over us as to Life and Death, and that we ought to lay down our own Lives when he calls for them. Which is to make Sacrifice a significant Ceremony peculiar to God, expressing his Sovereignty, but not an immediate Act of Worship peculiar to him : for of that

that kind, he saith, there is none. And therefore according to him, your Church hath no one External Act of Divine Worship so proper to God, that it may not be offered but to him alone.

And from hence it appears that Lugo did not take Adoration merely for that Act of Religious Worship which is performed by the Motion of the Body, as T. G. suggests; but for whatsoever Act that may tend to express the submission of our Souls to God; of which sort he denies any to be peculiar to God's Worship. And what can be more contrary to that which T. G. admits for a Law of Nature, viz. That Man ought to use some External Acts to testify his submission to God, and therefore there ought to be some peculiar External Acts appropriated to the Worship of God, as most agreeable to his Incommunicable Excellency? I could not but rejoice to see T. G. own so reasonable a Principle, and I desire no other, as to the mere Light of Nature to prove your Idolatry. For, if this be a Principle of Natural Religion, then Idolatry even by the Light of Nature, lies in applying appropriate Acts of Divine Worship to any but to God himself; for since his Excellency is Incommunicable, and the Submission we owe to God peculiar to him, and that Submission ought to be expressed by External Acts, all which T. G. grants; then all those who do use such Acts to any besides God, are guilty of giving the Worship due to God unto a Creature. For God hath not only a right to our inward Submission, but to the Acknowledgment of it, which cannot be done but by External Acts: And which is observable as to this Matter, the Honour of God, as to his Incommunicable Excellencies, with respect to Mankind as a Body, doth not lie in the bare Acts of the Mind, but in the External Performance of Religious Worship to him. For, if it be necessary that God's Authority be owned in the World, it is necessary it be done by visible Acts of Worship; which ought to be so appropriated to him, that any one who discerns them may see the difference put between God and all his Creatures. For herein lies the Manifestation of that inward sense we have of God's Incommunicable Excellencies, when we set apart Times, and Places, and Offices of Religious Worship, by which we declare our Submission to God, as our Creator and Governor of the World. And the confounding this distance between God and his Creatures is the great Sin of Idolatry: From whence Aquinas and others conclude it to be a Sin of the highest Nature, and including Blasphemy in it, because it robs God of the Honour due to him for his Incommunicable Excellencies. Dial. p. 468.

R. P. What do you mean by this appropriating Acts of Worship to God? Do you mean all of them so absolutely appropriated to God, that it is not lawful upon any account to give them to any other? And then the Quakers will be the only good Christians in the World; or only some of them, and not others, as kneeling and prostrating, but not bowing; and then you must tell us what makes the Discrimination. Dial. p. 470.

P. D. I mean that which all Mankind meant, when they set apart Times, and Places, and Offices for Divine Worship; and every Man by the help of his Mother-Wit, knew the difference between going to serve God, and going to Market. I say then, as Dr. St. did, that the Circumstances do sufficiently discriminate Acts of a Religious, and of a Civil Nature. Defence, p. 191.

R. P. May not the Churches Declaration, that such Acts are intended only for Inferior Worship towards Images or Saints, make a sufficient Discrimination between such Acts, and those which are appropriated to God? Dial. p. 471.

P. D. If

P. D. If you suppose the whole Power of determining Acts of Divine Worship to lie in your Churches Breast, you had asked a very material Question: But in this Case, there is a Law of God antecedently prohibiting such Acts being given to any besides God himself; and this Law was so understood by the Christian Church, when the Christian Religion put Men upon suffering Martyrdom on that Principle, that all Religious Worship was appropriated to God: Because Christ had said, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.*

Dial. p.
472.

R. P. Who is so blind as not to see, that this Prohibition fell upon the External Act, as determined to be a Sign of Religious Worship, by the Circumstances in which it was required?

P. D. And what then, I pray? For doth it not equally fall upon all External Acts, where the Circumstances do determine them to be Signs of Religious Worship? Which is all I desire.

Dial. p.
473.

R. P. Doth not this justify the Quakers in denying to give any External Honour to a Creature?

P. D. So far from it, that it shews the Folly of their Doctrine, which arose from not being able to distinguish Acts of Religious and Civil Worship.

R. P. But Dr. St. allows some kind of Religious Worship to be given to a Creature.

P. D. Not any which is Religious in its Nature, or by Circumstances; but that which might be so called, being required by the Rule of Religion, as Civil Worship is.

Dial. p.
474.

R. P. But he allows Religious Respect to Places, and Religious Honour to Saints; and then why not those Acts we give to Images and Saints on the same Accounts?

P. D. Because the Circumstances do declare those are not Acts of Religious Worship; but those you give to Images and Saints are.

Dial. p.
479.

R. P. I see the weight of this whole Debate lies at last upon this Determination of Circumstances; but how comes the Dr. after all the great bustle he makes about God's appropriating External Acts of Worship to himself, to put the Trial of his Cause at last upon the Determination of Circumstances?

P. D. What other way should the difference of Moral Actions be tried? What Incongruity is there between God's appropriating Acts of Religious Worship to himself, and the finding out what those Acts are by the Circumstances? Is it not thus in the other Commandments? God in general forbids Murder, Theft, and Adultery; but are not those prohibited Acts to be judged by the Circumstances? For, there is the same substance of the Act in lawful and unlawful Actions. If a Man kills another by chance, or out of Malice; if a Man takes away another Man's Goods with his consent, or without, it is the same Act as to its Substance; and what Discrimination can be made but by the Circumstances? And therefore I cannot but wonder to hear you object against this, or think it any Repugnancy to God's appropriated Acts of Divine Worship to himself.

Dial. p.
479.

R. P. How can the Nature of such Acts be determined wholly by Circumstances, unless the Appropriation of them be taken away? For if that continues, the Law determines the Nature of the Acts.

P. D. Do you not apprehend the difference between the Discrimination of Acts of Civil and Religious Worship, and the Appropriation of the latter to God by his Law? I say the Law makes them peculiar to God, when they are found to be Acts of Religious Worship, but the Circum-

Circumstances are to determine whether they are *Civil* or *Religious Acts*. As all *Acts* of Murder are forbidden by God's Law, but whether such an *Act* be Murder or no, is to be judged by *Circumstances*.

R. P. But then if the *External Acts* of *Worship* given to *Creatures* in the Church of Rome chance to prove accompanied with such *Circumstances*, by which they may, and generally are understood not to be *Acts* of *Divine Worship*, but of *Inferior Veneration*, then they are acquitted from the guilt of *Idolatry*, according to the Dr.'s own Principles.

P. D. No such Matter; unless we suppose those *Acts* to be wholly indifferent, and left free by any *Divine Law*; and that it is in the Churches Power to declare what is to pass for *Divine Worship*, and what for *Inferior Worship*. But no particular *Circumstances* can make an *Act* lawful, which the Law of God hath made unlawful. As suppose the *Spartan Commonwealth* allow *Pilfering*, or taking away Goods from each other without consent of the Owners, here is one *Circumstance* which goes a great way towards the altering the Nature of such *Actions*; but if there be an antecedent Law of God which makes such *Acts* unlawful, they remain so still, notwithstanding the Declaration of the *Spartan State*. Just thus it is in the present Case; your Church declares such *Acts* of *Worship* may be lawfully applied to *Images* and *Saints*: But what then? Hath your Church the Power to repeal the Law of God? If not, the *Acts* remain as unlawful as ever, notwithstanding the *Circumstance* of such a Declaration.

R. P. But T. G. saith, *All Dr. St.'s Discourse about Discrimination of Acts of Civil and Religious Worship by Circumstances, is only a popular Discourse, and upon enquiry will be found as incoherent and weak as an Adversary could wish.* Dial. p. 481.

P. D. I shall not take T. G.'s Judgment in this Matter; for I have not found him so Impartial and Just, that I should submit to his Arbitration. If you have any thing to object against that Discourse, I do not question we shall hear of it.

R. P. First, *Acts* take their Nature from the formal Reason or Account upon which they tend to their Objects, and from thence they become either *Civil* or *Religious*, though they may receive another Denomination from the *Circumstances* which do accompany them. P. 482.

P. D. I pray consider, the thing we enquire after, is the difference between *Acts* of *Civil* and *Religious Worship*; which Dr. St. saith is to be taken from the *Circumstances*. No, say you, it must be taken from the formal Reason, or account on which they tend to their Objects: But the formal Reason of *Acts* being secret and invisible, the question is, whether that be sufficient to put a *Discrimination* between *Acts* of an external and visible nature, as those of *Civil* and *Religious Worship* are. I will make this plain to you by a noted Instance: While the *Christian Emperors* required no more than mere *Civil Worship*, the *Christians* made no scruple of giving it to them in the same Postures which were used in *Divine Worship*. But when they suspected that *Divine Worship* was required, they utterly refused it. Here we have the same *Acts* as to the Substance of them in both Cases; and yet the *Christians* could easily discern which did belong to *Civil*, and which to *Religious Worship*: Was it from such a Reason and Intention of the Persons which none could know but the Doers? Or else from the *Circumstances*, which did make it appear that more than *Civil Worship* was required? And yet this *Worship* which the *Heathens* gave to their Emperors, was only an inferior sort

sort of *Divine Worship*, and so understood by the general Consent of the *Heathens* themselves. From whence we gather, (1.) That the *Discrimination* of Acts of *Civil* and *Divine Worship*, do not depend upon the *Intention* of the *Doer*, but the *outward Circumstances* of them. For if it had depended on the inward *Intention* of the *Person*, the *Christians* might have saved their *Lives* and *Honours*, by doing the *External Acts* with a *different Intention*; and that which was *Divine Worship* in him that designed it for such, were but *Civil Worship* in him that intended no more. (2.) That the Declaration of an *inferior sort of Divine Worship* doth not make it *lawful*. For it could be no otherwise understood by the *Christians*, and yet they refused it as *Idolatrous Worship*.

R. P. (2.) If the *Circumstances of Time, and Place, and such like*, do so restrain and limit the signification of *External Acts*, that it is easy to discern one *Worship* from another, how can you make it out that the *People* did not give *Religious Worship* to *David*, when in a most solemn Act of *Devotion* it is said, that the *People worshipped the Lord and the King*? Where we see the same Act at the same Time, a Time of *Solemn Devotion*, given to *God* and the *King*, and the *People* never charged for giving *Religious Worship* to the *King*.

P. D. T. G. need not have gone so far back for such an Argument. For the *King's Chaplains* in a *Sacred Place*, and at a *Solemn Time of Devotion*, do bow Three Times to the *King*, when they enter into the *Pulpit*; and yet who is there imagines they give him *Divine Worship*? It is not therefore the *Circumstance of Time and Place alone*, which *Dr. St.* makes to discriminate *Civil* and *Religious Worship*; but the *Concurrence* of all *Circumstances together*. If I bowed to a *Friend* at *Church*, is any *Man* so senseless to take this for *Idolatry*? Where there is an antecedent Ground for *Civil Worship* and *Respect*, which is well known and understood among *Men*, there is nothing like *Idolatry*, although we do use the same *External Acts* towards *Men*, which we use towards *God* himself. As among the *Israelites*, no *Man* doubted that their bowing to the *King* was upon a quite different account from their bowing to *God*; although they bowed to the *King* in a *Place* dedicated to *Divine Worship*. And where the *Reason of Worship* is so well understood to be of a quite different Nature from that of *Religious Worship*, that very *Reason* makes a *Discrimination*, besides the *Circumstances of Time and Place*. Which I shall make appear from the Case of *Naaman the Syrian*; whose Bowing in the *House of Rimmon* was therefore free from *Idolatry*, because of the known Custom of paying *Civil Respect* every where else to his *Prince* in that manner, and by his publick Protestation against the *Idolatrous Worship* there performed, as T. G. shews at large from *Dr. H.* T. G. therefore very much mistakes *Dr. St.*'s meaning, if he thinks he assigned the *Discrimination* of Acts of *Religious* and *Civil Worship* barely to the *Circumstances of Time and Place*, without taking in the *Object* and *Reason of Worship*.

Dial. p.
486, &c.

Dial. p.
484.

R. P. But from hence it appears, that Bowing in the *House* and *Presence of an Idol*, and in the very time of *Worship*, is not *Idolatry*: For then *Naaman* could not be excused.

P. D. Where the *Worship* is known to be given not to the *Idol*, but to the *Prince* to whom it is acknowledged to be due elsewhere, *Dr. St.* never supposed such an Act of *Worship*, though done in an *Idol-Temple*, to be *Idolatry*.

R. P.

R. P. But suppose Men should ask a Bishop Blessing in a Church, and at Prayer-time, this is not Civil Worship, and is this Idolatry? Dial. p. 483.

P. D. Worship may be said to be Civil two ways;

1. When it is performed on a mere Civil Account, as it is to Magistrates and Parents.

2. When it is performed on the account of a Spiritual Relation, as in the respect shewed to Bishops as Spiritual Fathers. The Worship is of the same kind with that which is shewed to Natural Parents, but the Relation is of another kind; on which account it may be called Spiritual Respect; but it is in it self an Act of Civil Worship, arising upon a Moral Relation, which being of a different Nature from that which is between Princes and Subjects, and Parents and Children; and being founded upon Religious Grounds, may be said to be Religious or Spiritual Respect, rather than Worship.

R. P. If the first Christians had upon their Knees in time of Prayer begged St. James his Benediction, had this been an unlawful Act of Worship?

P. D. If they were upon their Knees in Prayer to God, I think it was a very unseasonable time to ask their Bishop Blessing, although the Act in it self were lawful.

R. P. But is not this an Act of the same kind with that of Invocation of Saints in times and places of Divine Worship, when we only pray to them to pray for us?

P. D. I say again, that is not all You do; for you own their Patronage, Protection, and Power to help you in your Necessities; and your Prayers must be understood according to your Doctrines. But suppose you did only pray to them to pray for you, yet (1.) You do it with all the Solemnity of Divine Worship in the publick Litanies of the Church, when you are in the Posture of your greatest Devotion. And the Angel rebuked no less Man than St. John, for using the Posture of Divine Adoration to him. (2.) In Kneeling to a Bishop to pray for us, we suppose nothing that encroaches upon the Divine Excellencies; for we are certain he hears and understands us, and we desire nothing from him, but what is in his Power to do, and is very fitting for us to request from him. But when you pray to Saints, you can have no possible assurance that they do or can hear what you say to them; and so it is a foolish and unreasonable Worship: And when you do it with the same External Acts of Devotion which you use to the Divine Majesty, you take away that Peculiarity of Divine Worship which is due to God, by reason of his Incommunicable Excellencies; and so it is Superstitious and Idolatrous Worship, these two ways:

(1.) As it supposes as great Excellencies in Creatures as those did who for that Reason were charged with Idolatry. I do not meddle with the Possibility of an intelligent Being disunited from Matter, hearing at such a distance as the Saints are supposed to be from us, nor whether God may not communicate such Knowledge to them; but that which I insist on is this, I find those charged with Idolatry not only in Scripture and the Fathers, but by the Church of Rome it self, who professed to worship some inferior Spirits as Mediators between God and Men; and such Mediators as were never imagined to be Mediators of Redemption, but barely of Intercession, as being believed to carry up the Prayers of Men, and to bring down help from above. Now here is no Omniscency, or Omnipotency, or other incommunicable Excellency attributed to these

Spirits ; and all the Addresses made to them, was under the Notion of *Mediators* to interceed for them, *i. e.* to pray to them to pray for them; and yet these were charged with flat Idolatry. It were easy to make it appear from unquestionable Testimonies, that the Heathen Idolaters did worship inferior Spirits only as *Mediators*, (as *Apuleius* expresses it, *inter cœlicolas terricolasq; vectores hinc precum inde donorum*, wherein he only interprets *Plato's* Sense) and that this was one of the most common and universal kinds of Idolatry ; and therefore I would fain know why they must be charged with Idolatry, and you escape? Either be just to them, and vindicate the Heathen Worship, or else you must condemn your own.

Dial. p.
467.

(2.) *T. G.* confesses, that by the Law of Nature there ought to be some peculiar external Acts appropriated to the Worship of God as most agreeable to his incommunicable Excellency : Now among all Mankind no one external Act of Worship hath been supposed more peculiar to the Divine Nature than solemn Invocation in Places and Times appropriated to Divine Worship ; but the Invocation practised in the Roman Church hath all the Solemnity and Circumstances of Divine Worship, and therefore it is robbing God of the peculiar Acts of his Worship which is Idolatry. And he must be very dull indeed, who cannot distinguish this Invocation from a casual or accidental meeting with a Bishop at Church and kissing the Hem of his Garment, or asking his Benediction on ones Knees.

Dial. p.
485, &c.
P. 490.

R. P. But where there are different Objects in themselves, and a publick Profession and Consent that those Acts are applied to those Objects upon different Accounts ; it is intolerable Impertinency to understand such Acts as are in themselves equivocal in any other Sense than the Church declares, viz. as applied to Saints or Images ; the outward Acts of Worship, as bowing, kneeling, &c. are used only as Tokens, or Expressions of an inferior Respect and Veneration.

P. D. If this be all you have to say for your selves, the Heathens must be excused from Idolatry as well as You. For they acknowledged by common Consent and publick Profession a difference between the supreme God and inferior Spirits ; they allowed of different Degrees of Worship ; and without all Question did not look on their Emperors, as the Supreme Deity that made and governs the World, and yet I hope the primitive Christians were not guilty of intolerable Impertinency in charging them with Idolatry. But it seems the holy Angel was guilty of the same intolerable Impertinency in so rashly rebuking the Apostle for falling down to worship him ; for this was an equivocal Act, and in all probability was intended only as a token of Respect and Veneration inferior to what was thought due to God over all, Blessed for evermore. But those Acts of Divine Worship which by the Law of God become due only to himself, can by no Consent or Declaration of a Church be made lawful to be given to any Creature, however they may call them Acts of inferior Respect and Veneration ; as long as they are of the same Nature with those which were condemned both by the Scripture and Fathers as Idolatrous Worship.

Dial. p.
486, &c.

R. P. Doth not Dr. Hammond say that Naaman the Syrian was excused from Idolatry, because of the Publick Profession he made, that he intended not the Worship to the Idol, but to his Master ? And will not the same Plea hold for us who declare we do not give Sovereign Worship to any Creatures, but only inferior Worship ?

P. D. If

P. D. If Naaman had desired leave to worship Rimmon or Saturn with an inferior Worship, declaring that he did not take Saturn for the true and supreme God, but the God of Israel; and therefore he might apply the same Act after a different manner, and the Prophet had then bid him Go in Peace, You had some Reason for your Parallel. But as long as Naaman's Question only related to the performing an Act of Civil Worship to his Prince in the House of Rimmon, what colour can be hence taken for giving any kind of Religious Worship to Saints or Images in Places and at Times set apart for Divine Worship?

R. P. But Monsieur Daillé saith, that external Signs whether of Nature or Religion are to be interpreted by the publick and common Practice of those who use them, and not by the secret and particular Intentions of this or that Person. Dial. p. 488.

P. D. And what then I beseech you? Monsieur Daillé discourseth against those who would use all the External Acts of Adoration of the Host which others did, but with a different Intention, and hoped this would excuse them from Idolatry. Now in this Case he saith, That Signs of Religious Worship, as uncovering the Head, kneeling or prostrating the Body at the sound of a little Bell, and such other Actions, are the plain and ordinary Signs of the Adoration of the Host; and are so appointed by the Church of Rome, and so understood by those who generally practise it; therefore, saith he, Those who do use these outward Signs, are to be understood to give Adoration to the Host. From whence it follows, that Men cannot comply with others in the Acts of Adoration of the Host, without Hypocrisy or Idolatry; which it was Monsr. Daillé's Design to prove. But what is all this to the proving that Inferior Worship is not Idolatry? We desire that these Signs of Worship may be interpreted according to the common and publick Practice of those who use them; by which we say, it is as truly Religious Worship, as the Nations used, which all Christians do charge with Idolatry. But if your meaning be, that your Actions are to be interpreted in your own Sense, it will come to this at last, that You are not guilty of Idolatry, because you declare you are not guilty of it: And who ever condemned themselves for it by publick Declarations? unless it were when they repented of it as a great Sin, which I do not find you are yet willing to do. I pray remember this saying of Daillé's, when you think to justify giving Acts of Divine Worship to a Creature, by your secret Intention; for he saith, and you seem to approve his saying, that such Acts when they are of the Nature of Religious Worship, are to be interpreted by the common and publick Practice, and not by particular Intentions; if therefore the Acts of Worship be such, as by the Scriptures, and Sense of the Primitive Church belong only to God, no Intention of yours of applying them after an inferior Manner can excuse you from giving Adoration to a Creature: Especially if they be such Acts which God hath appropriated to himself, as the six mentioned by Dr. St. for who dares alter what God himself hath appointed?

R. P. I think you are turning Quaker, for this is their Principle; do not they alledge Christ's Precept against Swearing, and then say, who dares alter what God himself hath appointed? Dial. p. 492.

P. D. I may as well fear you are renouncing Christianity; for what Christian ever said or thought otherwise, than that it is not in the power of Men to alter the Laws of Christ? If Christ's Precept were to be understood of all kind of Swearing, do you really think it would be lawful

ful to swear at all? I am ashamed of this loose, not to say, prophane way of talking about the Obligation of Divine Laws.

R. P. *I only mentioned this by the by, to let you see what kind of Principles the Dr. makes use of to combat the Church of Rome.*

P. D. Just such Principles as all *Christians* own; and are bound so to do by their being *Christians*. But do you think in earnest, that it is in the Power of Men to alter the Laws of God?

Dial. p.
493.

R. P. No. But T. G. means, *that there is now no Law of God binding Men concerning these external Acts of Worship; and therefore it is in the Power of the Church to appoint these as well as other Rites and Ceremonies, and to determine the Signification of them.*

P. D. If this be his meaning, it is very ill expressed. But I say, that our Saviour hath declared the immutable Obligation of that Law concerning applying all *Acts of Religious Worship* only to God; and that the *Universal Church* of Christ in the first Ages so understood it; as appears not barely by their words, but by the greatest Testimony of their Actions; when such Multitudes laid down their Lives upon this Principle. Therefore I say again, You must call in question their *Title to Martyrdom*, or you must own this for a True Christian Principle.

Dial. p.
494, &c.

P. 497.

R. P. *But we declare our meaning in those which Dr. St. calls appropriate Acts of Divine Worship, when we apply them to any Creatures, to be only to use them as Tokens of inferior Respect and Veneration: As Invocation, Building of Temples and Altars, burning of Incense, making of Vows, &c. But that which God hath forbidden is, that we shall not use them to any besides himself, as tokens of that inward Submission of our Souls which is proper to him.*

Dial. p.
493.

P. D. Did not you say, *that the Appropriation of these Acts by the Law of Moses, being taken away by the ceasing of that Law, they are now to be looked on as indifferent Rites and Ceremonies?*

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Did that Law cease at the coming of Christ, that those Acts were to be used only to God as tokens of that inward Submission which is proper to him?

R. P. No; that doth never cease.

P. D. But this you say was the Sense in which God did appropriate them to himself; and therefore the Appropriation doth still continue.

R. P. I suppose T. G.'s meaning is, that the Appropriation before extended to them as *tokens of inferior Respect and Veneration*, which Law ceasing, it is now lawful to use them in that Sense.

P. D. Then these Acts under the Law, were forbidden in that Sense, whatsoever Profession or Declaration were made by those that used them. As suppose that the Jews had invoked Saints and Angels in their Temple or Synagogues, and worshipped Images just as you do, and made the same Professions of their Meanings and Intentions as your Church doth; this had been Idolatry in them, but not in you. Is this his meaning?

R. P. I suppose it must be.

P. D. Then *Inferior Religious Worship* was once Idolatry, but it ceased to be so at the coming of Christ. Is not this a rare Invention? And by this means Christ destroyed Idolatry, not by *rooting it out*, but by making that *not to be Idolatry* which was so before: And so he might take away all other Sins by making those Breaches of the other Nine Commandments not to be Sins to Christians, which were so to the Jews.

But

But we have not only the exprefs Words of Christ, making all *Religious Worship* of a *Creature* unlawful, against this Invention, but the *Doctrine* of the *Apostles*, who charged the *Gentiles* with *Idolatry*, without regarding this Distinction, who were not under the Law of *Moses*; and the Consent of the *Christian Church* which judged this *Inferior Religious Worship* to be *Idolatry* still. And if this be all you have to say, it is impossible to clear your selves from the Charge of *Idolatry*, notwithstanding all your Meanings and Intentions.

R. P. I have one thing yet more to say, viz. *That Christ appropriates the Titles of Good, Father, and Master, to God, and yet we apply them to Men in a different Sense; and why may we not do the same in Equivocal Acts of Worship?* Dial. p. 498.

P. D. Our Saviour's Design was to deter Men from assuming or affecting such Titles of Excellency, Superiority, or Authority over others in teaching, as seemed to encroach too much on the Divine Perfections: But this holds much more against the Pretence of *Infallibility* in any Person, than for the Lawfulness of *Inferior Religious Worship*. For Christ never forbids the common Use of those Titles among Men, when they have no Respect to Divine Matters; no more than he doth the *Acts of Civil Worship* in Men towards *Magistrates* or *Parents*: And thus far the Parallel is good, as to *Words* and *Actions*. But as Christ doth forbid the *Affestation* of *Infallibility*, tho' of an *Inferior Sort*, under the Titles of *Rabbi, Father, and Master*; so he doth likewise all *Inferior Sort of Religious Worship*, when he saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*. And therefore the *Equivocation*, which lies in Mens power to determine, is not that of the Degrees of *Religious Worship*, but of the *Acts of Civil and Religious Worship*. But if it be lawful to apply the Signification of External *Acts of Worship* to higher or lower Degrees, why may ye not do the same as to *Sacrifice*, as well as *Invocation*, &c.

R. P. This is a *Scruple* which hath troubled the Doctor's Notions from the Beginning; But T. G. gives two Answers to it. 1. *That Sacrifice, in general, is both by the Custom of the Church, and the Consent of all Mankind (as St. Augustine teaches) appropriated to signify the absolute Worship due only to God.* 2. *For the particular Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, the Nature and Dignity thereof requireth that it be offered to God alone.* Dial. p. 500, 501.

P. D. I am sorry to see you dissemble the Force of the Doctor's Argument, when you pretend to give an Answer to it. For he saith, that St. Augustine joins *Adoration* and *Sacrifice* together, as appropriated to signify the Worship peculiar to God. How then, saith Dr. St. comes S. Augustine's Authority to be quitted for the one, and so greedily embraced for the other? What doth T. G. answer to that? Defence, p. 225.

R. P. I do not find he takes notice of St. Augustine, for any thing more, than the Consent of Mankind about Sacrifice.

P. D. Was it not wisely done? and then to talk a great deal about the Remainder of the Doctor's Discourse, whether Sacrifice of it self doth signify Absolute Worship more than Adoration, without taking notice that St. Augustine joined them together, tho' the Church of Rome separates them. And T. G. gives no manner of Reason why the Antecedent Consent of Mankind as to one of these should not prevail in your Church as well as in the other: Which is the main ground according to T. G. why Sacrifice ought still to be appropriated to the peculiar Worship of God. Dial. p. 503.

R. P.

Dial. p.
501.

R. P. *What advantage doth the Dr. get, by insisting so much on that question, Why Sacrifice may not be offered to Creatures as well as other External Acts of Worship? For he can only infer from thence, that in such case the Church of Rome might possibly have no External Act of Worship appropriated to God, if she have none but Sacrifice; but whilst she hath no such Custom de facto as offering Sacrifice to Saints and Images, 'tis manifest he cannot accuse them in that Point of having no External Act of Worship proper to God, or of giving it to any besides him.*

P. D. It was to very good purpose that he insisted on that question, on these Accounts. 1. Because either it is in the Power of the Church to appoint appropriate Acts of Divine Worship, or it is not. If it be in the Church's Power, then Sacrifice may be as lawfully offered to the Blessed Virgin, if the Church think fit, as Prayers and Invocations, notwithstanding the General Consent of Mankind in appropriating Sacrifice to God. If not, then there is some Antecedent Reason why some External Acts of Worship are appropriated to the Absolute Worship of God; if so, then all such Acts are appropriated where the same Reason holds; whether it be Divine Institution, or the Consent of Mankind in general, or of the Fathers of the Christian Church: And consequently, tho' the Church of Rome may reserve Sacrifice to God as peculiar to him, yet they may give other Acts of Divine Worship to his Creatures, which have the same Reason to be appropriated which Sacrifice it self hath. 2. Because tho' in Words they seem to appropriate Sacrifice to God as a peculiar Act of External Worship, yet they do in effect overthrow it by these two Assertions.

Defence,
p. 204.
p. 226.

1. That its Peculiarity is not as being an Act of Adoration, but upon another Account, as a significant Ceremony of our total Subjection to God. And this was that which Dr. St. charged your Divines with, that they reserve no one Act of external Adoration as proper to God; and that they say, that Sacrifice doth not naturally signify any Worship of God, but only by the Imposition of Men. So that your Divines confess there is no natural Act of Divine Worship, no external Act of Adoration which is reserved as peculiar to God; but only an Outward Ceremony which doth not of it self signify the Worship of God, nor our Subjection to him. But Solemn Prayers and Praises do of themselves signify our Dependance on God, and therefore have an Antecedent Reason to the Consent of Mankind, why they should be appropriated to the Worship of God.

Defence,
p. 220, 222

2. That even Sacrifice is allowed by the Roman Church to be offered for the Honour of Creatures: Which Dr. St. saith, is joining Creatures together with God in the Honour of Sacrifice: And if Sacrifice be so appropriate to the Honour of God that it cannot signify any thing else, then it is Nonsense to sacrifice to God for the Honour of another; if it may signify any thing else, and be so used in the Church of Rome, then you do not reserve so much as Sacrifice for an appropriate Sign of the Absolute Worship of God.

Dial. p.
519.

R. P. *To what miserable Shifts, saith T. G. are Men put, when they would have such trivial kind of arguing as this, to pass for solid Reasoning: And it must be a hard World, when a Man of the Doctor's Abilities must be forced to feign, that he doth not know how the same Sacrifice may be a Propitiation for Sins, and a Thanksgiving for Benefits, especially the Sacrifice of the Altar being the same with that of the Cross, in which all the Differences of the Legal Sacrifices were fulfilled.*

P. D.

P. D. It is a hard World indeed, when such Stuff as this must pass for answering. Dr. St. never denied that Thanksgivings might be offered to God in the time of most solemn Worship, for the Graces of his Saints; nor that the Circumstances of Divine Worship might redound to their Honour, as the Primitive Christians offering up their Devotions to God at their Sepulchres: But the Question is, Whether it be consistent with the Appropriation of Sacrifice to the Honour of God, to offer it up for the Honour of his Creatures; especially the Sacrifice of the Altar, i. e. the Son of God, as a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead?

R. P. Why may not we say, We offer this Sacrifice to God in the Honour of S. Michael, to testify our Application of it in Thanksgiving, for the Favours and Graces bestowed on him? Dial. p. 521.

P. D. I pray consider, (1.) You say, That Sacrifice in your Church is appropriated to the Honour of God; (2.) That Sacrifice doth not signify the Worship of God of it self, but by Institution, or consent of Mankind. (3.) Then the Intention of Sacrifice is to signify that Honour which is peculiar to God. Now how can it signify the Honour due only to God, if it may signify the Honour due to his Creatures?

R. P. Is it not for the Honour of a Person to praise God for him? And Sacrificing being the Offer of a Present in Token of Gratitude, doth that diminish or add to the Act of Thanksgiving? And if it be a greater Declaration of Thanksgiving, it must consequently be a greater Declaration also of the Honour of the Person for whom it is offered. Dial. p. 522.

P. D. It is one thing to make the Graces of Saints an Occasion of Thanksgiving to God, and another to offer up a Sacrifice for the Honour of the Saints, as it is expressed in the Offertory. In the former Case there is no question but the Honour is designed wholly to God as the Giver of those Graces, although a Consequential Honour doth redound thereby to the Saints themselves; but in the latter Case the intended and designed Honour of the very Act it self is declared to be to the Saints as well as to God himself. If a Courtier gives the King solemn Thanks for great Kindness shewed to one of his Subjects, the Honour of the Action belongs wholly to the King, although Occasionally and Consequentially it redound to the Reputation of the Person for whom it is done: But if a Courtier on New-Year's-Day should make a Present to the King upon his Knees, and say, I offer this New-Year's-Gift to Your Majesty, in Honour of Your Majesty, and of the Groom of your Stole, or Chamberlain of Your Household, &c. how do you think this would be taken at Court? And yet this is just the Form of the Offertory in your Missal. We make this Oblation to thee, O Holy Trinity, and for the Honour of the Blessed Virgin, and all Saints; can any one say that this is not the designed and intended Honour which belongs to the Act it self, and not merely that which is Occasional and Consequential? If those who offered Cakes to the Blessed Virgin had said, We offer these Cakes to the Honour of the Blessed Trinity, and the Virgin Mary, had not this been joining them together in the Honour of those Oblations? And is it not the same Case here? Besides, you are guilty of a greater Absurdity; for those might be only Eucharistical Oblations, but in your Sacrifice of the Mass, you pretend to make a Present you say to God; but what is it? Nothing less than his own Son, if your Doctrine be true. And for what end? To be a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead. And is this indeed the Present you make to Almighty God, in Honour of his Saints?

Saints? I cannot with patience think of the Absurdities which follow from hence. For how came you to make a *Present to God* of his own Son? When we make a *Present* to any one, it is understood to be of something in our Power to bestow, and which we are willing to part with, for his sake to whom we offer it. Do you intend in this Sense to make a *Present* of the Son of God to the Father? Have you the Power of bestowing him in your Hands? And are you willing to part with your whole Right and Interest in him? You are excellent Christians the mean while. Nay, no Sacrifice was truly and properly offered by any Person, wherein he did not abandon his Right in that which was Sacrificed. And therefore you see upon what Terms you make such a *Present* to God, by a proper Sacrifice of his Son to him. But suppose the Son of God were to be made a true and proper Sacrifice for Sins on the Altar, How comes it into your Hands to offer him up to the Father, since the great Sacrifice of Propitiation was not to be offered by any ordinary Priests, but by the High-Priest himself, who was to carry the Blood into the Holy of Holies, and there to make Intercession for the People? Are you the High-Priests of the Gospel, to offer unto God the great Sacrifice of Attonement? Is not the great High-Priest of our Profession entred within the Vail, and is there making Intercession, by vertue of his Sacrifice on the Cross? What need then of your Offering him up again for Propitiation, who Offered himself once on the Cross for a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation and Satisfaction for the Sins of the whole World? We have all the reason in the World to Commemorate with great Thankfulness and Devotion, that invaluable Sacrifice of the Cross; and if you will call the Whole Eucharistical Office a Commemorative Sacrifice as the Ancients did, I shall never quarrel with you about it. But how the Sacrifice of the Mass comes to be Propitiatory as the Sacrifice on the Cross was, I understand not; nor how it should be the same with the Sacrifice of the Cross, and yet of so much less value than it, the one being said by you to be infinite, and the other finite; nor how the Destruction of his Sacramental, and of his Natural Being, should be the same thing; nor how this Sacrifice should be Propitiatory only for one sort of Sins, and not for another; nor how the Son of God can be made a true and proper Sacrifice for Sin, under the Species of Bread and Wine; nor, what Consumptive Change that is in him, which according to your selves is necessary to make him such a Sacrifice. Is he slain again in the Mass? If he be, I can tell who is the Judas that betrays him, and who are the Jews that Crucifie him. If not, how comes a Propitiatory Sacrifice without shedding of Blood? If the Consumptive Change be only in the Elements, then the Elements are Sacrificed, and not Christ. If it be only a Sacramental Change, what is that to a Sacrifice of Propitiation? And suppose all the other Absurdities to be removed, and that the Sacrifice of the Mass is a true, real, proper and Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Son of God, Body and Soul upon the Altar, yet how at last comes this to be giving God Thanks for the Graces of his Saints! I thought such a Sacrifice had been much rather for the Expiation of their Sins.

R. P. I pray Sir forbear; I have no longer Patience to hear you talk at this rate against the Sacrifice of the Mass; for if you destroy that, we are all undone. Methinks, as T. G. saith, Dr. St.'s Argument against it, might have been expected from the Pen of a Crellius?

P. D. Of a *Crellius* ? Why so I pray ? He wrote against *Christ's Propitiatory Sacrifice on the Cross* ; and as I remember, *Dr. St.* hath answered his Arguments ; How comes he then, of all Men, to argue like *Crellius* ?

R. P. Because his Reasons against the Sacrifice of the Mass will hold against that of the Cross.

P. D. That would be strange ; but let us hear them first and then judge.

R. P. Why, he looks upon it as a monstrous Absurdity for us to pretend, first to make our God with speaking five Words, then to offer up God himself unto God as a Sacrifice, and consequently to suppose him destroyed, and this all to testify our Submission to God.

P. D. And do not you think these horrible Absurdities, and such as can never enter into any Man's Head that is not first resolved to part with his Understanding ?

R. P. And do not you think these Expressions highly injurious to that inestimable Sacrifice which Christ himself offered upon the Cross. Dial. p. 509.

P. D. Not at all. For, do we believe, that the Jews made an ordinary Man to be the *Eternal Son* of God by speaking five Words over him ? And that the Jews then slew him and offered up God, as a Sacrifice to God for the Expiation of Sins ; and all this, as an Act of Gratitude to God for the Graces of his Saints ? If not, what Colour or Pretence is there, that the laying open the Absurdity of your Sacrifice of the Mass, should derogate from the Sacrifice of the Cross ?

R. P. Were not the Jews scandalized at that most in the Sacrifice of the Cross, viz. the Offering of God to God ?

P. D. A crucified Saviour, or a suffering Messiah, was to the Jews a stumbling Block, and to the Greeks Foolishness. But what do you mean by the Offering up of God to God, do you think the Divinity was the Sacrifice ? Or the Blood of Christ, which he being the *Eternal Son* of God did offer up to his Father, as a Propitiation for the Sins of Mankind ?

R. P. Might not he be said, to offer up God himself to God as a Sacrifice ?

P. D. Then you must make the Divinity the sacrifice ; and how can that be a sacrifice which is capable of no Change ? But suppose Christ as God and Man be said to offer up at least a Divine sacrifice ; what is all this to your Offering up the Son of God as a sacrifice to God for the sins of the World ?

R. P. Might not those, as *T. G.* saith, who were at the Foot of the Cross, offer up the Son of God on the Cross to the Father ? Dial. p. 511.

P. D. This is a Piece of New Divinity ; and far enough, I dare say, from arguing like *Crellius*. Who ever thought, that the Jews had the same Power to offer up the Blood of Christ as a Propitiatory Sacrifice, which himself had who had Power over his own Life ? If *T. G.* argues at this rate, none would imagine he hath ever considered the Nature of Christ's Sacrifice, since he talks so unskilfully about these Matters.

R. P. But what doth *Dr. St.* talk of our making and destroying God in the Mass, since we believe that the same Christ who is in Heaven is whole under either Species ; and his Blood to be separated from his Body not really, but mystically only and in representation. Dial. p. 510.

P. D. Do you believe a true, proper Propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, or not ?

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R. P. Do

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R. P. Do not you know the Council of Trent hath expressly defined it, and Anathematized all those who say the contrary?

P. D. Is there any true, proper Propitiatory Sacrifice, where there is not a Consumptive Change of that which is sacrificed? And what is that which is sacrificed in the Mass? Not the Elements, but Christ under them, you say: If Christ be the Sacrifice, he must be slain again at every Mass, as he was once on the Cross; or you can assign no Destruction, which you say is necessary to such a true and proper Sacrifice.

R. P. Do not you observe T. G.'s Words, That Christ is whole under either Species, and his Blood separated from his Body not really, but Mystically only, and in Representation?

P. D. How is that? Whole Christ under the Bread, and whole Christ under the Wine; and the Blood separated from the Body not really, but Mystically only, and by Representation. This is admirable Stuff, and true Mystical Divinity. If the Body of Christ doth remain whole and entire, where is the true proper Sacrifice? Where is the Change made, if not in the Body of Christ? If that be incapable of a Change, how can it be a true and proper Sacrifice? If the Blood be not really separated from the Body, where is the Mactation, which must be in a Propitiatory Sacrifice? If Christ do remain whole and entire after all the Sacrificial Acts, where, I say, is the true and proper Sacrifice? T. G. had far better said, and more agreeably to Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason, that there is no real and proper Sacrifice on the Altar, but only Mystical, and by Representation.

Dial. P.
512.

R. P. But T. G. saith, That Religion, which admits no External visible Sacrifice, must needs be deficient in the most signal part of the publick Worship of God.

P. D. I pray remember, it is an External and Visible Sacrifice which you contend for, and now tell me where it is in your Church. Doth it lie in the Mimical Gestures of the Priest at the Altar in Imitation of Christ on the Cross? If that be it, the necessary Consumption of the Sacrifice will be no comfortable Doctrine to the Priest. Doth it lie in the Consecration of the Elements which are Visible? But you say, the Essence of the Sacrifice consists in the Change; and we can see no visible Change made in them, and therefore there is no External and Visible Sacrifice. Besides, if the Sacrifice did lie in the Change of the Elements, after Consecration into the Body of Christ, then the Elements are the thing sacrificed, and not the Body of Christ; for the destructive Change is as to the Elements, and not as to the Body of Christ. Or doth it lie in the swallowing down, and Consumption of the Species after Consecration by the Priest? But here likewise the Change is in the Accidents, and not in the Body of Christ, which remains whole and entire, though the Species be consumed; and I think there is some difference between changing ones Seat, and being sacrificed. For all that the Body of Christ is pretended to be changed in, is only its being no longer under the Species; but T. G. I suppose will allow it to be whole and entire still. Doth it then lie in pronouncing the Words of Consecration upon which the Body of Christ is under the Species of Bread, and the Blood under that of Wine, and so separated from the Body? But this can least of all be, since T. G. assures us that whole Christ is under the Bread as well as under the Wine; and so there cannot be so much as a Moment of real separation between them; and we know how necessary for other Purposes the Doctrine of Concomitancy is. Tell me then where is your External and Visible Sacrifice which

which you boast so much of; since according to your own Principles there is nothing that belongs to the *Essence* of a *Sacrifice* is *external and visible*, and consequently your own Church Labours under the Defect *T. G.* complains of.

R. P. But what makes *Dr. St.* so bitter against the *Sacrifice* of the *Altar*, since the most true and genuine Sons of the Church of England do allow it? as *Mr. Thorndyke*, *Dr. Heylin*, and *Bishop Andrews*? And doth not this rather look like betraying the Church of England than defending it? Dial. p. 513. &c.

P. D. I see now you are wheeling about to your first Post, and therefore it is time to give you a space of Breathing. Your great Business is to set us at Variance among our selves, but you have hitherto failed in your Attempts, and I hope will do. I do not think any two or three Men, though never so learned, make the Church of England; her Sense is to be seen in the *Publick Acts* and *Offices* belonging to it. And in the *Articles* to which *T. G.* sometimes appeals; your *Sacrifices* on the *Altar* are called *blasphemous Figments*, and *dangerous Impostures*. But as to these three Persons I answer thus; Articl. 31

1. *Mr. Thorndyke*, as I have shewed already, declares against the true proper *Sacrifice* defined by the *Council of Trent* as an *Innovation* and a *Contradiction*. And that which he pleads for, is, that the *Eucharist* is a *commemorative and representative Sacrifice*, about which *Dr. St.* would never contend with him or any one else: And immediately after the words cited by *T. G.* he adds these; *It is therefore enough, that the Eucharist is the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, as the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross is represented, renewed, revived, and restored by it, and as every Representation is said to be the same thing with that which it representeth.* P. 87, 88.
Laws of the Church, P. 40.

2. *Pet. Heylin's* Words are expressly only for a *commemorative Sacrifice*, as *T. G.* himself produces them; and therefore I wonder what *T. G.* meant in citing them at large: For he quotes the *English Liturgy* for the *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving*; and *S. Chrysostom* calling it the *remembrance of a Sacrifice*; and many of our learned Writers, a *Commemorative Sacrifice*. What is there in all this in the least repugnant to what *Dr. St.* had delivered? Heylin's Introd. n. 24.

R. P. But he quotes *Bishop Andrews*, saying, *Take from the Mass your Transubstantiation, and we will have no difference with you about the Sacrifice.*

P. D. *Bishop Andrews* calls the *Eucharist* a *commemorative Sacrifice*, and he saith, *it was properly Eucharistical, or of the nature of Peace-Offerings, concerning which the Law was, that he that offered should partake of them*; and a little after follow those Words you mention: To which he adds, *We yield you that there is a remembrance of Christ's Sacrifice; but we shall never yield that your Christ being made of Bread is there sacrificed.* Which is the very thing that *T. G.* is so angry with *Dr. St.* about. And have not you bravely proved that *Dr. St.* hath herein gone against the Sense of the genuine Sons of the Church of England? If you have any thing yet left which you think material, I pray let us have it now, for fear lest *T. G.* make use of it to stuff out another Book. Ad Bell. Apol. Resp. p. 184.

R. P. I think we are near the Bottom.

P. D. So I imagine by the Dregs which came last.

R. P. There is one thing yet left for a close: Which is, *Dr. St.* saith, *Supposing this sacrifice were allowed, yet this doth not prove that we reserve* Dial. p. 523.

any external Act of Worship belonging to all Christians, because this Sacrifice belongs to the Priests only to offer.

P. D. And what answer doth T. G. give to that?

R. P. He saith, that nothing is more notorious than that those of the Church of Rome, are bound on every Sunday and Holy Day to hear Mass.

Dian. Sum
p. 446.
Dial. p.
524.

P. D. To hear Mass! A very Christian Duty no doubt, especially if they understand never a word of it; and as Diana saith, a Man is not bound to hear a word that is said: But what then?

R. P. By this external Act, he saith, they testify the uniting their Intention with the Priest as the publick officer of the Church in the Oblation of the Sacrifice.

P. D. I have often heard of the Skill you have of directing Intentions, but I never knew of this knack of uniting Intentions before. I know how necessary the Priest's Intention is in your Church, but what if the People should fail of uniting their Intention with his, (as they often think and talk of other things at hearing Mass) would it not be a Sacrifice without the Union of their Intentions? Suppose the Priest's Intention should wander, what would the Peoples uniting their Intentions signify towards the Sacrifice? You will not say, they have any Power to offer the Sacrifice; therefore the Act of Sacrificing belongs only to the Priests, whether the Peoples Intentions be united or not. If the People first offered that which was to be sacrificed to the Priest, and then he sacrificed it in their Name (as among the Jews) they might be said to have a share in the sacrifice; but when the sacrifice is supposed to come down from Heaven upon the Priest's Words, and he doth not represent the People but Christ in the Act of sacrificing, What doth the Peoples uniting their Intentions signify to the sacrifice? I pray tell me in whose Name doth the Priest pretend to the Power of Offering up the Body of Christ in sacrifice on the Altar, the People's, or Christ's?

R. P. In the Name of Christ doubtless, for the People have no Power to do it.

P. D. If they have no power to do it, and all the Authority be supposed to be derived from Christ for doing it, what doth the uniting the Peoples Intentions with the Priests signify as to the offering up the Sacrifice? You might as well say, that the Jews under the Cross might unite their Intentions to Christ's in offering himself on the Cross to the Father, and so it might become their Act as well as Christ's. But in my Mind your Phrase of hearing and seeing Mass is much more proper (if Men were bound either to hear or see, which your Casuists say, they are not) than this of uniting their Intentions with the Priest, which is absurd and ridiculous. Doth T. G. so little consider the Honour of the Priestly Office as to talk of the Peoples uniting their Intentions with the Priests in the Oblation of the Sacrifice? The next step may be, that the sacrificing may depend on the People's Intentions as well as the Priests; and what a Case are you in then? Aquinas and Cajetan were much wiser than T. G. in this Matter, for they both declare that this Sacrifice belongs only to the Priests and not to the People; as Dr. St. told T. G.

Defence,
p. 205.

Dial. p.
525.

R. P. T. G. saith, he cannot find the Citation in the place quoted by him; but he dares affirm that Cajetan was not so silly a Divine as to deny it to belong to the People to offer the sacrifice by and with the Priest.

P. D. And

P. D. And I dare affirm *Cajetan* was much wiser than to say, that the Offering the Sacrifice did in any sense belong to the People; and so much *T. G.* might have found in the Place cited by the Dr. only *Qu. 86.* was put for *Q. 85.* and not as *Cajetan's* bare Opinion, but as the Judgment of *Aquinas* too. He saith indeed, That the Priests do offer the Sacrifice for themselves and others; but he was not so silly to imagine that they were to unite their Intentions with the Priests in the Oblation; but that Expression only shews for whose sake and not in whose Name the Sacrifice was offered. For there are other Sacrifices, saith he, which every one may offer for himself; and those, saith *Cajetan*, are spiritual Sacrifices of Devotion and Virtue; but for the Sacrifice of the Altar, that belongs only to the Priests and Officers of the Church.

Cajet. 2. 2. qu. 85. art. 4.

R. P. But the very *Mass-Book* calls it *meum ac vestrum sacrificium*; and desires God to accept it for all those *pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium.*

P. D. I will tell you the Mystery of this Business, and so put an end to this long Conference. It was the ancient Custom of the Roman Church, as well as others, for the Communicants to make an Oblation of the Bread and Wine at the Altar, of which they were afterwards to partake. This I prove from the *Sacramentary* of *S. Gregory*, published by *Pamelius*; where it is said, while the Offertory is singing, i. e. the Anthem then used, the Oblations are made by the People, and laid upon the Altar that they might be consecrated. And the *Ordo Romanus* declares these Oblations to be the Bread and Wine: Of which, it adds, that the Arch-deacon took as much and laid upon the Altar, as would serve for the People that were to communicate. These Oblations continued in the Church a long time, and were enforced by Canons and Constitutions when the People began to slacken in their Devotion. Upon which the Church of Rome thought fit to bring in the use of *Wafers* instead of common Bread; and so these Oblations grew into Disuse, or were turned into Offerings of Money instead of them. *Sirmondus* and Cardinal *Bona* have proved beyond all Dispute, that the ancient Latin Church did use common and leavened Bread in the Eucharist that was offered by the People till a thousand Years after Christ. But then the Doctrine of Transubstantiation coming into the Roman Church, it was no longer thought fit that the Bread, which was to be turned into the Son of God, should be made after a common manner, or with the unsanctify'd Hands of the Laity, but by those who did attend upon the Altar: Remembling what the good Woman told *Gregory I.* That she wondred that the Bread which she made with her own Hands should be called the Body of Jesus Christ; which the People had more reason to do, when they came to define the manner of the Presence, as they did about this time; altho' it were not made an Article of Faith till afterwards. From hence the Dispute began between the Greeks and Latins about unleavened Bread; and from henceforward the Custom of Oblations for the Service of the Altar declined, and is only kept up on some particular Solemnities, as Canonization of Saints, Inauguration of Princes, Consecration of Bishops, Marriages and Funerals; however the same Form of Words continue still in the Offices, as if the Oblations of Bread and Wine were still made by the People; and so *Sirmondus* and *Bona* both say those Expressions of the *Mass-Book*, you mention, are to be understood of these Oblations of the People, and not of the Sacrifice of Christ's Body. And that these Oblations were called *Sacrifices*, appears by the known Passages of *St. Cyprian*, *Locuples & dives*

Liturg. Lat. to. 2. p. 178.

Cassandr. Liturg. c. 27.

Concil. Matif. c. 50.

Capit. Car. M. I. 6. c. 162. Sirmond. de Azym. c. 2. Bona de rebus Liturg. l. 2. c. 8. Sect. 8.

Joh. Diac. in vit. Greg. c. 41.

Sirm. de Azy. c. 1. Bona de reb. Lit. l. 1. c. 23. Sect. 3. Cyp. de Oper. & Elemosyn.

Aug.
Serm. 215.
de temp.

Cassand.
consult. de
Sacrif.
Corp. &
Sang.
Christi.

es & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis? In which he blames the Rich Women that came without an Oblation, which he calls a Sacrifice, and did partake of that which the Poor offered; which St. Augustin calls *de aliena oblatione communicare*; and therefore he bids all Communicants to make their own Oblations at the Altar. But suppose these Expressions were not to be understood of the Oblations of the People, (as it is certain the Prayers called *Secreta*, and the first part of the Canon of the Mass are) yet it was not fairly done of T. G. to leave out a very significant Word which immediately followed, viz. *Laudis, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*. If the People be allowed their share in the Eucharistical Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, what is this to their offering up the proper Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Body of Christ? I do not deny that the People had a share in the Sacrifice, according to the sense of Antiquity; not only from their Oblations, but because as Cassander well observes, the Ancients did call the whole Eucharistical Office, as it took in the Peoples Part as well as the Priests, by the Name of a Sacrifice; and so the Oblations, Prayers, Thanksgivings, Consecration, Commemoration, Distribution, Participation did all belong to the Sacrifice. But since you restrain the true and proper Sacrifice to the Oblation of the Body of Christ to God by the Priest, Dr. St. had reason to say, that the Sacrifice among you belongs to the Priests, and is not an External Act of Worship common to all. And so according to the sense you put on the Mass-Book, you leave no one Act of peculiar External Worship appropriated to God, which is to be performed by all Christians; which was the thing to be proved.

LETTER

To Mr. GODDEN;

Giving a True Account of a

Late Conference At the Deanery of St. Paul's.

SIR,

I Was very much surprized at the sight of several Copies you have given out of the Conference between us at my House in *January* last. For although you took great Care in the Conference it self to keep me from expecting any great Ingenuity from you after it; yet I could hardly believe you would have ventured so far as to have given out such false and imperfect Copies of what past as all those have been which came to my hands, and were all said to be dispersed by you. You know very well that the Gentleman who wrote for you never read his Papers in the Conclusion, that we might judge how fairly he had represented both sides. And when they were neither Read, nor Compared, nor Signed as they ought to have been, with what Ingenuity can these be dispersed through so many hands for True and Authentick Copies? At least you ought to have sent them to me and to have answered my Objections against them before you had read them in *Coffee-houses*, and made such Descants upon them in places where you were sure I would not be present to contradict you. But when nothing was done to make your Copy appear to be good, they must be of very easy Faith and Understanding who would take your word in this matter, without so much as any *Motives of Credibility*.

I hear you made great Boasts of your Victory after the Conference, which I only smiled at, and thought you hoped to make your self considerable by your Vanity. If you gain no greater Victories, you will very little increase the Number of your Converts: For the Gentleman, for whose sake the Conference was, declared immediately after it, *that he was much more confirmed in the Communion of our Church by it, and resolved to continue in it*; which he hath since repeated several times to me. But of all the Persons of your Church, I have yet met with, you had least Reason to go away with the boast of a Victory.

For I pray, call but to mind how the Conference ended, and I think you will be ashamed of your boasting. When you came to your Demonstration of Infallibility in the Church of *Rome*, which came to this in short, *That all Traditionary Christians believe the same to day which they*
did

did yesterday, and so up to the time of our Blessed Saviour, and if they follow this Rule they can never err in Faith, therefore are infallible: And you proved they could not innovate in Faith unless they did forget what they held the day before, or out of Malice alter it. I thought the best way to shew the Vanity of this rare Demonstration was to produce an Instance of such as followed Tradition, and yet you could not deny to have erred, and that was of the Greek Church, which went upon Tradition from Father to Son, as much as ever the Roman did: And I desired to know of you whether the Greek Church notwithstanding, did not err in Matters of Faith; And if it did, then a Church holding to Tradition was not infallible. Your answer was, *That the Greek Church followed Tradition, till the Arians left that Rule and took up a new one, i. e. Scripture privately interpreted.* I told you I did not mean the Arians, but the present Greek Church (which you charge with Heresy) and yet they follow Tradition from Father to Son. This I was forced to repeat over and over, but no Answer could I get from you, but you still run back to the Arians, and compared them and the Calvinists, which I told you was not at all to the purpose; for I insisted upon the present Greek Church, and so you rose up in a heat, and endeavour'd to keep those who wrote from setting down this last part as it ought to have been.

In the Papers dispersed by you, you make me barely put the Question, *Whether the Greek Church did follow Tradition from Father to Son in Matters of Faith or no?* But do not mention the Inference I drew from it, and which is set down in the Original Paper that was read aloud and approved by both Parties, *That if the Greek Church followed Tradition, which is undeniably true, and is granted by your self in your Answer, then a Church holding to Tradition as its Rule may err in Matters of Faith, which unavoidably overthrows your pretended Demonstration.* For you cannot make an evasion, by saying, *That though the Greek Church once adhered to Tradition, yet in the Time of Arianism it left that Rule and took up another, and so ever since fell into Error as the Calvinists did;* for that is apparently false as to the present Greek Church (of which I spake) as is known to every one that knows any thing of the Greek Church, which in all its Differences with the Roman Church as to the *Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Pope's Supremacy, Purgatory, &c.* still pleaded Tradition and adhered to it. Neither is so much of your Answer true, as that even the Arians went off from the Rule of Tradition, for they insisted on it, and *Petavius* thinks they had good Reason for it. But however, I said my Instance was not about them, but the present Greek Church, and this I do affirm, you gave no Answer at all to.

I know what Arts have been used to get Mr. T. to approve your Copy: I have not seen what he wrote, and I desired him to bring the Gentleman to me who wrote for you, that we might compare ours together; but word was left with my Servant, *that he was not well.* But suppose he should now correct his Copy, this will be too late for my Vindication, since so many imperfect ones have been given out and dispersed, not only here in Town, but over several parts of the Nation. And therefore I am forced to take this way to put a stop to such disingenuous Proceeding. I hear Mr. M. pretends *that I gave out false Copies*, which is so far from being true, that I was often solicited on the Account of your Papers, before I let one be seen, and then it was only to correct the Errors of yours. And mine was taken by a Person of Learning as well as Integrity, who was present at the whole Conference,

ference and very well understood the whole matter. But because your Writer's Copy was not then read, and none signed, I desire you now to make good these two things, which the whole Conference depended upon.

(1.) That we have no *absolute Certainty* as to the Rule of our Faith, viz. *the Scripture*; although we have a larger and firmer *Tradition* for it, viz. *the Consent of all Christian Churches*, than you can have for the Points of Faith in difference between us.

(2.) That the Tradition from Father to Son is an infallible Conveyance of Matters of Faith, notwithstanding the *Greek Church* is charged by you with Error, which adhered to Tradition.

If you give a satisfactory Account of these two things, you will acquit your self much better than by boasting in *Coffee-houses*, and dispersing such Copies of Conferences. If you decline giving an Answer to this just and necessary Vindication of my self, the World will easily see on whose side the Victory lay; but I confess I did not think it worth *boasting of*.

If you are really such a Man at *Controversy*, as I hear you would be taken for, I offer you a fair Opportunity to shew your self: And I do promise by God's Assistance to return an Answer to you in such a manner, as will be least liable to the Injury of *False Copies*.

I am,

SIR,

March 7.

Your Humble Servant,

1685

E. S.

Bb

A Second

Second LETTER

To Mr. G O D D E N.

In Answer to Two LETTERS lately Published concerning the CONFERENCE at the Deanery of St. Paul's.

SIR,

YOU may wonder that I continue my Application to your self, when two Gentlemen have appeared in Print so lately for You; but the Character they give of You is so extraordinary, that I have no mind to change my Man; and therefore hope you will at last generously undertake the Defence of your own Cause. The Author of the first Letter, saith, *Those that know you better think there is not an honest Man in the Nation, and that if you have wronged me it is the first wrong you ever did in your Life.* I am afraid some will suspect your Friend was not in earnest when he wrote this; and that it rather looks like libelling the Nation than commending You. But because it is so rare a thing to meet with a Person set forth with such Advantage; you cannot blame me for desiring to hold a Correspondence with You in the way of Letters. For all Mr. M.'s Arguments for *Verbal Conferences* have not prevailed upon me; and therefore I proceed in Writing to You, looking on this Way as much freer from sudden Heats and Surprizes, more cautious and deliberate, and less liable to Cavils and Misrepresentations. And methinks the Account Mr. M. gives of our Conference, confutes all his Arguments; unless they be better managed in *Coffee-houses* and other Places, *i.e.* with more Temper and Fairness, than he represents ours to have been.

The Truth is, the Experience I have had of the Disingenuity both in and after them, hath made me not very fond of them. But it may be *Verbal Conferences* are most agreeable to *Oral Tradition*; but we who prefer a Written Rule as far more certain, rather chuse to publish in Writing the Sense of our Minds, than leave it to the Arbitrary Representing of others Words.

Which I had suffered so much by, that I was forced for my own Vindication to betake my self to Writing a former Letter to you, wherein I complained of the Injury done me by false and imperfect Copies of our Conference dispersed by you. *If that were the first Wrong you ever did in your Life,* I am very sorry you should begin with me. For after all that your Friends have said for you I am still of the same Opinion. And in this Letter shall more fully give you my Reasons.

But

But I hope you are not now *one hundred and fifty Miles off*, lest I be told again *that I take advantage of your great distance*, as though I durst not write to you at a less distance than between *L. and Ch.* But in case you were there still, am I the less injured by your going so far? Or less obliged to vindicate my self among those who had been abused by false Reports and Copies of the Conference?

I now apply my self to what Mr. M. hath said for you in Answer to my former Letter.

Mr. M. saith, p. 5. *You were far from making great Boasts of a Victory after the Conference.* Must I rely on Mr. M.'s Authority, against the *Infallibility of Oral Tradition*? The matter of Fact was deliver'd to me from several Persons who themselves heard you, and in several Places. What must I now believe according to your *Infallible Rule of Oral Tradition*? Here are several Witnesses of unquestionable Credit, who had it (not by a long *Series from Father to Son*, but) immediately from your own Mouth; *who could not easily forget what they heard you say, and would not out of Malice alter it*; and yet your own Advocate declares expressly contrary to them, and thinks I am bound to believe his Testimony against them all. I pray, Sir, consider what a Reflection this is upon your *Rule*, and what little Security we can have for our *Faith* then, by *Oral Tradition*. If so many Persons who were competent Judges of what they heard themselves, and whose Testimony I had no reason to suspect, could so strangely deceive me, at so little a Distance, what *Infallibility* can you pretend in bare Tradition of Matters of Faith, when the things themselves are so much harder to conceive and deliver entire, and the distance so very much greater? Either therefore you must renounce your Advocate if you hold to the *Infallibility of Oral Tradition*; or if you hold to Mr. M. you must renounce your *Rule of Faith*.

Mr. M. seems to deny the Charge of your giving out *false and imperfect Copies* of the Conference. But that which I charged you chiefly with, was from one that was received from your own Hands; and the Rest I saw afterwards agreed with it. And yet Mr. M. cannot deny that the Copies given out contained *lame and unfinished Discourses*, p. 5. *that the Noise and Wrangling might hinder the Writers from being so exact*, p. 15. *that we parted in so great a hurry, that those things which were spoken were not written, nor some, perhaps, of what was written, so nicely exact*, &c. p. 19. *that in the latter part of this Dispute, Things were not set down so exactly as they ought to have been*, ibid. *that the Disputations of the Conference are lame and imperfect*, p. 25. These being the Words of your own Advocate, had I not just cause to complain that such Copies should be dispersed abroad, as a *true Account of the Conference* between us; whereas himself confesses them to have been so *lame and imperfect*? And yet these were given about with great Industry and Care, as tho' an entire Account of what passed at the Conference, were contained in them; and few Days passed, but I heard great Boasts were made of this Conference, and some said, *That they had it under my Hand that I was baffled*.

I think therefore, I had reason to complain, of *imperfect Copies*, since Mr. M. confesses they were no better. But this is not all, for I had said the Copies I had seen were *false* as well as *imperfect*.

To make out this Charge I must insist on some Particulars, as they are in that Copy which was given by your self.

When Mr. T. declared himself satisfied as to the Grounds of Faith, without the *Roman Churches* Infallibility, which was the true State of the Question debated in the first part (of which more by and by,) He desired to know for his own Satisfaction, *How you would prove the Church of Rome to be infallible?* This in your Copy is said to be put by me. And lest this might be thought a mere casual Mistake, I am certainly informed that Mr. M. told a Gentleman to whom he gave a Copy, that I proposed the Question about the Church of *Rome's* Infallibility (as though I did it on purpose to divert the Discourse) whereas Mr. T. declaring himself satisfied with the Answers given about *the Grounds of our Certainty*, desired that he might propose a Question to you, *How you could prove the Church of Rome to be Infallible?* And in a Copy sent from Ch. where you dispersed it, the Title of the Second Dispute is, *Stillington's first Question, How do you prove, &c.* so that my Name was here falsely put in; and it is easy to guess with what Design. But to proceed.

When you said *the Infallibility of the Church of Rome consisted in following the Universal Testimony of all Traditionary Christians:*

Your Copy makes me ask a very wise Question upon it, *viz. How does it appear that the Church of Rome is Infallible in Tradition?*

Whereas I put Two Questions to you.

(1.) *How does it appear that the Church of Rome is Infallible in the Sense and Meaning of Tradition?*

(2.) *Is this Tradition a Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture?*

The Design of which Questions was to shew,

(1.) That to receive a Doctrine by mere Tradition, can afford no Infallible Ground of Faith, unless Persons be assured of the true *Sense and Meaning* of the Doctrine so delivered. As for instance, suppose the Doctrine delivered be *that Christ was the Son of God*; if the Infallibility of Tradition goes no farther than the bare Delivery from Father to Son, then Faith can go no farther than general Words, tho' an Heretical Sense may lie under them. If the Infallibility doth extend to the Sense and meaning of these Words, then either every Traditionary Christian is to give this Sense, which will make a very large Infallibility in the whole Body of Traditionary Christians, or else the Explaining the Sense and Meaning of Tradition, must belong to a certain Order of Men, by virtue of a Divine Promise. If so, then the Infallibility of Tradition cannot consist in *holding the same Doctrine to day that was delivered yesterday, and so up to the time of our Blessed Saviour*, as you asserted. For, if the Church may explain the Sense and Meaning of Tradition, so as to oblige Men to believe that by virtue of such Explanation which they were not obliged to before, then it is impossible the Infallibility of Tradition should lie in a constant Tradition from Father to Son. For they have no Power to oblige to any more than they received: But according to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome (and some will tell you, it is Heresy to deny it, and I appeal to *P. Warner* if it be not) the Church hath Power and Authority to explain the Sense and Meaning of Tradition; so as Persons are obliged upon Pain of Damnation to believe that Sense and Meaning of Tradition which the present Church delivers. As will appear by an undeniable Instance. The Tradition of a Real Presence in the *Eucharist* is allowed on all hands; but all the Controversy is, and hath been for some Ages, what the Sense and Meaning of this Tradition is? Whether it be a Real Presence by way of Efficacy and Influence, or by a Mystical Union, or by

a Sub-

Substantial Change of the very Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ. The Tradition of the real Presence may be preserved under every one of these Explications: The Question now is, Whether it be sufficient to adhere to the General Tradition of the Church? Or, it be not necessary to Salvation to adhere to the Church's Explication of the Sense and Meaning of this Tradition in the Councils of *Lateran* and *Trent*? If it be said, *That the Sense and Meaning of this Tradition as there expressed (viz. Transubstantiation) was always deliver'd from Father to Son*: I answer, 1. This is more than is pretended by many of the greatest Men in the *Roman Church*, as hath been lately abundantly shewed. And it is impossible to make it out, that the manner of the Presence hath been constantly deliver'd from Father to Son from the time of Christ and his Apostles; for the main Testimonies alledged out of Antiquity, are only for a Real Presence; and there are as express Testimonies against the Change of the Elements, as there are any for the other. 2. This takes off from the Power and Authority of the Church of *Rome*, if it cannot make a necessary Explication of the Sense and Meaning of Tradition, and resolves all into a mere Human Faith; which is the unavoidable Consequence of this Doctrine of Oral Tradition. For no other Account can be given of it than from mere Natural Reason, viz. *That Traditionary Christians could not believe otherwise to Day than they did Yesterday*. Granting this to be true (which is very far from being so, as shall be shewed, when Your Answer to the Instance of the *Greek Church* comes abroad) yet the utmost that this can amount to is, that I resolve my Faith into a Logical Demonstration. And is this the Faith Christians are to be saved by? What Grace of God, What Assistance of the Holy Spirit are necessary to such a Faith as this? But for this, I refer you to the *Hæresis Blackloana*, &c.

2. I intended by the second Question to put a Difference between the Tradition allowed by us, and the Tradition disputed. If no more were meant by Tradition than the Universal Tradition of the Christian Church as to the Books of Scripture; this I had before granted to be a sufficient Ground for the Certainty of our Faith as to the Canon of Scripture, which is our Rule of Faith; but if by Tradition be understood, either some necessary Articles of Faith not contained in Scripture, or a Power in the Church to make unnecessary to become necessary; this I denied, and desire to see some better Proof of it than you produce.

All the Answer which you give in your own Paper to these two Questions, is, *That all Traditionary Christians, that is, all Bishops, all Priests, all Fathers, and all People following this Rule, and receiving Faith because it was received the Day before, could not innovate in Faith, unless they could all either forget what they received the Day before, or out of Malice change it; therefore because no Cause can be assigned for such an Effect, they cannot innovate; If there can? Assign it.*

Now to which of the Questions that I put, is this an Answer? Doth this shew that the Church of *Rome* is Infallible in giving the Sense and Meaning of Tradition? Or that this Tradition is a Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture? But it seems to be an Answer to the Question in your Copy; and therefore it is very suspicious, that the Question was so framed, that the Answer might seem pertinent to it.

To shew the Vanity of this Demonstration, I produced the Instance of the *Greek Church* which followed Tradition from Father to Son, and yet you charge it with Error in Matters of Faith, so that a Church following Tradition, may err in Matters of Faith.

Here again your Copy notoriously fails, for it makes me put such another wise Question as before.

Whether the Greek Church did follow from Father to Son, the Tradition in Matters of Faith, or no?

As though I had desired Information from you, whether it did, yea, or no? And that had been all. But I urged plainly that it did, and notwithstanding you charge it with Error, (nay, with Heresie;) which overthrows all the force of your Demonstration, that a Church following Tradition cannot err, when you charge a Church following Tradition with Heresie.

And is not this something like Falsification, to leave out the whole force and strength of an Argument? And to leave it a very insipid toothless Question?

No, saith Mr. M. p. 18. *It was only to spare a little unnecessary Pains; for it cannot be imagined he should have any other Design in leaving out those Words.*

I do not charge the Gentleman who wrote, with a design to falsify, but I cannot excuse you from dispersing false Copies, in that when you could not but see the Notorious Defects of this Copy, you would disperse it as containing a true Account of the Conference. Methinks you were very sparing in the *necessary Pains* of Correcting it, before you had read it in Companies for the true Copy, and given it to others to transcribe.

As to the Conclusion, Mr. M. confesses *that it was not distinctly set down*; but I say again, that Copy is false in the Conclusion. For these are the Words,

[The *Greek Church* followed Tradition from Father to Son] *till they left that Rule, and took up another, and so fell into Error as the Calvinists did.*

Here is not one Word concerning the *Arians*, which you cannot but remember that you ran to, and mentioned over and over, when I told you the *Greek Church* did still follow Tradition as her Rule; you said *the Arians left the Rule, and interpreted Scripture as the Calvinists did.* I told you again that I meant not the *Arians*, but the *present Greek Church*; and I do particularly remember, that I desired the Gentleman who wrote for you, to put down in his Paper, that it was *the present Greek Church* I spake of.

I grant, as Mr. M. saith, p. 19. *that it was not set down by your Consent* any where; for the Truth is, when you found your self pinched by this Instance, you grew so very uneasie, that you did all you could to bring things into that Confusion and Disorder, which Mr. M. mentions. You rose up in a great heat, and talked a great deal to no purpose about *Calvinists*, &c. for all the ways I could use, could not bring you to set down any farther Answer to the pressing Instance of the *Greek Church*. You confessed, *I had raised a vast Difficulty about it*; but after all, you left no Answer behind you to this Difficulty, and I still desire you to give it.

Mr. M. p. 19. *doth ingenuously confess that this Point was not fully cleared.* No, not in any Measure. But he saith, *I began with Reproaches.*

I con-

I confess it is a terrible Reproach to tell a Man, he cannot Answer an Argument; but that he makes use of Tricks to avoid it, and that I never met with any that excelled you in that kind. Farther than this, I remember not that I used any Term of Reproach to you. And the only way to wipe off such a Reproach, is to give a fair and Ingenious Answer; and till that be done, this Reproach will stick.

As to Mr. T.'s Slip, in calling the Greek Church an Universal Church, methinks you might excuse him for the sake of the Roman Catholick Church; which in other Words is the Roman Universal Church. And why should not such a Contradiction do as well in Greek as Latin, since the Patriarch of Constantinople had the Title of Oecumenical Patriarch?

But this Gentleman cannot escape so; for although Mr. M. cannot deny, that at the End of the first Dispute he declared that he was fully satisfied with my Answers; (p. 10.) yet he desires leave to judge how far this Satisfaction of Mr. T. was Rational, and what Grounds he had for it. If Mr. T. had been unsatisfied with my Answers, no doubt he had passed for a Rational and Ingenious Man; but his Misfortune is, that he could not see Reasons in your Demonstrations; nor the want of it in what I offer'd to prove the Certainty of our Faith, without your pretence to Infallibility.

Therefore to satisfy the World that Mr. T. had sufficient Grounds for what he then said, I shall now examine and weigh all the Parts of that Conference, and consider what Mr. M. hath said about it.

The Occasion of it is thus set down by him, (p. 2.) You had affirmed in some Companies, that no Protestant could shew any Ground of Absolute Certainty for their Faith; and that Mr. T. had promised you that if I were not able to manifest the contrary, he would forsake our Communion.

Hitherto Mr. T. was a very rational Man, because he appeared to doubt of his Religion; and if a little thing had satisfied him; i. e. if he had been converted by your Demonstration, he had been more so than ever. But if a Man cannot be convinced by your Reason to change his Religion, who can help it? And yet I very much question whether F. W. would absolve any Man who professed to embrace the Catholick Faith on your Grounds; which overthrow the Churches Authority in Matters of Faith, and proceed upon Pelagian Principles.

The first thing which was proposed, saith Mr. M. (p. 3.) and indeed the only Subject Mr. G. had any purpose to discourse on was, Whether Protestants had a Ground of Absolute Certainty for their Faith, or not? Here the Faith spoken of, is that Faith whereby we are Christians, and your Pretence was that without your Infallibility we can have no Absolute Certainty of the Christian Faith, i. e. of the Grounds on which we believe the Scripture to contain the Word of God; or all things necessary to be believ'd by us in order to Salvation.

Therefore when the Question was put by you:

Q. 1. Whether you are absolutely certain that you hold now the same Tenets in Faith, and all that our Saviour taught to his Apostles?

A. 1. My Answer was, That we are absolutely certain that we now hold all the same Doctrine that was taught by Christ and his Apostles.

Wherein I plainly distinguish between that Doctrine which Christ by his own Mouth taught his Apostles, and that which the Apostles did by the Spirit of Christ teach the whole Church. The Account I offer'd as to the Christian Faith, was not, as to what Christ taught by an Oral Tradition, (as the Jews affirm of Moses delivering an unwritten Law)

Law) but I framed my Answer on purpose, to shew that our Faith is not to be resolved into what Christ taught, any otherwise than as it is conveyed to us by the Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists. For the Resolution of our Faith, as to what Christ himself taught, is not to be made into the Words of Christ teaching, conveyed by an Oral Tradition from his Time downwards, but into the Words of Christ as recorded by the holy Writers of the New Testament. And so much I expressed in Answer to the next Question.

Q. 2. *By what certain Rule do you hold it?*

A. 2. *By the Divine Revelations contained in the Writings of the New Testament.*

Here was no Subtilty or Learning requisite, but to give a plain Answer, as to the Rule of our Faith. Which we do assert to be the Written Word, and no Oral Tradition.

Q. 3. *Then follow'd, By what certain Rule do you know that the New Testament, which we now have, does contain all the Divine Revelations of Christ and his Apostles?*

A. 3. *By the Universal Testimony of the Christian Church from the Apostles time downwards.*

In which Answer, I laid down the Grounds of our different Resolution of Faith from that which you contend for; and which I at large explained in the Conference it self; viz. that our Certainty of Faith is chiefly resolved into the Testimony of the Apostolical Churches, which first received the Books of the New Testament from the Divine Writers of them; and from these Churches where the Authentick Writings themselves were preserved, Copies were dispersed over other Churches, which by comparing together the Testimonies of the several Churches, did by degrees fix upon the Certain Canon of the New Testament.

Here a Question was started, *Whether all the Books of the New Testament were alike received?*

I answer'd, not at first, but after due Examination those which were at first Controverted, came to be universally received. And I particularly instanced in the *Church of Rome*; which a long time did not receive the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, when it was received by other Churches; but at last did yield to the Testimony of other Churches therein. From whence I observed, that the *Church of Rome* was far from being believed then to have the Authority of making the Canon of Scripture, or being Infallible in Faith; it being then taxed for disbelieving a Part of Scripture, and being at last over-ruled by the Testimony of the other Apostolical Churches.

I remember I asked you how it came about that the *Church of Rome* in *St. Jerom's* time did err about the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, if there were any Infallibility in it?

And your Answer was, *that Rome was at a great Distance from Judea*: Which I thought a strange Answer, considering the Communication the Churches then had at greater Distance, and the frequent Recourse of *Jews to Rome*; but especially if that Church had any Promise of Infallibility made to it. Which, to be just to you, I do not remember that you once asserted, in all that two Hours discourse. And truly you were not inconsistent with your Principles therein: For Infallibility by Promise and by Oral Tradition are as different as Grace and Nature, or the Assent of Faith from a Dictate of Reason. In Faith a Divine Testi-

Testimony is supposed ; in the Infallibility of Oral Tradition nothing but a Natural Principle, *that Men must hold the same Doctrine to day that they did yesterday, and so up to the time of our Blessed Saviour.*

Where the different method of our resolving Faith appears ; you begin at the present time, and so run upwards, but the force of all lies in the connexion of one Link with another inseparably ; which, I say, will by no means hold ; but ours begins with the Apostolical Churches which first received the Sacred Books, and delivered them down ; their Testimony is the Authentick Instrument of conveying down the Canon of Scripture, and the following Tradition of the Church is only a conveying down that first Testimony upon which we believe the Canon of the New Testament. There were many interlocutory Passages about this Subject ; but this is the Substance of what I distinctly remember.

Q. 4. Was that Universal Testimony an Infallible Rule, to assure us certainly down to our Time, that the New Testament contained all the Divine Revelations of Christ and his Apostles ?

A. 4. The Universal Testimony of the Christian Church concerning the Book of Scripture, and the Doctrine contained therein, is a sufficient Ground to make us certain of all Matters necessary to our Salvation.

To make this Answer clear, we are to consider that the Scripture being our sole and entire Rule of Faith, all Matters necessary to Salvation must be supposed to be contained therein ; and therefore the same Testimony which delivers the Scripture to us, doth deliver all the necessary Articles of Faith as contained therein : Which are there received as in the Lump ; and if we receive the Book which contains all, we must by the same Authority receive all contained in it. As if a Purse be left to a Man by his Father's Will, full of Gold and Silver, and this by the Executors be declared to contain all the Gold and Silver his Father left him ; they who deliver this Purse to him from the Executors, do certainly deliver to him all the Gold and Silver left him by his Father. But if he suspects there was both Gold and Silver left him by his Father which was not in that Purse, then he must call in Question the Integrity of the Executors, who declared that all was contained therein. This is now the Case of the Christian Church, as to all Divine Truths which respect Mens Salvation : The Primitive Church, who answer to the Executors in the other Case, did unanimously declare that all such Truths were undoubtedly contained in the Written Word. Although therefore there may be a real difference in the Nature of the Doctrines therein contained, as there is between Gold and Silver, yet he that receives all, must receive the one as well as the other ; and the Matters of Salvation being of greatest Moment, they that receive the whole Will of God upon Grounds of Certainty, must be assured that therein they receive all Matters necessary to our Salvation.

Against my Answer to this Question, Mr. M. suggests several things ;

(P. 12.)

(1.) *As to Difference of Translations.* Doth Mr. M. think our Faith is to be resolved into the Original Texts ? What becomes then of the *Vulgar Latin* ? For although the Council of *Trent* declares it to be *Authentick*, yet I take it to be but a *Translation*. But there is a difference of Translations, and there is no unanimous Consent of the Christian Church for any one. And how is it possible there should be, since the Christian Church consists of so many Bodies of Men of different Countries and

Languages? But we have the unanimous Consent of all the ancient Christian Churches, for the Translation of the Scripture into their own Languages; which shews that they thought the People ought to be acquainted with it, as the Word of God so translated, and that they were to resolve their Faith into it, as they were capable of understanding it. And it is very hard to conceive how Faith can be resolved into an unknown Tongue; but we have the unanimous Consent of the Christian Church, that Faith must rest upon the Word of God, which is contained in the Books of Scripture. And therefore we have the Consent of the Christian Church, against resolving Faith into the Infallibility of Oral Tradition. For if this were the Christian Method of Resolving Faith, there would have been very little Use or Necessity of Scripture; and the Fathers were extremely mistaken in the mighty Characters, which on all Occasions they give of it; not only of the Excellency of the Matter contained in it, but as a Rule of Faith for all Christians; as I might easily shew if there were occasion. But I desire to see any thing like the Consent of the Christian Church, from the Apostles time downwards, for resolving Faith into mere *Oral Tradition*: And certainly if the Church had used this way, it must have understood it, and expressed it. And it is a just Prescription against a Method of resolving Faith, that the ancient Christian Church, which consisted (I hope) of True Believers, never knew any thing concerning it; and yet, I suppose, they had *absolute Certainty of their Faith*, though they had *different Translations* of the Bible among them.

(2.) *As to the Number of Books.* I do not deny that there was in the first Ages a difference in several Churches about the Number of Canonical Books; but this doth not hinder that *Universal Testimony* I mentioned: For, (1.) it adds Weight to the Churches Testimony, that where there was any Controversie about any Canonical Book of the New Testament, the Matter was examined and debated, and at last, after a through Discussion the Book was received, as happened about the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. Which was not received by the Authority of one Church imposing upon another, but by a fair Examination of Evidence produced for its Apostolical Authority; which being allow'd, it hath been received by the unanimous Consent of the Christian Church. (2.) There hath been ever since an uncontradicted Consent of the Christian Church, as to the Canonical Books of the New Testament. No one Church disputing the Authority of any of them. And even the Council of *Trent* agrees with us herein; although it endeavours to obtrude some Books for Canonical in the Old Testament, which never had the Universal Consent of the Jewish or Christian Church for them.

(3.) *He desires to know, how I understand that all the Divine Revelations are contained in the New Testament, viz. Whether all necessary Articles of Faith are contained in the New Testament virtually and implicitly, or clearly and explicitly; the former will do me little service, the latter is contradicted by the Church of Rome, and therefore I can plead no Universal Testimony of the Christian Church; and so my Plea for absolute Certainty is groundless.*

To this I Answer,

(1.) If it be agreed that all Doctrines of Faith, necessary to Salvation, are contained in Scripture either *explicitly or implicitly*, (which Mr. M. denies not) it is sufficient for my purpose. For the Ground of my Faith is absolutely Certain, *viz. That all necessary Articles of Faith*

Faith are contained in Scripture : And if they be *explicit*, I am bound to give a distinct Assent to them : if they be not, then no more is required of me than to believe them, when they do appear to be there ; which is no more than a general Preparation of Mind, to yield my assent to whatsoever doth appear to me to be the Word of God. So that my Faith rests on the Word of God, as its absolute Ground of Certainty ; but the particular Certainty as to this or that Doctrine, depends upon the Evidence that it is contained in Scripture. And it is the *general Ground of Faith* we are now upon, and not the *particular Acts of it*.

(2.) The Church of Rome's assuming to it self the Power of making *implicit Articles to become explicit* by its declaring the Sense of them, doth not overthrow the Certainty of our Faith. For as long as it is granted that all necessary Articles of Faith are there *explicitly*, or *implicitly*, by an Universal Consent of the Christian Church, it signifies nothing to the shaking of my Faith, that a particular Part of the Church doth assume such a Power to it self. For this must come among the particular Points of Faith, and not the general Grounds : It must be looked on as an Article of Faith, and so it must be contained in Scripture either *explicitly* or *implicitly*. If *explicitly*, we desire to see it in express Terms, which I suppose you will not pretend to ; if only *implicitly*, I pray tell me how I can be explicitly bound to believe such a Power in the Church of Rome, which is only implicitly there ? And by what Power this *implicit Article* comes to be made *explicit* ? For the Power of the Church it self being the Article in question, it is impossible that while it is only *implicitly* there, it should make it self *explicit*. If it be said, *that it will become explicit to any sober Enquirer*, then every such Person may without the Churches help, find out all Necessary Points of Faith ; which is a Doctrine I am so far from being ashamed of, that I think it most agreeable to the Goodness of God, the Nature of the Christian Faith, and the Unanimous Consent of the Christian Church for many Ages. But this is beyond our present Business.

(3.) The Church of Rome hath no where declared in Council, that it hath any such Power of making *implicit Articles* of Faith contained in Scripture, to become *explicit* by its explaining the Sense of them. For the Church of Rome doth not pretend to make *new Articles of Faith* ; but to make an *implicit Doctrine* to become *explicit*, is really to make a new Article of Faith. It doth not indeed make a *new Divine Revelation*, but it makes that which was not necessary to be believed, to become necessary ; and what is not necessary to be believed, is no *Article of Faith*. What is only believed *implicitly*, is not *actually believed* ; but there is only a Preparation of Mind to believe it, supposing it to be made appear to be a Matter of Faith. Besides, the Church of Rome declares that it receives its Doctrines by *Tradition* ; and although I have often heard of an *implicit Faith*, I know not what to make of an *implicit Tradition*. I had thought whatever is delivered by way of *Tradition*, must be *explicit* ; or else the *Father and Son might easily be mistaken* : And so for all that I can see, Mr. M. and you must dispute it out ; for you say, *That the Infallibility of Faith depends on Oral Tradition, and the Infallibility of Oral Tradition on this, that the Traditionary Christians hold the same Doctrine to Day that was delivered Yesterday in Faith, and so up to the time of our Blessed Saviour*. But what think you now

of Mr. M.'s Assertion, *That the Church hath Power to interpret and make known implicate Doctrines contained in Scripture, so as to make it necessary to believe them explicitly?* For he saith, *That all the Churches in Communion with Rome, do hold there are Divine Revelations in Scripture, which are contained there virtually and implicitly, so as they need the Churches Interpretation and Authority, for being made known to us.* Let us now lay these Two Assertions together. If your Doctrine hold good, *All Doctrines of Faith must be explicitly delivered from Father to Son:* No, saith Mr. M. *The Church hath Power to make known Doctrines implicate and virtually contained in Scripture.* I pray could the Father communicate to his Son what was only *implicitly* and *virtually* contained in Scripture? If Mr. M. says true, here is a very possible Cause of Innovation assigned *without Forgetfulness or Malice; viz.* when the Fathers of the Church take upon them to draw forth implicate Doctrines, and to make them explicit Articles of Faith. And thus undoubtedly many Innovations have come into the Church; when some Persons have taken up a particular Opinion, and because nothing would prevail without Scripture, they have attempted to bring it out of Scripture; but that being not plain or clear for it, they gave out it was *virtually and implicitly* contained in it; and thus it passed from one to another, till it getting footing in the Church, and prevailing over a great part of it; then, lest the Church should be charged with Error and Innovation, the prevailing Party takes upon it to declare this to be *the Sense and Meaning of Scripture*, and to require all Persons of their Communion to believe it. And thus Mr. M. hath answered your Demonstration. But still, although the Church of *Rome* hath assumed such a Power, yet it still disowned it, and even in the Council of *Trent* pretended *to interpret Scripture according to the unanimous Sense of the Fathers*; which is directly contrary to the Power of making known such a *Sense and Meaning of Scripture* in Doctrines of Faith, as may oblige Men to believe that *explicitly* now, which they were not obliged to, by any precedent Sense or Explication.

I come now to the Fifth and Last Question.

Qu. 5. Being the Words *Christian Church* may be taken in several Latitudes by Persons of different Religions, I desire to know what that *Christian Church* is, whose Testimony concerning the Books of Scripture, and the Doctrine contained therein, is a sufficient ground to make us certain of all matters that are necessary to our Salvation?

Ans. 5. By the Universal Testimony of the *Christian Church* concerning the Books of Scripture which are our Rule of Faith as to matters of Salvation, I mean the Universal Consent of all *Christian Churches* from the Apostles Times downwards.

This Mr. M. calls *Trifling*, (p. 13.) and in this you agree, though you differ in the Resolution of Faith. But I pray wherein does this *Trifling* lie? Was it because I would not answer as you would have had me? But I do not yet see how I could have answered more to the purpose. The Question in short was, What the *Christian Church* was, whose Universal Testimony I relied upon as to the Canon of Scripture? My Answer was, That the *Christian Church* is that which is made up of all *Christian Churches*; and their Universal Consent is that Testimony we rely upon. Is this *Trifling*?

But, saith Mr. M. (p. 14.) *Mr. G.'s Intention was to know what Churches I accounted Christian Churches.* I told you over and over, since we

we were enquiring into the general Grounds of Faith, if we had the Universal Testimony of all Christian Churches, I had no reason to go any farther. For if all Churches of the Christian World be agreed, as they are, about the Canon of the New Testament, this was sufficient for the Certainty of our Faith, without looking after any Infallibility in the Church of Rome. And this, you know, was the main Point in Dispute between us; as appears by the occasion of it, as is set down by Mr. M. You affirmed, *That no Protestants could shew any Ground of Absolute Certainty for their Faith*: I undertook to shew we had; for our Faith is resolved into the Scripture as the Word of God; and whatever is built on the Word of God, is absolutely Certain: And that these Books of the New Testament contain our Rule of Faith, as being the Word of God, we have the Universal Testimony of all Christian Churches. And this makes our Faith, as to these Books, absolutely certain. And where now is the *Trifling*? Doth the Universal Testimony of all Christian Churches afford sufficient Ground of Certainty as to the Books of Scripture, or not? If not, why do you not shew wherein it fails? If it doth, what mean you to call this *Trifling*? When it is apparent I have gained the Point I aimed at, *viz. That we Protestants have certain Grounds for our Faith, without any need of the Roman Churches Infallibility*. Which was the thing to be shewed.

But Mr. M. tells me (p. 14.) *That you asked me whether I included the Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians and Calvinists, and urged that this Question might be written down; to which I did not consent: Because Mr. T. declared he was fully satisfied, and desired to propose a New Question to Mr. G.*

I grant you did ask me the Question several times, whether I included the *Arians, Nestorians, &c.* I told you I rejected the Doctrines of all such as were condemned by the Four General Councils, as the *Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians* were; but it was not pertinent to our Purpose to consider, how far any under those Denominations might be Parts of the Catholick Church: For since we had the Consent of all Christian Churches in this Matter, I had no Reason to lessen the Evidence they gave by a Concurrent Testimony. For the Argument was so much stronger, since all Churches, under all Denominations, did agree in it.

But Mr. M. still complains, that I would not permit your Sixth Question, *viz. What Churches I look'd on as Members of the Christian Church*? It is strange he should forget for what Reason I rejected it, *viz. Because it was not pertinent to our Business*. For, if the Testimony of all Christian Churches be more considerable than only of some, why should I lessen the strength of the Argument taken from the Universal Consent of all Christian Churches: The other Question must have led us into other Disputes, foreign to our Business; and my Design was to keep close to the *Matter of Certainty*; about which the Conference began.

And now I hope I have given an Answer to the Letter, *desiring Information of the Conference*; which I did forbear in my first Letter to set down at large, foreseeing that either your self or your Friend would offer me farther Occasion, to give a fuller Account of it.

But because the Substance of the whole Conference depended on those two Points,

1. Whether the Universal Consent of all Christian Churches be not a sufficient Ground for our Certainty, as to our Rule of Faith, *viz. the Scripture*?

2. Whether

2. Whether Tradition from Father to Son, be an Infallible Conveyance of Matters of Faith?

To shew wherein the main force of the whole Conference lay in few Words, I desired you to make good these Two Things;

1. That we have no Absolute Certainty as to the Rule of our Faith, viz. the Scripture; although we have a larger and firmer Tradition for it, viz. The Consent of all Christian Churches; than you can have for the Points in Difference between us.

2. That the Tradition from Father to Son, is an Infallible Conveyance in Matters of Faith, notwithstanding the Greek Church is charged by you with Error, which adhered to Tradition.

Now upon this, the Author of the First Letter desires to be commended to me as a Man who loves to spare his own Pains. For 'tis as much as to say, do you do all the Work, and I will sit by, and tell you whether it be well done or no; must Mr. G. prove that Protestants have no Absolute Certainty?

I think you are bound to do it, upon Mr. M.'s own Account of the Occasion of the Conference, viz. That you affirmed that no Protestants could shew any Ground of Certainty for their Faith. And upon this the Conference was desired; and since therein I undertake to shew what our Ground of Certainty was, you ought to make it evident wherein it fails: And you have not so much as offer'd at any thing to disprove it, but would fairly have run into another Dispute; and because I would not yield to it, you and Mr. M. call me a Trifler. You see I have not been so sparing of my Pains now; but I would commend that Gentleman to you, who get other Men to do your Work for you.

But he goes on, *I thought it bad concerned them to be satisfied that they have.* Yes, so we are; and are very well satisfied that we stand upon surer Grounds, than those who go upon the baffled Pretence of the Infallibility of Oral Tradition; for which no one Church of the Christian World hath declared.

For the Infallibility of Tradition in the Church of Rome is another thing, depending upon a Divine Promise, and not a kind of mere Natural Infallibility. But he saith, *he takes no notice that the Question is veered from Certainty of Protestant Doctrine, to Certainty of Scripture.*

How strangely mistaken is this Gentleman in the whole Matter! For the Question was wholly about the Certainty of Faith in general; as fully appears by what is said already. When the Grounds of Faith are made clear, we shall come easier to particular Points of Difference between us. If we may have sufficient Certainty without your Pretence of Infallibility, then we may have a true and sound Faith without coming into your Church; and where there is such a Faith, there is a Possibility of Salvation, and consequently there can be no Necessity of Forsaking the Communion of a Church, where we have such certain Grounds of Faith.

Mr. M. in answer to the first Particular, speaks more home and close to the Purpose, and therefore what he saith deserves to be more strictly Examined.

(1.) *It is not denied, saith he (p. 28.) that there is in Faith an absolute Certainty for that Scripture wherein we agree.* Thus far Mr. M. grants what you deny, *That we Protestants have absolute Certainty for our Faith.* But he will not allow us to be able to shew any such Certainty on our Principles. Now this is truly a hard Case we are in; there is an Absolute Certainty,

Certainty, and this Certainty lies in Universal Tradition; and we can shew this Universal Tradition, and yet we cannot shew the true Ground of our Certainty. If this be our Case, we deserve to be either pitied or begg'd.

But surely Mr. M. hath some Colour for such a strange Assertion. This is all he pretends for it; *That in the time of the Reformation, the Protestants charged all Christian Churches with Errors, not only in other Articles of their Belief, but even in the Tradition or Delivery of Scripture.* Therefore we can have no Certainty now, from the Universal Tradition of Christian Churches. Suppose some Men were then to blame, in charging some Churches with more Errors than they were guilty of; must therefore no Argument be taken from their Consent, when things are more cleared, and better understood? This is just as if it had been said of the Blind Man whom our Saviour cured, *You saw Men walking like Trees* at first, and therefore you have no Right to judge them to be otherwise now. Or like one newly escaped out of a dark Prison, who fears and suspects every one he meets, and takes all for Enemies, till he be better acquainted with them; must this Man therefore never have any certain Knowledge afterwards of Friends and Enemies? But why doth not Mr. M. name *the Churches which the Reformers charged with Errors in delivering the Canon of Scripture*? I am sure they plead the Consent of the Eastern Churches against the *Tridentine Canon*, as to the Old Testament; and all Christian Churches are known to agree as to the New, and why such an *Universal Consent* should not afford a *Ground of Certainty* to us, is beyond my Understanding.

(2.) He saith, *Our Rule is Scripture, not as interpreted (or to be interpreted) by the Church, but as understood (or to be understood, without a necessity of submitting to the Interpretation of the Church) by every sober Enquirer, tho' of the meanest Capacity; for which Rule we are far from having the Consent of all Christian Churches.* The main Question is, Whether Scripture be a *Rule of Faith* to us, or not? And certainly all that believe it to be the *Word of God*, must take it for a *Rule of Faith*. For, since the Reason of our Believing is because God hath revealed, whatever God hath revealed must be believed; and a Book containing in it such Revelations, must be the Rule of our Faith; *i. e.* by it we are to judge what we are bound to believe as Divine Revelations. The best of your Divines do all agree, That our Faith is not to be resolved into any other Revelation than that which was made by Christ and his Apostles, and that this Revelation is contained in the Books of the New Testament. This being agreed on both sides, every Christian, how mean soever his Capacity be, must look on the Scripture as his Rule of Faith; for he that is bound to believe at all, must have some Rule, or else he may believe any thing: He finds all Persons agreed, that the Scripture is the *Word of God*, and God's Word is an *Infalible Rule*; therefore he is bound to search the Scripture, for the Matters of Faith. And is it possible to imagine that God himself should direct the making of this Rule for the Benefit of all who are bound to believe, and not to make it useful to its End, *viz.* to be able to direct them in the necessary Points of Salvation? The Founders of Monastic Orders made Rules for all those who were to live in them, and obliged them to observe them, under Pain of Expulsion: I desire to know, whether this doth not suppose that those Rules are capable of being understood by all Persons admitted into those Orders, so far as they are concerned?

And

And whether the Penalty would be reasonable, in case they could not understand their Duty by them? But in our case the Matter is of far greater Moment; for Mens Eternal Salvation or Misery depends upon *knowing and doing the will of God* contained in Scripture: And therefore it is of so much greater Consequence and Necessity, that all Persons who are concerned for their Salvation, should be able to understand by diligent and careful reading the Scripture, so much as is required of them in order to it. And this was the certain Faith of the Primitive Church, *that all things necessary to Salvation were plain in Scripture*; and if they were plain, they needed no Interpreter.

But we have not the Consent of all Christian Churches, that the Scripture is a Rule of Faith without the Churches Interpretation. I answer, that we have the Consent of all Christian Churches, that the Scripture is a Rule of Faith; but, whether besides this Rule, there be an *Infallible Judge of Controversies*, or *Interpreter of Scripture*, is another distinct Controversy. We have the unanimous consent of all Christian Churches for the one; but in the present state of *Christendom* we do not pretend it for the other: For we are well enough acquainted with the pretence of *Infallibility in the Church of Rome*; but then we say that it is impossible for you to bring such an unanimous consent of all Christian Churches for your *Infallible Judge*, as we do bring for our *Rule of Faith*; and therefore we have much greater certainty of our *Rule*, than you can have of your *Infallible Judge*. We appeal to *all the Churches of the Christian World* for our Rule; you dare not appeal to *any one Church* besides your own for your *Infallibility*: For, it is utterly denied by all the *Eastern Churches*, though of very different Denominations. And when you bring an universal consent of all Christian Churches for the *Roman Churches Infallibility*, I may safely promise to become your Convert.

But yet they do not agree that every man is to interpret Scripture for himself. What is the meaning of *interpreting Scripture for himself*? If it be, that a Man is to rely on Scripture as his Rule of Faith in order to Salvation, then we have their universal consent, in as much as they deliver this as the Rule of Faith. If it be, that in doubtful places he is to rely on his own Judgment, without making use of the best helps, then we pretend to no such thing; for we assert the contrary, and do think in all doubtful Cases that Persons are bound to make use of the best and most reasonable means for their Satisfaction; among which we not only reckon Prayer, Meditation, comparing Scripture and Expositors upon it, but the help of Spiritual Guides, and the Sense of the Primitive Church; which our Church doth especially recommend, and which we look on as the best Arbitrator between us in all our Controversies about the sense of doubtful places of Scripture.

But after all, either there must be an *Infallible Judge*, or every Man must judge for himself in all Matters that concern his Salvation. And therefore, if we have the consent of all Christian Churches, against the only pretended *Infallible Judge*, we have their consent likewise, that every Man is to judge for his own Salvation. And this all Mankind are really agreed in, whatever some may pretend; or else it is to no purpose for you to go about to make Converts; for, in so doing, you make the Person you intend to convert Judge of the best way to Salvation; and not only so, but you make him Judge of all the Controversies between Us and You, and especially of the *true grounds of Faith*.

And

And how ridiculous after this is it to pretend that a Man is not to judge for himself in matters that concern his Salvation?

(3.) Lastly, Mr. M. (p. 29.) *desires to know what those Christian Churches are, whose Testimony is required towards the assuring us, what is Scripture and what not, and by what Mark I distinguished them from others?* I answer again, by no other Mark than that they are Christian Churches; and it is a great satisfaction to any Man's Mind, that however they differ about other matters, yet they are all agreed in the Canon of the New Testament. I am by no means bound to assign any Rule in this case, as you desire, whereby to distinguish Orthodox Churches from Heretical; for, whatever they are in other points, they all agree in this, which is the Foundation of our Faith.

As to the 2d. Point I proposed in my Letter to be made good, viz. *That the Tradition from Father to Son is an infallible Conveyance of Matters of Faith, notwithstanding the Greek Church is charged by you with Errors, which adhered to Tradition;* the Author of the first Letter thinks you are concerned to answer it. But then he thinks I am as well bound to answer your Argument. In good time! But was not that very Instance of the Greek Church produced on purpose to shew the weakness of the Argument? And is not making that plain, answering it as effectually, as the Philosopher's Argument against Motion was, when the Man moved before him? For he proved that impossible, which he shewed was so far from it, that he saw him do it. And Sophistical Arguments are best answer'd by clear and undeniable Instances: And this of the Greek Church is of that nature.

But he saith, *Objections may be raised against the most undeniable Truth; and he instanceth in two things mathematically demonstrable; and yet Objections may be made against them, which cannot easily be answered.* But the difference of the Case is very plain; for those instances only shew, that there are some things above our Comprehension about Matter and Motion; but what is this to an infallible Rule of Faith; which every one is bound to know, if (according to you) he would have any certainty of his Faith? And if it appears by a notorious Instance that it fails, (for a whole Church, and a very great and ancient Church, is accused by you of no less than Heresy, and yet it adhered to Tradition) then the Demonstration is quite gone. But Mr. M. saith (p. 29.) *That you never acknowledged that the Greek Church erred while it adhered to Tradition; and therefore my supposing it is to beg the Question, and mis-represent the state of the Argument.* But whether you acknowledged it or not, the Greek Church did adhere to Tradition, when the Latin Church charged it with Heresy. And certainly I may be allowed to argue from an undeniable instance, as I shall believe it to be, till I see the Answer to it which Mr. M. promises in his Conclusion.

Before he comes to that, he lets me know (p. 31.) *that himself and several others, upon comparing my two Propositions together, had found a contradiction in them, and so they had once more Dr. St. against Dr. St.* This is as witty an Observation as the Author of *Pax vobis* had made upon me; who, because I had proved from St. Paul's Words that Jupiter was sometimes taken among the Heathens for the true God, from thence wisely infers, *that I am for introducing Paganism, and hardly believe another Life;* but this is so gross and ridiculous a Calumny, that it hardly deserves to be taken notice of. But I pray let me see this Controversy-juggle, as Mr. M. phrases it; and how Dr. St. is set up against

Dr. St. Thus it lies : *In my first Proposition, I seem to affirm that the Tradition of all Christian Churches is a Ground of Absolute Certainty for the Admittance of Scripture ; and in the second I would infer, that Tradition is no Infallible Conveyance of Matters of Faith, but the Belief of the Scripture is a Matter of Faith.* A rare Discovery ! Methinks Mr. G. appears very well qualified to set up for a Controvertist, and much such a one as those who formerly set Dr. St. against Dr. St. But the Author of the First Letter observes, *that I spare my own Pains, and put the Proof upon you ;* and Mr. M. confesses, *that the Occasion of the Conference was, that you affirmed that Protestants could not shew any Ground of Absolute Certainty for their Faith.* Therefore, since you own Tradition to be an infallible way of conveying Faith, I desired to know how you could deny that we had any ground for *absolute certainty* of our Faith as to the Word of God, when the Tradition we go upon is *so much larger and firmer* than any you can bring for the Points of Faith in difference between us. But then as to your way of explaining Tradition, not with respect to the *Books of Scripture*, but to *particular Doctrines of Faith*, I proposed the second particular to you to make good, *viz.* That the Tradition from Father to Son is an infallible conveyance of Matters of Faith, notwithstanding the *Greek Church* is charged by you with Error which adhered to Tradition.

If therefore you do own the Infallibility of Tradition you have no Reason to deny that we have *any ground of Certainty*, who have a more unquestionable Tradition for the Scriptures, than you can have for your distinguishing Doctrines, or the Matters of Controversy between us. Yet, how can you esteem your way of Tradition an infallible conveyance of Matters of Faith, when you charge the *Greek Church* with Heresy, which adhered to Tradition ?

Thus I leave any Reader to judge, where the appearance of a Contradiction lies.

There remains nothing more in either of the Letters which I can think requires an Answer ; unless it be that I charge Mr. M. with *using Arts to get Mr. T. to sign your Copy.* I do confess that when he told me Mr. M. had spoken to him that they might meet and compare and sign each other's Copies, without acquainting me with it, or desiring that Copy which was taken for me, (and was read aloud till the Company rose) and *that he had said I gave out false Copies*, I did look upon these as *Arts* ; but if he doth not like this Name (nor Mr. T.) I can soon find out another. And the matter of Fact is owned by Mr. M. in these words : *Meeting accidentally with Mr. T. in the Street, I told him I heard you complained that Mr. G.'s Papers of the Conference were false, and therefore I desired him to compare his Copy with that which was written for Mr. G. that we might see whether Mr. G. or his Amanuensis had dealt fairly or not.* Here is the very thing confessed which I complained of, *viz.* that, without acquainting me with it, he would have had Mr. T. to have compared his Copy with theirs, after he confesses I had complained that the Copy they gave out was false. And if Mr. T. had complied with this Proposition, and after comparing had signed your Copy, what Triumphs had then been made, that Mr. T. himself had owned your Copy against me ! And for this matter I need not make *any Insinuation*, for the thing it self is clear. The only way for your Justification had been, when you heard of my Complaint, to have brought or sent your Copy to me to have examined and compared it; but I say still, it

was

was very unjustifiable for you to give out a Copy for the true Account of the Conference, which was never read nor compared; and I think I have now made appear to have been both *false and imperfect*.

And now, having finished the main Parts of my Answer, I must make a Review, that nothing which may be thought material may escape me. For that is the constant Method of some Men, to cry up what is unanswered for unanswerable, altho' it were only passed over as not deserving it.

I did say in my former Letter, that you took great Care in the Conference it self, to keep me from expecting any great Ingenuity after it. The Author of the first Letter *desires Information, what that Care was?* I am very unwilling to expose your Methods of Managing Conferences: But I desire that Gentleman to be present at any of them, and he will find Satisfaction enough. But Mr. M. as a Proof of your Fairness, insists (p. 2.) *on your desire to put Things into Writing*. Will Mr. M. say, that you carried your self fairly and ingenuously, as to the Manner of the Conference? That you gave me no Interruptions? Used no fleeing Behaviour? That you never offer'd to put Things down against my Sense; nor hindered me in setting it down? That you made no Unhandsome Reflections, in the Interlocutory Part? If Charity be any Part of Ingenuity, you shewed it abundantly: For, when you spake of *Churches in Communion with Rome*, Mr. T. said, What! and all other Churches must be *in Gehenna*? You replied, with great Charity and Ingenuity, *That many a true Word was spoke in jest*. If you are your self in earnest, I pray let us know for what Reason you damn us all? Is it for want of *Certainty in our Faith*? That is very far from being proved by you. And if you could prove it in your way, for all that I can see, you will damn almost all in the Church of Rome, as well as all out of it. For, if this *Oral Tradition* be the *only certain way of Faith*, and all are damn'd who want such *Certainty*; what will become of all those in the Church of Rome, who believe as little of the *Infallibility of Oral Tradition* as we do?

But, to return to your Ingenuity in the Conference: I observe, That Mr. M. only mentions *this Proposal of putting the Conference in Writing*, to shew your Ingenuity: He saith not a word of it, as to your manner of Managing it. And truly, I then thought he was ashamed of it; but whether he were or not, I am sure he had Cause for it. He confesses there was *Noise, Wrangling, Confusions, Interruptions, Heat, Passion, Personal Reflections*; (p. 3, 9, 15.) And all this while you were very fair and ingenuous, very meek and candid, very soft and obliging; not in the least boisterous, impertinent, or provoking. Which all, who have been present at your Conferences, will set their Hands to. Alas, Sir! How much are you wronged, by being charged with *Disingenuity* in the Conference? You are only forced sometimes to overcome your *Natural Repugnance to it*, as Mr. M. saith he was, *in writing his Letter to me*.

There is one thing Mr. M. frequently insists upon, which I must give an Answer to; *viz.* That I was glad to put an end to the first Dispute; *That the Issue of it was such, that you could have*

no Temptation for Forgery in the Account of it, which is not greatly for my Credit; (p. 9.) That I was beholden to Mr. T. for breaking it off; (p. 20.) That I was as little pleased with the true Copies, as with the false ones; (p. 23.) That the Conference it self was as little to my Satisfaction, as the worst Account of it; (p. 25.) These are very fine Insinuations, I must not say *Artificial*; for Mr. M. will no more like a Word taken from *Arts*, than the Word it self. If he means, that I was very little pleased with the manner of your Conference, I do freely confess it; and none who have been present at your other Conferences, will blame me for it.

But if he thinks that I was unsatisfied with the *Grounds of Certainty* which I gave, I utterly deny it. For I still assert the same thing, and abide by the Answer I then gave; and do still hold, That the *Universal Testimony of all Christian Churches*, is a *sufficient Ground of Absolute Certainty to us, as to the Rule of Faith*. And this is an Answer I am so fully satisfied in, that neither then nor now do I fear any Objections against it. But I would not be drawn off from the main Point to another Debate: And because I resolved to stick there, I thought it most reasonable that Mr. T. should be yielded to, for breaking it off at the Point in Question; which was not about the *True Parts of the Catholic Church*, but about the *True Ground of Certainty we had for our Faith*.

And when Mr. T. declared, he had full Satisfaction as to that; what Reason had I to go any further?

As to the Truest Copies of the Conference, I was not forward to disperse them; not out of any Mistrust of the Answers I gave, but because they contained only short Heads, and General Answers: For those who desire to see an Account of a Conference, expect to see a Relation of all that passed, or at least of all material Passages relating to it; and therefore, only a General Representation of it would seem dry and jejune, and not answer the Expectation they had of the Relation of a Conference. But, as to the Matter it self, so far as it is truly set down, (of which I have now given a fuller Account) I do abide by it. And, *if my Credit suffer by it*, I do assure you, it is not by reason of any Objection Mr. M. hath made against it, or any that I foresee can be made.

Mr. M. chargeth me with *Disingenuous and Unchristian Proceeding* toward you; (p. 23.) This is a home Charge, and *not much indeed for my Credit*, if he can in the least make it good. But if not, I leave him to judge where the *Disingenuous and Unchristian Proceeding* lies; and to remember his Application of the *Mote and the B E A M*, (p. 15.) Whereon is the heavy Charge grounded? Why, forsooth, *When I heard of false and imperfect Copies, I ought to have sent to you, to know whether they were given out by you?* What! When they came to my Hands from those very Persons to whom you gave them? But, *I ought to have shewn you the Errors of them, and desired their Amendment*. It was, indeed, a very likely and hopeful way of Vindicating my self. When I knew, from the very Persons to whom you spake, what Boasts you had made of your Victory, and what

Publick Places you had read the Copies in; it was a very probable thing, that if I had shewed you the Falsity of them, you would have gone to those very Places and Persons, and told them; 'Gentlemen, I must beg all your Pardons, for I communicated false Copies to you, and told you idle and lying Stories about the Conference: For I have been since with Dr. St. and he hath demonstrated to me, that my Copy was not true; altho' it were my own Copy, and that which I deliver'd to you for very true'. Do you think, Sir, you could have overcome your *Natural Repugnance* so much, as to have yielded to this Method of Satisfaction? If not, when I was assured so many Copies were dispersed in Town and Country, which you could not recal, if you intended it; when I was called upon time after time by my Friends, and it was told me, something must be done towards my Vindication: What could I do more proper or effectual, than to publish that Letter; which hath so much provoked Mr. M. as to make him overcome his *Natural Repugnance*, and to appear in Print?

But yet there are other Circumstances which make my Proceeding neither *Ingenuous* nor *Christian*. As that, The Letter was published so long after. That shews how unwilling I was to be brought to it; and nothing but mere Necessity could have overcome my *Natural Repugnance*, in such a Case. For, as the Author of the former Letter well observes, *I love to spare my own Pains. But I took the Opportunity of your Absence.* Therein Mr. M. did me Injury. For, truly Sir, it was perfectly the same thing to me, whether you were at *London* or *West-Chester*. Nay, the Argument would hold the other way, if it were true. For I heard of your talking of going to *Chester*, soon after the Conference; and that you told Persons you were just going; and I did believe you to be there, till I heard of some other Conferences of yours. I do not think my self bound to enquire after your Stays or Removes; but I know how you had done me wrong, and therefore Mr. M. can have no Reason to blame me for doing what was necessary for my own Vindication.

Mr. M. charges me, (p. 35.) with having too mean an Opinion of you. If I be to blame in this, I hope you will take Care to rectifie it: But Mr. M. hath not done much towards it. However, he takes a notable Advantage, as he thinks, from hence: *We, saith he, will be contented to pass for Weak and Ignorant; and I shall be obliged to shew by whom you may be protected from Error.* A very well compounded Business! But what if it be not in my Power, or any ones else, to make you Infallible? Did I ever promise or undertake any such thing? Or set up Infallible Bills? When I do so, then come to me for such Directions. We never pretend to make any Persons Infallibles but to put them into a certain way to be saved; which we think is much better. And if Men be honest and sincere in their Endeavours, to know and do the Will of God, we have the Word of God for it, that they are in the certain way to Salvation; but if they could be kept from all Error and yet not be sincerely Good., Can Faith save him? Jam. 2. 14. *What doth it profit, my Brethren, though a man say he hath Faith (even infallible Faith) and have not Works?* I have long wonder'd at this kind of *Missionary Zeal*,

as Mr. M. speaks, (p. 34.) *against Error, and the want of I know not what Infallibility*; when so much less Zeal is shewed against Men's Passions and Vices: Whereas, the Virtues of the Mind, and of a good Life, are far more excellent and useful to Mankind, than being kept from Involuntary Errors. But, saith Mr. M. *It is a most uncomfortable thing, to be shewn that you ought not to trust your Reason, and to be told you ought.* In answer to this Suggestion, I will tell you a very comfortable thing; and that is, the Allowance God makes for Ignorance and Weakness. For, if God will not charge Involuntary Errors upon us, we may think our selves as safe as if we were infallible. What Reason we have, we ought to make use of for the best Purposes; but if our Reason fail us, the Goodness of God will not, if we be Sincere.

Yet Mr. M. cannot get it out of his head, but, *that it is my Task to give some distinguishing Mark for the finding out those Christians on whose Tradition we may safely rely for the Reception of the holy Scriptures.* How often must I repeat it, that it is none of my Task? And that, if the Testimony of all Christian Churches be a sufficient Ground of Certainty, I have no Reason to examine farther? As for Instance, suppose upon a *Lord-Mayor's Day*, I ask of all the several Liveries and Companies, and other People, whether *my Lord-Mayor* be gone by; and they all unanimously agree, that he is; have not I reason to be satisfied by this *universal Consent*? Ay, but, Sir, saith Mr. M. you are to consider, that there was a great Diversity in the Companies you met with; there was *my Lord-Mayor's own Company*, and many besides, some whereof had no Charters confirmed to them, I desire you to tell me, which of the Companies had Charters, and which not; for my part, I will believe none but the Testimony of those Companies which could produce their Charters. But, say I, if our Dispute was about *legal Companies*, you say very well; but since I aim at no more than knowing, whether *my Lord-Mayor* be gone by or not; I think the Testimony of them all is sufficient, whether incorporated or not; whether they were of the *Orange or Blue Regiment*, or any other People in the Street; when I find them all to agree in the same thing, I have no reason to question the Certainty of it. I will not think so *poorly of your Understandings*, as to think it needs Application. But I must think so, if yet you think it my Task to *find out a distinguishing Mark between Churches*, when the Universal Testimony of all Christian Churches is sufficient for the Certainty of our Faith; which Mr. M. so often grants was the Occasion and Subject of the Conference.

And now there is nothing remaining to be answered in Mr. M's Letter to me, but his learned Discourses about *Verbal Conferences* and *Coffee-Houses*; which will require no long Answer from me.

As to *Verbal Conferences*, they depend so much on the Temper, Ingenuity, Presence of Mind, and particular Skill in Controversy which Persons have, that no certain Rule can be given about them. They may do Good, or Hurt, be Useful or Mischievous, as the Persons and Circumstances are. And it is not the setting down some general Heads can prevent the Mischief of false Reports, as I have had too large and fresh Experience of it. Which ought to make every one more Careful what sort of Persons he meets with upon such Occasions. I do not see, how any Man can be secure as to his Reputation after them, if they are such as run into Companies, frequent *Coffee-houses*, and are
apt

apt to boast and to talk much of themselves ; as that " at such a time, " saith one, I disputed with such a Man, and these were my Argu- " ments, and he gave such trifling Answers to them, that I wonder he " should have any Reputation. And to convince you, look ye Gentle- " men, here are the Notes of such a Conference, do you mark what a " pitiful Answer this is ; and then, when he was required to go farther " he refused, and pretended Business and Want of Time ; so that upon " the whole Matter, I conclude him to be a *Mere Trifler*". All this while the Person concerned is at a Distance, and knows nothing of all this ; but he is abused, and reproached at the Mercy of such Persons who look on an officious Lie as a Venial Sin ; especially when it is thought to serve a Good Cause. And when the injured Person comes to understand how he hath been used, he hath no way left but to publish a Vindication of himself ; and so *Verbal Conferences*, must end in writing Controversies ; unless some effectual way could be found out to prevent Men's partial and disingenuous Representing them afterwards. There is too great Reason to believe that those who are most Impertinent in a Dispute will be so after it ; and great Talkers are commonly great Boasters ; especially when they hope to recommend themselves by their pretended Victories and their *Missionary Zeal of disputing in Coffee-houses*.

A thing which Mr. M. observes (p. 34.) *the Children of the Reformation are little acquainted with.*

And I do not like the Mother of these Children a jot the less for it. For Religion is a grave and serious Thing, and ought to be treated with a Respect due to the Concernments of it. I am far from being a Friend to any *Seditious, idle, or prophane Discourses in those places* ; but yet methinks it looks very oddly to turn Places of Diversion into Schools of Disputing. And if such a *Missionary Zeal* prevails, I suppose the Keepers of those Houses will give little Thanks to the Promoters of it ; for Men do not love to drink their warm Liquor in Mood and Figure ; nor to *lace their Coffee* with Controversies.

Mr. M. represents me (p. 33.) *as one that thought it a Crime to go to Coffee-houses*. Which is a notable device to make all the Gentlemen who frequent them, my Enemies. Whereas I only mentioned your reading your Paper in *Coffee-houses*, and there boasting of your Conference, wherein he might be sure I would not be present to contradict him. But this is a distinguishing *Mark* of Mr. M's Ingenuity.

I shall mention one more, and conclude this Letter. Mr. M. confesses *many Lies are told in Coffee-houses*, (p. 33.) and I have some Reason to believe him.

But if, saith he, *all Places are to be avoided, wherein Lies are told, I am afraid Dr. St. would run the hazard of being silenced for want of a Pulpit which might be ventured on.* This is such an obliging Complement to the *London Clergy* to compare their *Pulpits* to *Coffee-houses* for *Lying*, that it is beyond my skill to return it. But if there be so little Truth in our Pulpits, as Mr. M. suggests, (which I am sure he can never prove) yet the constant Loyalty which hath been preached there, might have made Mr. M. a little more civil to them, than to compare them to *Coffee-houses* ; wherein himself complains of *Seditious, idle, and prophane Discourses*.

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I am,

S I R,

London, Apr. 21.
1687.

Your Humble Servant,
E. S.

"I am to boast, and to talk much of themselves; as that "at such a time
 "last one, I shined with such a Man, and there were my Argu-
 "ments, and he gave such trifling Answers to them, that I wonder he
 "should have any Reputation. And to convince you, look at Gentle-
 "men, here are the Notes of such a Conference, do you think what a
 "pitiful Answer this is; and then when he was required to go farther
 "he refused, and pretended Business and Want of Time; so that upon
 "the whole, Master, I conclude him to be a Weak Fellow. All this
 "while, I was concerned to be at a Distance, and to avoid meeting of all
 "kind; but he was pursued, and reproached at the Mercy of such Persons
 "who look upon an officious I as a Venial Sin; especially when it is
 "thought to serve a Good Cause. And when the injured Person comes
 "to understand how he hath been used, he hath no way left but to pub-
 "lish a Vindication of himself; and to seek Controversies, till end in
 "winning Controversies; unless some effectual way could be found out
 "to prevent Men's partial and dissimulous Reasoning; then after-
 "wards: There is no great Reason to believe that those who are most
 "impartial in a Dispute will be so strict; and great Talents are com-
 "monly great Partialities; especially when they hope to recommend them-
 "selves by their pretended Victories, and their Military Zeal, disputing

And I do not like the Master of these Children a lot the less for it. For Religion is a grave and serious thing, and ought to be treated with a Respect due to the Consecrations of it. I am far from being attached to any Sect, and I respect the Dispositions of all; but yet methinks it looks very oddly to turn Places of Divinity into Schools of Disputing. And if such a Miskewy Schoolmasters, I suppose the Keepers of these Houses will give little Thanks to the Masters of it; for Men do not love to drink their Reason in a Mood and Figure; nor to see their Coffee with Controversies.

Mr. M. responds me (p. 33) we are that sort of a Christian to Coffee-houses, which is a notable device to make all the Gentlemen who frequent them, my Enemies. Whereas I only mentioned your reading your Paper in Coffee-houses, and their boiling of your Controversies, which he might be like to find not be proper to contradict him; but this is a distinguishing Mark of Mr. M's Insincerity.

shall mention one more, and conclude this letter. Mr. A. con-
firms that I am still in Cambridge (p. 22) and I have some
more to write him.

[illegible]

A DISCOURSE

Concerning the
Nature and Grounds

OF THE
CERTAINTY

166:2:W.

O F

FAITH, &c.



WHEN I published my two Letters to Mr. Godden, I had good Reason to expect an Answer from him, who began the Controversy. But it seems he had better Reason to forbear, (and it is not hard to guess at it) and I am turned over to one who pretends to write *Catholick Letters* against me. I have a great and just Reverence for some *Catholick Epistles*, and believe them written by an *Infallible Spirit*; but for these *Catholick Letters*, though their whole Design be *Infallibility*, yet I cannot find so much as a fair *Probability* in them. But why must these be call'd *Catholick Letters*? Are they written by some *Catholick Bishop*, to give an Account of his Faith, according to the Custom of the antient Church? Is it that the Doctrine contained in them is undoubtedly *Catholick*? So far from it, that I shall make it appear, that no one Church of the *Christian World* ever own'd it. But, suppose it had been the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, how could this make them *Catholick Letters*, unless so great a *Logician* had first proved, that a part may assume the Denomination of the whole? But then why not *Roman Catholick Letters*, according to the new Style? There was a Reason for this. *J. Sergeant* hath not forgotten how hardly he had lately escap'd Censure at *Rome*, for the Principles contained in them; and therefore though he hopes they may pass for *Catholick* here, yet he durst not join *Roman* to *Catholick* in the Title of his Letters.

But how comes *J. Sergeant* to be concern'd in this Controversy with Mr. Godden? The Account he gives of it in the Beginning of his *First Letter* is very pleasant. He saith, *He accepted a Commission from Mr. Godden, to hold his Cards, while he is not in Circumstances to play out his Game himself.* I will

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will not examine Mr. Godden's *Circumstances*, nor the *Game* he plays at; but methinks this is no very decent way of expressing the undertaking a Debate about *Matters of Faith and Salvation*. But in truth, he makes the Business of *Infallibility*, as he handles it, to be a Matter of *Sport and Diversion*, notwithstanding all his *Gravaces* and *Tragical Expressions* about it. It is hard to be severe upon a Metaphor; but suppose it be allowed, yet I wonder of all Men he should pitch upon *J. Sergeant* to hold his *Cards* for him, who had play'd his own so ill, and so much to the Dissatisfaction of the leading Men of his own Church. Yet he now appears as brisk and confident as if he were some *New Gamester*, although he produces his *old sullied Cards* (a little wiped) over again, and seems to have forgotten the Answer to his *sure Footing*, and the Account he still owes to the World for it. I know not how far it agrees with the Laws of *Ecclesiastical Chivalry*, for one, who hath not defended himself, to appear a Champion for another, especially in the same Cause; but there is no great Reason to apprehend he should do much for another, who hath done next to nothing for himself.

The main Subject of the Debate is, about the *Nature and Grounds* of the *Certainty of Faith*; and the Method I think most natural and effectual to proceed in, is,

I. To shew how unfit *J. Sergeant* of all Men is to undertake this Cause.

II. To settle the true State of the Controversy between us.

III. To examine the Reasons he produces against our Grounds of Certainty.

IV. To lay open the Weakness of his Arguments, on behalf of the Infallibility of *Oral and Practical Tradition*.

I. As to *J. Sergeant* his appearing in this Cause again, we are to consider that in his *Catholick Letters*, he frequently owns *Faith vindicated*, *Reason against Raillery*, and *Error nonpluss'd*, and even *sure Footing* it self. But I shall now shew, that he disowned the main Principles in those Books, when he was in great Danger of being censured at *Rome* for them, and therefore is not to be allow'd to produce them again. The Account of this Matter will give great Light into the State of the present Controversy, and is therefore necessary to be premised to it.

Out of those Books of *J. Sergeant* a considerable Person in the Church of *Rome* selected three Propositions about the Grounds of his *Infallible Certainty*, which were these;

Faith vindicated, p. 13. I. That he who is obliged to profess Faith-Propositions true, must see the Connection between their Terms, and consequently that they cannot be unconnected or false.

Faith vindicated, p. 41. II. If the two Terms be not seen to be connected, these Propositions may, nay ought to be deny'd by the Respondent, whose Office and Right it is to grant nothing but what is evident, lest he ensnare himself.

Error non-pluss'd, p. 135. III. 'Tis requisite and necessary, that the Assent of Faith in divers particular Believers be formally Infallible; or that those Persons be infallibly certain, by evident Reasons, that the Authority or Rule of Faith they rely on cannot herein deceive them. Else great Wits and acute Reflectors, whose piercing

Piercing Understandings require convictione Grounds for their Faith, would remain for ever unsatisfied: nor would the wisest Christians sincerely and heartily assent to, nor with honesty profess the Truth of their Faith, nor could any prove it true, or establish rational grounds in it, or convert Men of exact knowledge to it, or convince Heretics, calling the Truth of it in question. Nor could Governors and leading Persons with any Confidence or Credit propose and preach the Truth of Faith to the Generality.

These Propositions were tender'd to two Doctors of the Sorban, who declared, The First could not be explained in a Catholick Sense, and therefore very unfit for Catholick Letters. For if (say they) a Person sees the Connexion between the Terms, it would be Science, and not Faith: it is ^{Heref.} enough to see them not to be contradictory, or that the Connexion is not re- ^{Blakloan.} p. 37, 38. pugnant to Reason. Divine Faith is above, not contrary to Reason.

As to the Second, they agreed, That neither could that be explained in a Catholick Sense, because it is destructive of Faith, and a Proposition ought not, cannot be denied, although the Respondent hath not Evidence of the Terms of which it consists; when he otherwise knows the Church (which Faith [not Demonstration] teaches to be Infallible in Matters of Faith) to propose as a Truth revealed by God.

To the Third, they say, That it cannot be explained in a Catholick Sense: Because it is sufficient that the Church be believed by Faith to be Infallible, and it is not requisite that the Infallibility of the Church be proved by evident Reason.

See here the main Design of his Catholick Letters declared to be no Catholick Doctrine; which is to prove that there must be Infallible Certainty by Conclusive Evidence of the Churches Infallibility. And if this be not Catholick Doctrine, I am infallibly certain his Letters are far from being Catholick in their Sense.

One of these Doctors writes to the A. B. of D. That the Natural Sense of the Propositions could not be Catholick; and that all Bishops were bound to suppress this Doctrine, lest it did mischief to the Flock of Christ. And P. 39. that the A. B. of Paris would revoke his Licence, if the Author did not retract them, as he hoped he would. What? Retract the Substance of his Catholick Letters! Is this possible? And yet again publish the same Doctrine as Catholick! This is indeed very surprising. But so it was. For the A. B. of D. avers, That J. Serjeant confessed the Propositions to be P. 39. Heretical, yea very Heretical; but he said, they were not taken in his sense; which the other said, was a ridiculous Plea. He granted, that J. S. P. 40. might contradict himself, but there was no colour for saying the Propositions, were not taken in their true sense. And Mr. S. being requir'd by the P. 42. A. B. of Paris to Anathematize these Propositions, and to subscribe to the Censure that they could not be explained in a Catholick Sense, he did it. And P. 44. yet the sense of them is maintained by him in his Catholick Letters. Is not such a Man fit to hold the Cards for Mr. G.? Who makes the same Doctrine to be Heretical and Catholick, as his Circumstances require. And in his own Language, he goes backwards and forwards, blows and saps, ^{Third Letter,} declares for and against the same Principles. ^{p. 65.}

This Doctrine of J. Serjeant was complain'd of at Rome, and a Congregation of Cardinals was appointed to Examine it, and they sent their Instructions about it to the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, where J. Serjeant then ^{Append. ad} was. And therein they took notice, that in his Vindication sent to them, ^{Heref. Blak-} he detested that Doctrine as Heretical, viz. that the Evidence of the Connexion ^{loan.} of Predicate and Subject, and the Evidence of the Rule of Faith by which the

Believer may be infallibly certain he cannot be deceived, is necessary in order to Faith. I desire the Reader to mark this Declaration which J. Serjeant sent to Rome, and to compare it with the Doctrine of his *Catholic Letters*: But of that hereafter.

But it is worth our while to shew with what a double Face J. Serjeant appeared in his *Vindication and Complaint*, sent to Rome, and in his Books which he published here. And by that, the Reader may judge of the *Catholic Sincerity* of the Writer of these Letters.

I. About the Faith he designs to demonstrate.

Faith Vindicated, Preface.

I declare then, that my chief End in this Treatise, is to settle Christian Faith, or to demonstrate, that it must be truly or absolutely certain, and that my applying it now and then to my Opposers, is only a Secondary Intention, and meerly Occasional.

Querimonia advers. Lominum. p. 49.

He saith, He speaks not of Faith in itself, but as it is controverted among us.

The same he affirms p. 145, 146. that he meddles not with Faith, but with respect to his Adversaries; or as it is disputed between Catholics and those he calls Hereticks, p. 148.

If it were his design to settle Christian Faith, and to make it truly and absolutely certain, and only secondarily applying it to his Opposers; how is it possible that at the same time, he should not meddle with Faith in itself, but meerly with respect to his Opposers? Is not this a brave Undertaker, to make Faith infallibly certain, who so evidently contradicts himself as to his own design? But it seems, to us he must pretend to make Faith certain in itself; but at Rome, he meant no more by it, but only to perplex and confound us. As though his Demonstrations were only intended for a sort of *Metaphysical Traps* to catch Hereticks with. But we are glad to see by his own Confession, that Faith in itself is not made absolutely Certain by them.

II. About the Objects of Faith, and the Evidence of them.

Reason against Raillery, pag. 55.

The strongest and wisest Souls are unapt to assent but upon Evidence: Hence, unless such Men see Proofs absolutely concluding those Points true, they are unapt to be drawn to yield to them, and embrace them as certain Truths—Nothing can rationally subdue the Faculty of suspending, in such Men at least, but True Evidence had from the Object working this clear sight in them, either by itself, or by Effects or Causes necessarily connected with it. Other Evidences I know none.

Faith Vindicated, p. 12, 13.

The Truth of Propositions of Faith consists in the Connexion of those

In his Declaration sent to Rome, p. 11, 13. he not only expressed his Assent to these Propositions, but That the contrary to them were False, Destructive of Faith, and Heretical, viz.

I. That the Objects of Faith are not to be evident or demonstrable by Natural Reasons in order to believing them.

II. That in order to the believing such Objects of Faith, conveyed down to us, either by Scripture or Tradition, it is not necessary

Notions which make the Subject and Predicate. Whoever therefore sees not the Connexion between those Notions in the Principle of Faith, sees not the Truth of any of those Propositions--- It follows, that he who is obliged to profess Faith-Propositions true, must see the Connexion between those Terms.

cessary to know evidently the Connexion of Predicate and Subject, but it is sufficient if they be proposed by the Catholick Church.

Now let any Man try how he can reconcile these things; (1) Nothing can subdue rationally the Faculty of suspending but true Evidence had from the Object; and yet it is destructive to Faith, and Heretical to say, that the Objects of Faith are demonstrable by natural Reason, in order to believing them. Is not true Evidence from the Object a natural Reason in order to believing? (2) He that sees not the Connexion between Predicate and Subject, sees not the Truth of Faith-propositions; and he who is obliged to profess them, must see it; and yet, in order to believing Objects of Faith, it is not necessary to see it, nay it is Heretical to assert it.

III. About Infallible Assent.

Reason against Raillery, p. 113.

'Tis most evident therefore and demonstrable, that there is no Certainty, but where there is Infallibility; and that we can never be said to be truly certain of any thing, till, all Circumstances consider'd, we see ourselves out of Possibility of being deceived hic & nunc in that very thing.

In his Declaration, p. 11, 13. he owns this Proposition to be True, and the contrary to be Heretical, viz.

That it is not necessary, in order to believing the Objects of Faith, that he that believes, should know evidently his Assent to be Supernatural and Infallible.

But if there can be no Certainty of Faith, till we see ourselves out of possibility of being deceived, I should think it very hard to say it was Heretical to assert it was necessary for him that believes to know his Assent to be Infallible. For what difference is there between knowing we cannot be deceived in our Assent, and that it is Infallible? But here he will hope to escape, by joining Supernatural to Infallible; and so he over-reached the Cardinals by putting those together; for his is nothing but a pure Natural Infallibility.

IV. About the Mediums of Faith used by him.

Sure footing, p. 172.

He rejects Extrinsecal Mediums as insufficient, and requires Intrinsecal.

Faith Vindicated, Preface, at the end.

He owns his Discourses to be built on Intrinsecal Mediums.

Error Nonpluss'd, p. 169.

He requires clear Evidence from the Object, to ground a firm Assent.

In his Subscription to the Instructions from Rome, p. 12. he denies that he spake of Intrinsecal Requisites to Faith; but only of Extrinsecal. And this he goes about to prove against his own plain Words, in his Declaration, Sect. 3. pag. 34, &c.

Pag. 170,

Pag. 170, 171.

He makes it necessary to true Certainty, that it be taken from the Thing or Object. And true Certainty (he saith) is built on the Thing's being as it is, and nothing can ever be truly known to be otherwise than it is.

How can Intrinsic Mediums, and Evidence from the Object, be only Extrinsic Pre-requisites?

V. About Humane and Divine Faith.

Faith Vindicated, p. 73.

Divine Faith ought to have a far greater degree of Firmness in it, than any Humane Faith whatsoever. Wherefore since Humane Faith can rise to that degree of stability—Divine Faith being Supernatural, ought to be more firmly grounded; and consequently more highly impossible to be false.

Errour Nonpluss'd, p. 143.

He speaks expressly of Divine Faith.

In his Vindication, p. 97. He saith, It is Evident that he spake of Faith, formally as Humane, and not as formally Divine.

What Evidence can there be like a Man's plain Words? Is not that Divine Faith which he goes about to demonstrate the Infallible Certainty of? It seems we are all this while to seek for the Certainty of Faith formally Divine, and all this mighty Noise about the Necessity of Infallibility, reaches no farther than a Faith formally Humane. And yet J. Serjeant affirms that he undertook to prove the impossibility of Falshood in Divine and Supernatural Faith. And so it seems Divine and Supernatural Faith must derive its Infallible Certainty from a meer Natural Infallibility. Or if it be but Humane Faith he means, then he falls short of what he promised, which was to shew the Infallible Certainty of Divine Faith. And thus the Trap-maker is caught himself.

VI. About particular Points of Faith.

Errour Nonpluss'd, p. 161.

I thought he had meant Certainty of the Points of his Faith. What we are then in Reason to expect from Dr. St. is, that he would bring us Grounds for the Certainty of his Faith, as to determinate Points, viz. Christ's Godhead, a Trinity, &c.

Reason against Raillery, p. 167.

Seeing then Christians are bound to profess their Faith true, as to those

Declaration, p. 50.

He peremptorily asserts (and challenges his Adversaries to shew the contrary that he produced not one Argument to prove any Points of Doctrine to be Divine, or Supernatural; but only, that such a Doctrine was delivered by Christ or his Apostles. And

Points of a Trinity; for Example, or Incarnation, &c. it follows, that it must be affirm'd and held that a Trinity or Incarnation absolutely is, and consequently that it is impossible not to be.

And this he frequently insists upon, and is the main of his Defence.

* But why then doth he urge us to produce our Grounds of Certainty as to particular Points, if himself doth not? If he pretends no more than to prove them in general, why may not we be allowed to do the same? He that calls upon others to do it, in such an insulting manner, is presumed to do it himself; and if he doth not, he only banters and abuses his Reader. And after all this mighty Pretence to Demonstration and Infallibility, the whole Dispute comes to this, Whether Men may attain to greater Certainty of *Christ's Doctrine* by Oral and Practical Traditions, than we can do by Scripture, Reason, and Tradition? But this is against his Words, where he saith, *Seeing then Christians are bound to profess their Faith true, as to those Points of a Trinity, for Example, or Incarnation, &c. it follows, that it must be affirm'd and held that a Trinity or Incarnation absolutely is, and consequently, that it is impossible not to be.*

VII. About Moral Certainty.

His whole Book called *Faith vindicated*, was written against it. And in the Preface to it, p. 3. he opposes absolute Certainty to moral; and he saith, *those who have it not, have no true Faith.*

Page 17.

True Faith by reason of its immovable Grounds, can bear an asserting the absolute Impossibility of its Falseness. And without this, he makes Faith absurd, preternatural, and irrational.

Page 34.

Moral Certainty is in reality Uncertainty; and the highest Degree of moral Certainty is the lowest Degree of Uncertainty, truly so called.

The same he asserts, pag. 36, 86,

93.

Error nonpluss'd, pag. 195.

Fallible Certainty destroys all Efficacy, all Defence, and even Essence of Faith.

When I read in *Lominus*, pag. 43. that J. Sergeant in his *Vindication* pleaded, that he required no more than Moral Evidence for the Assent and Profession of Faith, I could hardly believe him; and therefore I was earnest to see what he would say in Answer to this; but even there, pag. 23. he owns it, and saith expressly, *That Moral Evidence is absolutely sufficient to Faith: But withal he saith, There is more than Moral Evidence in Tradition.*

Let now any indifferent Person compare those Assertions together: If Moral Certainty be Uncertainty, and destroy the Essence of Faith, how can it be absolutely sufficient to Faith? But besides the Contradiction, he hath by this one Assertion overthrown the whole Design of his

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Catholick Letters. For, if *true Faith* may be had without *Infallible Certainty*, what need any such contending about it? For the Ground of the Dispute is about such *Faith* as is *necessary to Salvation*; and if *true Faith*, as *J. Sergeant* grants, which is necessary to Salvation, may be had without their pretended *Infallibility*, there is no Colour left for pressing Persons of our Communion to forsake our Church, because we cannot have *Infallible Certainty of Faith*, when themselves grant that we may be saved without it. And what *Sincerity* is to be expected from such a Man, who makes such Outcries upon us, for want of *Infallible Certainty* for Faith, when himself confesses, that *moral Certainty is sufficient to Faith*? Whatever becomes of *moral Certainty*, I love *moral Honesty*; and I cannot see how it is consistent with it, to make such mighty Pretences to the Necessity of *Infallible Certainty* for Faith, even in his *Catholick Letters*, (which seems to be the chief Design of them) when himself had declared to the Cardinals at *Rome*, that less than that is sufficient for true Faith. But the Secret of it is, he knows well enough there is no such Necessity for *Infallible Certainty*; and when it will bring him off, he can own it, but among us *Hereticks* they must *bluster* and make a mighty Noise about it, because it startles weak and injudicious People, and they find nothing so apt to terrify and confound them like *Infallibility*, which, like a *Flash of Lightning*, doth not help them to see better, but strikes them down with Horror and Astonishment.

And here I might fairly stop and send the Reader to *J. Sergeant* for an effectual Answer to his own *Letters*; or at least to shew, how very unfit he was after such going forward and backwards in this matter, to undertake this Cause.

2. But lest I should seem to decline any thing which may seem material, I shall now proceed to state the Controversy, as it lies between *Mr. Sergeant* and me. For what concerns another Person, I shall leave it to himself, as not standing in need of any Assistance from me.

The Occasion of the Conference was set down by *Mr. M.* to have been, That *Mr. Godden* affirmed in some Companies, that no Protestant could shew any Ground of Absolute Certainty for their Faith; and that *Mr. Sergeant* had promised him, that if I were not able to manifest the contrary, he would forsake our Communion.

So that *Mr. Godden* was the Aggressor by laying this Charge upon us, That we could shew no Ground of Absolute Certainty for our Faith. And therefore when in the Conference I assigned the Scripture for the Ground and Rule of our Faith, and universal Tradition for the Proof of the Books of Scripture, I had Reason in my Expostulatory Letter to *Mr. Godden*, to desire of him to shew, "That we have no absolute Certainty of the Rule of our Faith, viz. the Scripture, altho we have a larger and firmer Tradition for it, than you can have for the Points in Difference between us."

This plainly relates to the Conference, wherein Scripture was own'd to be our Rule, and Universal Tradition, the Evidence on which we receive the Books. And to any Man of Sense, this is not shifting and tricking off the Proof to *Mr. Godden*, as *Mr. Sergeant* often calls it; but it is a plain and evident Proof of our Certainty upon their own Grounds. For if Tradition be such a Ground of Absolute Certainty, as they assert, and we have a larger and firmer Tradition for Scripture, than they can produce

produce for the Points of Faith in Difference between us; then it is evident we must have, upon their own Principles, a Ground of Absolute Certainty for our Faith, which was the main Point of the Conference.

If he will answer the Argument, he must either deny that we have Universal Tradition for the Books of Scripture, or that Universal Tradition is a Ground for the Absolute Certainty of Faith: Either of these ways he had said something to the Purpose; but he found this way of Reasoning too hot for him, and therefore he calls it *Shifting and Tricking off the Proof to Mr. Godden*, and so falls into a tragical Declamation against my not proving, and making a Secret of the Ground of our Certainty; as if a Man intended to make a Secret of a Horse he had lost, when he published his Marks in the Gazette. Here is the Ground of our Certainty, laid down in that very Place, where he saith, *I shift off the Proof to Mr. Godden*; but alas for him! he cannot see any thing like a Proof, unless it be serv'd up with all its due Formalities of Major, Minor and Conclusion. Must I be forced to tell him, as the Painters did by ill Pictures, *This is a Horse, and this a Wolf*? This is an Argument, and this an Answer? It is a hard Case if a Man cannot understand Reason, unless like Scaliger's Jest against Cardan, there be something in the Margin to direct where they are to be found. All Men of Sense understand the Force of an Argument, though it be not dressed up after the way of the Schools; and to tie Men up to those Methods of Reasoning in our Age in Books of Controversy, is like trammelling a Horse when he is to go a Journey; it might do well to teach him to pace, but it would be ridiculous when he is upon Service.

Upon this he runs out into a very eloquent Piece of trifling, making sad Moans and Complaints, with many Exaggerations, and great Variety of Phrases, *As if I offer'd no kind of Certainty to Mens Souls, but only that I bid those that doubt prove the contrary*; and so brings notable Parallels of Peter's having twenty Pounds in his Purse, because Paul cannot prove he hath not; or his having the more Title to an Estate, because an Adversary may have the ill Luck to be non-suited. I know not how Mr. Godden will take these things, for they do not seem much to his Advantage: If I were as he, I would never trust him to play my Cards more; for what means this Insinuation of Non-suited, &c? But Mr. Sergeant is plainly mistaken, for the Force of it doth not depend upon his bare non-suited, but upon the Goodness of the Deeds, and the Strength of the Evidence which himself relied upon, and appear much stronger for us than for him.

It is not Paul's not proving, but Peter's producing the twenty Pounds, and laying it before him, which is the Argument to prove he hath it: Suppose he did not produce it in Specie, but shewed good Security for it, such as Paul could not deny, had he not Reason to believe he was Owner of it? There being so little Colour in the Reasoning Part, I pass over the Declamatory, as fitter for the School at the Savoy, than a Writer of Controversies.

But here comes in, among his Flowers, a very notable Point of Divinity: *Truth is therefore Truth, because it is built on Intrinsecal Grounds which prove it to be such; and not on private Mens Abilities, or their saying this or that.* This latter is undoubtedly true, and is universally believed since the School of Pythagoras was broken up: *Wherefore till those Grounds be produced, it cannot be with Reason held Truth.* This is

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great; and becoming the *Scientific J. Serjeant*. But will he hold to this? Will he own it to the *Cardinals of the Inquisition*? I find a certain Gentleman with the very same Letters, *J. S.* writing two whole Sections, wherein he denies that ever he medled with *Intrinsic Mediums*; or that it was possible that he should. But *P. T.* was then living, and followed him close at *Rome*; now that fright is over, out come *Intrinsic Grounds* again; and no Man can hold anything as Truth, till those Grounds be produced. Suppose a Man assents to the Doctrine of Faith, as True and Divine on meerly *Extrinsic Grounds*, or *Motives of Credibility*; hath this Man true Faith or not? Is he bound to hold and profess it to be true, though he doth not see the *Intrinsic Grounds* which prove Truth to be Truth? Doth that Man sin, who professes to believe a thing to be true, though he doth not see the *Intrinsic Grounds* for it? What kind of sin is it, *Mortal*, or *Venial*? How far may a Man safely deny that which he cannot with Reason hold to be true? How many thousand Martyrs Lives, might this Doctrine have saved in the Primitive times? How might the poor Innocent Christians have pleaded for themselves; "That they could see no *Intrinsic Grounds*, which made Truth to be Truth; and they understood from a deep Divine, that till those Grounds be produced, it cannot with Reason be held Truth; and if it cannot with Reason be held, it may surely in our very hard Circumstances, with Reason, be denied, or at least concealed and dissimulated. There seems to be more danger in professing the Faith without it; than in not owning it, being not able to produce *Intrinsic Grounds* for it. And these are far above our reach and capacity; and if it cannot with Reason be held Truth without it, it seems very unreasonable to require us to die for it.

What faith *J. Serjeant* to the Case of the Jews, who heard our Saviour's Doctrine, and saw his Miracles, did they sin in their Infidelity or not? It will be very hard for him to prove, that they saw *Intrinsic Grounds* for what they were required to believe; and yet our Saviour charges them with very great Sin in their Infidelity. I hope Mr. Serjeant will not answer me, about these things, as he did some in the Conference at Paris, with, *Tace, Tace, interrumpis & confundis me*. This very Instance of the Jews was then brought against him by Dr. Godden and he said, That only those Jews sinned, who had clear Evidence that Christ's Miracles were true and Supernatural. But A. B. of D. then urged, That if they had such Evidence, they could not have inward Unbelief, nor call in Question the Truth or Divinity of Christ and his Miracles. To which *J. Serjeant* replied, *Tace, nolo tibi Respondere*. I hope he is better provided of an Answer now, and that he will shew, wherein the sin of the Jews lay, who did not profess Christ's Doctrine to be true, because they could not produce any *Intrinsic Grounds* for the Truth of it.

Page 6. But to return to our first Controversie, About the Certainty of Faith to be proved by us. He tells me, that I know well enough, that to prove Protestants have no Absolute Certainty of their Faith is no hard Task even for a weak Man; I know, he saith, that any Man may find it confessed to his hands by Protestants; and in the Margin he cites, Dr. Tillotson's Rule of Faith, pag. 117, 118. I wonder at Mr. Serjeant's Courage, that he dares mention that Book, to which he hath so many years been indebted for an Answer, and what he hath offer'd towards it in *Faith Vindicated*, and Reason against Raillery, he hath again retracted as to the main Principles of them, for fear of a Censure at Rome; and which he advanced

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pag. 315,
316, 317.
Page 318.

advanced out of opposition to those of that Book which he quotes here. So that J. Serjeant by disowning those Principles of his, hath justified Dr. T. and hath overthrown the *Absolute Certainty* of his own Faith. For I have already proved from his own words, That he owns Moral Evidence to be absolutely sufficient for Faith; and yet this is the very thing from whence he proves that Protestants have confessed that they have no *Absolute Certainty* of their Faith.

But if this Matter were to be decided by the *Confession of Parties*, what thinks he of those of the Church of Rome, who have charged his Doctrine about *Infallible Certainty*, with downright *Heresie and Impiety*, and that it leads to *Atheism and Infidelity*, and overthrows the *Christian Faith*? This we are told is the sense of all the *Learned and Orthodox Men* of your Church. Let the Reader judge what J. Serjeant hath gotten by the *Confession of Parties*.

Heres. Blackloan. p. 33. 153, &c. 323.
Hæc nova propositio fidem Christianam destruit impellitque ad Scepticismum & Atheismum. *Heres. Blacklo. p. 66.*

Mecum omnes viri Docti & Orthodoxi sentiunt, per tua principia vastum ad Atheismum & Hæresin hiarum aperiri. *Heres. Blackloan. p. 200.*

I hope now we shall come to the *State of the Question*; for he charges me with perverting it: The first Question (he saith) at the Conference, was, Whether Protestants are absolutely Certain, that they hold now the same Tenets in Faith and all that our Saviour taught to his Apostles. And my Answer, he saith, was, They are.

By his favour, my Answer was not in those words, "but that we" are absolutely certain that we now hold all the same Doctrine that "was taught by Christ and his Apostles. And for a certain Reason, I desire my own Words may express my Mind; for I do not find *Oral Tradition Infallible*; and where Words are varied, the Sense may be so too.

But he observes, that I trick it off again, as he calls it, (I suppose it is Gamesters Language,) from the Point of *Absolute Certainty of Faith*, to *Absolute Certainty of the Rule of Faith*, viz. the Scripture; but our Saviour and Protestants believe more than that the Book so called, is Scripture. Is Certainty of this more, and Certainty of this Book, all one? Here is then an enquiry after one thing, plainly turned off to another. It seems Mr. Godden is quite gone for a Gamester; for he discerned no Tricking in this matter, nor can I. It is very true, we do believe More, than that the Book so called is Scripture; for we believe All the Matters of Faith contained in that Book. And what then? If by his More, he means Articles of Faith not contained in Scripture; then I tell him plainly, we believe no More. And therefore when Mr. Godden put his next Question, as he thought very pertinently, By what Certain Rule do you hold it? My Answer was, By the Divine Revelation contained in the Writings of the New Testament: Whereby I excluded his More, if it be not contained in Scripture. But if by More, he means our Assent to the Points of Faith contained in Scripture, I shall give a full Answer to it afterwards. Then he asked, By what Certain Rule do you know that the New Testament, which we now have, does contain all the Divine Revelations of Christ and his Apostles? And if he puts such Questions concerning the Rule, What Tricking was it in me, to give a direct Answer to them? How did I turn off the Enquiry from one thing to another, when I only Answered the Questions he proposed? This is not playing Mr. Godden's Cards, but condemning him for playing unskilfully; and desiring to begin a new Game; for Mr. Godden had a bad hand, and managed it very ill.

But what would J. Serjeant have done? *The thing to be made manifest by the Conference, was, the Absolute Certainty of Protestant Faith.* And so it was; for Protestant Faith is to believe all that is contained in Scripture, and no more. Mr. Godden did indeed ask some Questions about your Certainty of your Rule; and I gave him direct Answers. Where is the Tricking in all this? But I wisely cut off the Course of the Questions before they had question'd away the Certainty of Faith. So far otherwise, that I let them alone, till they plainly run away from the business of Certainty to another Question; and then Mr. T. cut them off, by declaring himself satisfied; and asking *How they could prove the Church of Rome to be Infallible?*

But now we are to see how much better the Cards might have been plaid. And now, look ye Gentlemen, the Man of Skill begins the Game. *After the Certainty of Scripture from Tradition was admitted, there was no Refusing to admit that Tradition causes Certainty, and makes Faith as certain as Scripture.* See the difference of these two Gamesters at Tradition! But what if I should yield him, that I will not refuse to give my Assent to any Point of Faith, which comes down to us from the Apostles Times with as large and as firm a Tradition as the Scripture? Then (saith he) *it would have proved something difficult to satisfy even a willing Man, that the Faith is certain which is opposed to a Faith come down by Tradition.* Something difficult! Nay very much so, without doubt. But this is fairly to suppose, that you have as Universal a Tradition for your Tridentine Faith, as we have for the Scripture; but this I utterly deny; and I hope in another Treatise to shew, I have not done it without Reason. Let the Matter of Tradition itself, as a Rule of Faith, be one of these Points. If there were a Constant Universal Tradition in the Christian Church from the Apostolical Times, that there were Matters of Faith necessary to Salvation not contained in Scripture, I grant that it would be difficult, to prove it to be a Matter of Faith that Scripture alone is our Rule of Faith. But that is the mighty Advantage of our Cause, that we have both Scripture and Tradition for us; and that no Catholick Tradition can be produced against us, in any one Point of the Additional Creed of Pius IV. which is the Design I have undertaken, of which I shall suddenly publish the First Part; and if God gives me Life and Health, I hope to go through the Rest. Well; but in the mean time, *Absolute Certainty of Scripture was not the Point of the Conference.* Can J. Serjeant tell better than the Managers? His meaning is, it ought not to have been. Nor is it the Point of Concern. This is strange. Not the Point of Concern to those that own it to be the Word of God, and the only Rule of Faith! It is of Infinite Concern to us; if it be not to you, I pity you for it.

Besides that, it is agreed on all hands, Men are saved by Believing and Practising what Christ taught, not barely by believing Scripture is Scripture. This is no New Speculation; But what follows from it? Therefore we ought to believe Christ's Doctrine contained in Scripture, and obey his Commands; and do I give the least Intimation against this? But, the Question was about our Rule of Faith, and that I still think is the Scripture; and whatever is contained therein, is to be believed on that Account. But Salvation is the thing that imports us in these Disputes, and 'twere well if nothing else were minded by Disputers. And so think I too. I desire no more to end our Controversies, than to make Salvation our End, and the Scripture our Rule. But how can Salvation be the thing that

that imports us in these Disputes, if Men cannot with Reason hold any thing true, unless they can produce the *Intrinsic Grounds* which prove it to be so? Doth Mr. Serjeant in earnest think, that none are saved but *Metaphysical Speculators*, that perch upon the *specifick Nature of Things*, and dig into the *Intrinsic Grounds of Truth*? If this be his Opinion, *How few can be saved!* But if *Salvation* be the End, the *Means* must be suitable to the Capacity of Mankind; and I do not think, the *Intrinsic Grounds of Truth* are so.

But after all, he saith, that I stifle any further talk of the Certainty of Protestant Faith. How can that be, when I own no Protestant Faith but what is contained in Scripture, or may be deduced from it; according to the Sixth Article of our Church. I am not conscious to myself of any *Art in the matter*, which he charges me with; and he saith, I avoid what cannot be performed. What is that? To make out that Protestants are absolutely certain that they now hold all the same Doctrine that was taught by Christ and his Apostles. If all that Doctrine be contained in Scripture, and they hold the Scripture by Grounds of Absolute Certainty, then Protestants must be certain that they hold all the same Doctrine that was taught by Christ and his Apostles.

Afterwards Mr. Serjeant starts something that comes nearer to the business; which is, that Certainty of Faith and Certainty of Scripture, are two things: For those who have as much Certainty of Scripture as we, may have not only an Uncertain but a Wrong Faith; and therefore I am concerned to shew, not only that Protestants have Certainty of their Rule, but of the Faith which they pretend to have from that Rule: That which I am now upon, is to settle the true State of the Controversie about the Certainty of Faith. In the Conference, my first Answer was, that, We are absolutely Certain that we now hold all the same Doctrine, that was taught by Christ and his Apostles. And when the Question was asked, By what Certain Rule do we hold it? I answer'd, By the Divine Revelation contained in the Writings of the New Testament. So that the Certainty of Scripture was that which I was obliged to answer to. Now comes J. Serjeant and he finds fault with Mr. Godden's management; because he asked Questions about the Certainty of the Rule; whereas he ought to have gone another Way to work. So that now Mr. Godden is given up, and a New Controversie is begun upon other Grounds; and the Words which I used with Respect to the Rule, are applied to particular Doctrines. He saith, The Certainty of Scripture was not the Point for which the Conference was. How comes he to know better than Mr. Godden unless he directed the Point, and Mr. Godden mistook and lost it in the Management? But I am now bound to manifest, that Protestants have Absolute Certainty, not only of the Scripture, as the Rule, but of the Faith they have from that Rule, or else to own that I cannot. It seems Mr. Godden's good Nature betray'd him, when he asked Questions about the Rule of Faith; and so the main Point was lost. Yet methinks it was not meer good Nature in Mr. Godden. For, when we are asked, about the Grounds and Certainty of our Faith, how is it possible we should answer more pertinently, than to assign the Rule of our Faith? And we declare it to be the Scripture, by which we judge what we are to believe, and what not. And therefore if any ask us of the Matter of our Faith, we must answer, It is whatever God hath revealed in the Scripture which is our Rule. If they ask us, How we come to know these Books to be written by such Persons, we say, It is by the Universal Tradition

Tradition of the Christian Churches. If they ask us, *Why we believe the Doctrine contained in those Books?* Then our Answer is, *From the Divine Testimonies, which make us certain that it came from God.* And thus we answer both to that which is called the *Material and Formal Object of Faith*; and if we are *absolutely certain* of these, we must be so of our *Faith*. If we ask a *Jew* about the *Certainty* of his *Faith*, he saith he is certain of it because all his *Faith* is contained in the *Books of Moses*, and he is well assured they were written by *Divine Inspiration*. If we ask a *Mahometan* of his *Faith*, his Answer is, That his *Faith* is contained in the *Alcoran*; and by proving that, he proves the *Certainty of his Faith*; and if that be disproved, the *Certainty* of it is overthrown. Those who resolve their *Faith* into a written *Rule*, must go thither when *Questions* are asked them about the *Certainty* of their *Faith*. For, if I believe every thing in it, and nothing but what is in it, there lies my *Faith*, and the *Certainty* of it depends upon the *Certainty* of my *Rule*. But I must shew the *Certainty of the Faith of Protestants*, as it is pretended to be taken from the *Rule*. Not certainly, when the *Question* is asked about the *entire Object* of our *Faith*, or when we are to shew how we hold all the same *Doctrine* that was taught by *Christ and his Apostles*; for the Word *All* makes it necessary for us to assign our *Rule* wherein that *All* is contained. If he ask us of the *Certainty* of any particular *Point* of our *Faith*, then we are to make it out, that this is contained in our *Rule*; and our *Certainty* is according to the *Evidence* we are able to produce for it.

For the Case is not the same, as to *particular Points* of *Faith*, with that of the *general Grounds* of the *Certainty of Faith*. A *Jew* firmly believes all that is contained in the *Books of Moses*, and with the highest *Degree of Certainty*; but whether the *Resurrection* can be proved certainly from those *Books*, is a particular *Point*; and he may have *Absolute Certainty* of all contained in those *Books*, though he may not have it as to such a particular *Point*. And when we come to particular *Points*, their Case is not only different from the *General Rule of Faith*, but such *Points* are very different both among themselves, and as to the *Certainty* of them.

For, (1.) There are some *Points* of *Faith*, which were necessary to be *Revealed*, because they were necessary to be *Believed*, in order to our *Salvation by Jesus Christ*. For as Mr. Serjeant saith, *Salvation is the thing of greatest Importance*; and therefore on Supposition, that it is to be by *Jesus Christ*, the Nature of the thing requires, that we have a firm and established *Faith* in him. And of these *Points of Faith*, the Church hath given a *Summary* in the *Creeds*, which were proposed to those who were to be baptized; and not only St. *Augustin*, but *Aquinas* saith, *these were taken out of Scripture*; and the *Certainty* of them to us, doth depend not upon the *Authority* of the Church proposing them, but the *Evidence of Scripture* for them, which is very much confirmed to us by the *concurrent Testimony* of the *Christian Church* in all ages from the *Apostles times*, i. e. as to the *main Articles*; for that there was a great *Variety*, as to others, is evident to any one who will compare the *Ancient Creeds*, as I have lately shewed. And these *main Articles* are those which *Aquinas* calls the *prima Credibilia*; which are therefore revealed, because necessary to be believed by all that hope for *Salvation by Jesus Christ*.

2. 2. a 9.
ad 1.

(2.) There

(2.) There are other *Points of Faith*, which are only necessary to be believed, because they are so clearly revealed; as that Caiaphas was High-Priest when Christ suffered; that there were two Malefactors who suffered with him; that he was bury'd in Joseph of Arimathea's Sepulchre: No Man who believes the Scripture can doubt of these things, and yet we do not make these *Points of Faith* in themselves necessary, because they have no immediate Reference to Salvation, which might have been as effectually carried on, if there had been another High-Priest, or Christ had lain in another Sepulchre. But in these *Points* there is an absolute Certainty from the unquestionable Evidence of their being contained in Scripture.

(3.) There are doctrinal *Points* not necessary to Salvation, about which some may attain to a greater Degree of Certainty than others. And the same Measure is not required of all, because Mens Capacities are not equal, if they do use equal Diligence; and all are not obliged to the same Degrees of Diligence that some are. As to the *Points necessary to Salvation*, God is not wanting by his Grace to make them known to Men of honest and sincere Minds. And this is no peculiar Doctrine of mine, as J. Serjeant would insinuate, but it hath been the constant Doctrine of their most Learned and Judicious School-Divines, as is evident from what they speak of the *Donum Intellectus*, and the *Lumen Fidei*, which secure Men from Error in what concerns their Salvation. If he hath therefore such an inveterate Spleen against this Doctrine, let him attack the greatest Divines of the Church of Rome, who have in Terms asserted the same which I have done. And I would fain see J. Serjeant demonstrating against Aquinas and all his Followers, That there is no such Security from Error in *Points necessary to Salvation*, where-ever God bestows true Grace. As to *Points not necessary to Salvation*, I do not affirm there is any such Ground of Absolute Certainty, as to particular Persons, who are only concerned as to their own Salvation. And that was the Reason of my Answer to the fourth Question: "The universal Testimony of the Christian Church, concerning the Book of Scripture, and the Doctrine contained therein, is a sufficient Ground to make us certain of all Matters necessary to our Salvation. But of this more afterwards." It is sufficient here to observe, that even in the Church of Rome, there are *Points of Doctrine* which are not *de Fide*, and consequently the Certainty of Faith is not required to them. And then it is most unreasonable to require the Absolute Certainty of Faith in those things which we deny to be *Points of Faith*. It is as if we should ask them what Absolute Certainty of Faith they have, as to the Immaculate Conception and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, or the Pope's Infallibility, they would tell us, these are no *Points of Faith* with them, and therefore it is unreasonable to ask after the Absolute Certainty of Faith, where there is no Faith pretended. The same we say in the like Case; It is very absurd to demand of us the Absolute Certainty of our Faith in such things, wherein we never pretend to a Certainty of Faith, but

Sed circa ea quæ sunt de Necessitate Salutis sufficienter instruuntur a Spiritu Sancto. 2. 2. 9. 8. a. 4. ad 1.

Donum intellectus nunquam se subtrahit sanctis circa ea quæ sunt necessaria ad salutem, sed circa alia interdum se subtrahit. ibi ad 3.

A. 3. dicendum quod Lumen Fidei facit videre ea quæ creduntur -- ita per habitum Fidei inclinatur mens hominis ad assentiendum his quæ conveniunt certæ Fidei & non aliis. 2. 2. 9. 1. a. 4. ad 3.

Per lumen Fidei divinitus infusum homini homo assentit his quæ sunt Fidei, non autem contrariis; & ideo nihil periculi vel damnationis inest his qui sunt in Christo Jesu, ab ipso illuminati per fidem. 2. 2. 9. 2. a. 3. ad 2.

of common Sense and Reason, proceeding according to the Rule of Scripture. As, if Men impose false and absurd Doctrines upon us, as Transubstantiation, &c. we insist upon the Common Right of Mankind, not to be required to believe Contradictions; and the Right of Christians, not to believe what hath neither Scripture, nor Reason, nor Tradition for it. And these are the Grounds on which we reject the Additional Creed of Pius the Fourth. We make them no Points of Faith at all; and if others do make them so, we desire to be excused, because it is as certain to us they are not so, as we can be of Negatives: And farther than this we go not in such Points; and if this be what he means by Protestant Faith, he hath my Answer.

IV. The General Reason of the Certainty of Faith in particular Persons, is not from conclusive Evidence as to the Points of Faith, but from some higher Cause. And this Mr. Serjeant ought to know hath been the constant Doctrine of the Schools, ever since Divinity hath been brought into them. I except only one *Franciscus de Marchia*, who required conclusive Evidence to the Certainty of Faith, but he is disputed against by *Gregorius Ariminensis*; and he saith, His Doctrine was condemned by the Faculty of Paris; and *Gregory de Valentia* speaks of him with great Contempt for holding so absurd a Doctrine.

The Certainty of Faith is declared by the ancient School-men to be above Opinion, and below Science: By which they understood the intrinsic Grounds on which Truth is built; which Mr. Serjeant makes necessary to the Profession of it.

Hugo de Sancto Victore saith, That the highest Certainty of Faith is owing to a pious and pure Disposition of the Mind, and an immediate Divine Influence.

Petrus Pictaviensis, That it lies not in Evidence but Adherence.

Galiel. Parisiensis proves conclusive Evidence repugnant to Faith, in a long Discourse.

Gul. Antissiodorensis thinks rational Evidence good to support and defend the Faith, and to prepare Men for it: But that the Certainty of it lies not in Speculation, but in an Adherence of the Mind to the prime Verity.

Alex. Alensis saith likewise, Its Certainty doth not lie in Speculation, but in inward Affection and Adherence; there is, he saith, an inferiour sort of Acquisite Faith, which relies on Reasons and Testimonies, but this, he saith, is merely natural and preparatory to Divine Faith.

Bonaventure saith, the Certainty of Adherence is beyond that of Speculation, because a Martyr may have Doubts, and yet die for his Faith.

Thomas Aquinas thinks, those that go about to bring Demonstrations for Faith, expose it to the Scorn and Reproach of Infidels; and he resolves the inward Certainty of Faith into Divine Illumination, when the Objection was put, That Matters of Faith could not be resolved into first Principles; which Mr. Serjeant hath so long and so vainly pretended to.

Henricus Gandavensis saith, There is a Certainty of Adherence in the Habit of Faith; and that the Evidence of Credibility falls much short of that of Science; and he makes Scripture the Rule, whereby we are to judge of the Doctrine of the present Church, and of all Ages succeeding the Apostles.

Scotus distinguisheth between Acquisite and Human Faith, and Divine or Infused Faith; but he denies any Infallibility to belong to the former.

Greg. Arimi-
nen. D. 1.

A. 4. Q. 1.

Greg. de Va-
lencia. Tom. 3.

Disp. 1. Q. 1.

Part 4.

Hugo de
Sancto Vi-
ctore Sum.

sent. l. 1. c. 1.

De Sacram.

l. 1. p. 1. c. 2. 4.

Rich. de San-
cto Victore.

Declar. Part.

1. p. 373.

Petr. Pictavi-
ens. Sentent.

Part 3. c. 11.

Gul. Parisiens.

de Fide. c. 1.

Gul. Antissio-
dor. Sum. in

Præf. & l. 3.

Tit. Q. 2.

Alex. Alens.

Part. 1. Q. 2.

M. 3. A. 4.

Part. 3 Q. 68.

M. 2. A. 2.

Bonavent. l.

3. D. 23. Q. 4.

Aquin. 1. q.

46. a. 2. in C.

1. 2. q. 32. A.

1. in B.

2. 2. q. 2. a. 1.

ad 1.

q. 1. a. 4. ad 3.

q. 2. a. 3.

q. 3. a. 4. C.

Henr. Gan-
dav. Sum.

Art. 7. Q. 2.

N. 6, 7, 8.

Art. 9. Q. 3. N.

13. A. 10. Q.

1. N. 4, 5.

Scot. in Sen-
tent. L. 3. Q.

23. N. 14, 15

Durandus denies Faith to be consistent with conclusive Evidence; and that the Motives of Credibility affords such Evidence, because that necessitates Assent. And it is observable, that he resolves Faith not into the Testimony of the present, but of the Apostolical Church.

Durand Prolog. Q. 1. N. 43, 46. L. 3. Dist. 24. Q. 3. N. 8, 9.

I need produce no more, to shew what a Stranger Mr. Serjeant is to the Doctrine of his own Church; or else what an obstinate Opposer he is of it. But this is sufficient to shew what Grounds of the Certainty of Faith are allowed by the Chief Divines of the Church of Rome, and how very different they are from those of the Catholick Letters. To sum up briefly therefore the State of this Controversie about the Certainty of our Faith.

I. I assert, That we are Absolutely Certain of the Formal Object of our Faith, viz. that whatever God reveals, is True, and to be professed by us, though we do not see the Intrinsic Grounds of it.

II. We are Absolutely Certain of the Infallible Rule of our Faith; and that All the necessary Points of Faith, in order to the Salvation of Mankind, are therein contained.

III. The General Certainty of Divine Faith in true Believers, according to their own Divines, doth not depend upon Conclusive Evidence, or Intrinsic Grounds, but an inward Perception caused by Divine Grace.

IV. Particular Points of Faith are more or less certain, according to the Evidence of their Deduction from Scripture as the Rule of Faith.

V. Where any Propositions are imposed as Points of Faith, which others deny, those who impose are bound to prove the Certainty of them as such, and not those who reject them.

And this is our Case as to the Points in Difference between us and those of the Church of Rome: We do not make the Negatives any Point of our Faith, any further than as the Scripture is our Rule, and we cannot be bound consequently to receive any thing as a Point of Faith, but what is contained in it, or deduced from it. But the Church of Rome requiring us to receive them as Points of Faith, is bound to prove the Certainty of them as such.

Having thus endeavoured to set this Controversie about the Certainty of Faith in its true Light, I now proceed to consider what Mr. Serjeant doth object against it. And I shall conceal nothing that looks like an Argument. His Raillery I despise, and his Impertinencies I shall pass over.

I. That which looks most like an Argument, is, what he hath set out by way of Propositions in his First Letter.

1. God hath left us some way to know what surely Christ and his Apostles taught.

2. Therefore this way must be such, that they who take it, shall arrive by it at the End it was intended for; i. e. know surely what Christ and his Apostles taught.

3. Scriptures Letter interpretable by Private Judgments, is not that way; for we experience Presbyterians and Socinians (for Example) both take that way, yet differ in such high Fundamentals, as the Trinity and the God-head of Christ.

4. Therefore Scriptures Letter interpretable by Private Judgments, is not the way left by God to know surely what Christ and his Apostles taught, or surely to arrive at Right Faith.

5. Therefore they who take only that way, cannot by it arrive surely at right Faith, since 'tis impossible to arrive at the End, without the means or way that leads to it.

Upon setting down this, Mr. Serjeant being sensible he had plaid his best Cards, cannot help a little expressing the Satisfaction he had in the Goodness of his Game. *I do not (saith he) expect any Answer to this Discourse, as short as it is, and as plain, and as nearly as it touches your Copy-hold.* Alas for me, that am fallen into the hands of such a Gamester! But I am resolved to disappoint him, and to give him a clear and full Answer to this shew of Reasoning. And that shall be, by making it appear,

I. That it proceeds upon False Suppositions.

II. That it destroys any Rule of Faith, even his own admired Oral and Practical Tradition.

I. That it proceeds upon False Suppositions. As,

1. That no Certainty can be attained where there is no Infallibility. For if Men may arrive at Certainty where there is a general Possibility of Deception, all this seeming Demonstration comes to nothing. And yet this is a thing all Mankind are agreed in, who allow any such thing as Certainty; and the contrary Opinion was (which Mr. Serjeant little thinks) the very Foundation of Scepticism; viz. *That there could be no Certainty, unless Men could find out such an Infallible Mark of Truth, which could not agree to what was False*; as he might have learned in Cicero's *Lucullus*, without sending him to Pyrrho's Scholars. And till Zeno and his Disciples pretended to find out this, Scepticism gained little Ground; but when they yielded to that Principle, That no Certainty was to be had without it, then a mighty Advantage was given them, which they improved accordingly. But the more Judicious Philosophers were forced to quit the *Stoicks Infallible Mark*, and to proceed upon such Evidence of Perception, and Sense, and Ratiocination, as might, in things not Self-evident, form an Assent which excludes all reasonable Doubt of the contrary. But still those who pretended to Infallibility, were the most deceived. As *Epicurus* thought there could be no Certainty in Sense, unless it were made Infallible; and from hence he ran into that gross Absurdity, that the Sun was really no bigger than he seemed to be to our Senses. For, he went just upon Mr. Serjeant's Principles, *If there be a possibility of Deception, there can be no True Certainty*; and to make good his Hypothesis, the Sun must be no bigger than a Bonfire. But the Wiser Philosophers took in the Assistance of Reason, which, though not Infallible, might give such Evidence, as afforded Certainty, where it fell short of Demonstration. As in Physical and Moral things, I grant, that some of those who talked most and best of Demonstration, fell wonderfully short of it, when they came to apply Notions to Things; and the Demonstrations they made were to little or no purpose, in the promoting of Knowledge, as, that *Man is a Rational Creature*, &c. But their Physical Speculations are very far from it; yet this doth not hinder but that a Certainty is attainable, as to the Nature of Things. And in Morals, they knew and confessed there could be no Demonstration in them; yet they professed a true Certainty they had as to the Nature of Happiness, and the real Differences of Vertue and Vice: They owned some Moral Principles to be Absolutely Certain, as that *Good is to be chosen, and Evil to be avoided*, &c. but in particular Cases, they made use of the best Reason they had, to prove some things Good, and others

others Evil. And although they could not proceed with equal Certainty in all *Vertues* and *Vices*; yet in some they had clear *Evidence*, and in others they made use of the best means to give Satisfaction to themselves and others.

Thus it is in *Matters of Faith*, there are some things *Absolutely Certain*; as, that *God cannot deceive us*; that *the Scripture is our Rule of Faith*; but then, whether such Points be contained in that Rule and be of *Divine Revelation*, is not Self-evident; and therefore these must be deduced by all the best Methods of *Reasoning* from a *written Rule*; and when Persons have examined the Scripture with all the Care and Diligence, which one who would arrive at *Certainty* thinks himself obliged to, then I do affirm, that such a Man may attain to a true *Certainty* and *Satisfaction* of Mind about it. And that *true Certainty* is attainable without *Infallibility*, I shall prove by an undeniable Instance (if an Instance will be allowed; and I hope I shall make it appear as reasonable for me to produce *Instances* as himself,) and that is, concerning a *Point of Faith* of the greatest Importance, *viz. That Jesus Christ was the true Messiah foretold by the Prophets*. The Proof of this depended on the *Interpretation of Scripture*; and there could be no Infallible Interpreter relied upon in this Case. As to *Christ himself*, although he really was so, yet we suppose the Question to be about him, whether he were an *Infallible Teacher* or not; and therefore we must not suppose the thing to be proved. As to the *Publick Interpretation*, which Mr. Serjeant makes his *Infallible Rule*, if that were to be relied upon, then a *Jew* was bound not to believe *Christ* to be the *true Messiah*, because the *Publick Interpretation* was against him; and the *Traditional Sense* of the *Prophecies* was against him, being for a *Temporal Prince*; I now demand of Mr. Serjeant whether the *Jews* were capable of *Certainty* in this Point or not? If not, then the *Jews* were excused in their Infidelity: If they were, then true *Certainty* may be had without an Infallible Guide, although the *Publick Interpretation* and *Tradition* be against it. And if it may be had in so difficult a Case, which depended on the *Sense* of *obscure Prophecies*; much more certainly under the clear Revelation of the Gospel; wherein all *Necessary Points* are laid down with so much Clearness, that the Fault must be more in *Mens Wills* than their *Understandings*, if they do not apprehend them.

2. The Second false Supposition is, *That a Rule of Faith* must be a *Mechanical Rule*, and not a *Rational*; i. e. It must be like a *Carpenters Rule*, that hath all its Dimensions fixed, and ready to be applied to *Material things*; but in matters of Understanding no such Rule is to be expected. The *Philosophers* who disputed so much about *Certainty*, Second Letter, p. 25. would have laughed at any Man who had applied a *Material Rule* to *Intellectual things*; yet this is Mr. Serjeant's great Example: *I take my Rule*, saith he, *and draw a Line by it; does the streightness or crookedness of this Line depend upon my Understanding?* By no means. But is there any such *Intellectual Rule* as this? There have been great Disputes in the World, among Men of Wit and Subtilty, about the *Certainty* of Human Knowledge; Whether any *Infallible Criterion* could be found to discern Truth and Falshood? But they never imagined any such thing as an *Intellectual Ruler to draw Lines by*; but that there were certain Differences of Truth and Falshood, which Men might find out, but not without Diligence and Application of their Minds to it. And notwithstanding the Characters of Truth and Falshood were in themselves Certain, yet it was very possible for Men to mistake about them; not

only for want of Judgment, but of Diligence and Impartiality: So we say here as to a *Rule of Faith*; we do not suppose it to be a *Material Rule*; i. e. If a Man take the *Letter of Scripture*, and apply it to any Opinions, he must presently know whether they be true or false; but it is a *Rational and Intellectual Rule*, which is *absolutely Certain* in it self; and whatever agrees to it is *True*, and whatever doth not is false: But still there may be mistakes in the *Understanding* and *Applying* it; and therefore *Care*, and *Diligence*, and *Impartiality*, are required; by which some may attain to that *Certainty*, which others miss off. As in the *Points* he mentions of the *Presbyterians* and *Socinians* differing about such high *Fundamentals*, as the *Trinity* and *God-head of Christ*.

1. Why *Presbyterians* and *Socinians*, I beseech him? There is a notable Insinuation in this, as though we of the *Church of England* were *Socinians* in those *Points*; and none but *Papists* and *Presbyterians* were *Orthodox* in them. But this is an Insinuation which hath as much Folly as Malice in it; since our solemn and express Declarations, are to the contrary: And he may as well call us *Papists* as *Socinians*, since our Writings are as plainly against one, as the other. What our Sense as to these Matters is, he may find in the *Dialogues* of the *Doctrine of the Trinity* and *Transubstantiation* compared; not long since Published by a *Divine* of the *Church of England*. But to pass this over. 2. Suppose the Difference between us and the *Socinians*. What then? Both take the same way of *Scriptures Letter Interpretation* by private Judgments, and yet differ in these *Fundamental Points*. And what follows? That the *Scripture* is no *Certain Rule*? By no means. But that the *Socinians* may err, and certainly do in misinterpreting this Rule. But how can it be a *certain Rule*, if men that use it may err in using it? How can Reason be certain in any thing, if Men following Reason may mistake? How can *Arithmetick* be a *certain way of computation*, if Men following the *Rules of Arithmetick*, may mistake in casting up a *sum*? Doth any Man question the *Certainty* of the *Rule*, for Mens blundering in their Accompts? yet this is his way of Reasoning. And I will put it just with his Propositions.

I. *Arithmetick* prescribes a *Certain way* by *Addition* and *Subtraction* for us to find out any *Sum*.

II. Therefore it must be such, that they who take it, shall arrive by it, at the exact *Sum*.

III. But two Men who have made use of the same way, differ at least a hundred in casting up the *Sum*.

IV. Therefore *Arithmetick* doth not prescribe a *certain way* to attain at a *Certain Sum*.

V. Therefore they who take only that way, cannot by it arrive at the *Certain Sum*.

Is not this clear and evident Demonstration? But those who consider a little better than Mr. Serjeant hath done, will distinguish between the *Rule* and the *Application* of it. The *Rule of Arithmetick* may be nevertheless *Certain*, although those who want Skill, or Care and Diligence, may mistake in casting up a particular Accompt.

The same we say here, *Scripture* is a *certain Rule* in all *Fundamental Points*, to such as have Capacity, and use due Care and Diligence in finding them. But we do not deny, but Men through Prejudice, Weakness, want of Attention, Authority of false Teachers, Impatience of thoroughly examining things, and not using proper Helps, may

may run into gross Errors; such as these about the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*: But still the *Rule* is certain to those who use it aright, altho it be very possible for Men, through their own Faults, to mistake about it.

And this is no way disagreeing to the infinite Wisdom of God, who deals with us as with Rational Creatures; and hath put Faculties into us, that we might use them in order to the Certainty of our Faith. And such *Moral Qualifications* are required in the *New Testament*, in order to the discerning the Doctrine of it, as *Humility of Mind*, *Purity of Heart*, *Prayer to God*, *sincere Endeavour to do the Will of God*; that it would be very repugnant to the Design of it, to suppose that the *Letter of Scripture* alone would give a Man immediate and certain Directions in all Matters of Doctrine being applied to it. Therefore an easy Answer is to be given to Mr. Serjeant's great Difficulty, viz. *How the Sense drawn from the Letter can any more fail to be true, than the Line drawn by the Rule to be straight.* For we say, That the Sense truly drawn from the Scripture, can never fail to be true; but we do not say, that every Man must draw the True Sense from the Scripture; for although the Scripture be an *Infallible Rule*, yet unless every Man that makes use of it be *Infallible*, he may mistake in the Application of it. And this to me is so clear, that to make an *Infallible Rule* in his Sense, he must make every Person that uses it *Infallible*, or else he may err in the Application of it: But the right Way, saith Mr. Serjeant, will certainly bring a Man to his Journey's End, and the Way must needs be a wrong Way if it do it not. The Right Way will certainly bring them to their Journey's End, if they continue in it; but here we must consider what is meant by the *Journey's End*. If by it be understood their *Salvation*, then we say, that those who do their utmost Endeavours to keep in that way, shall not fail of their *Journey's End*. But if by it be understood the certain Truth or Falshood of every Opinion tried by the Scripture; then I answer, that although the Sense of Scripture be infallibly true, yet it was not designed as an *Infallible Way* for us to know the Truth and Falshood of all particular Opinions by. For as Mr. Serjeant well observes, *Salvation is that which chiefly imports us*; and it was for that End the Doctrine of Christ is made known to us, and it is an *Infallible Way* to it, if Men continue therein: But for judging the Truth or Falshood of Opinions, without respect to *Salvation* as the End, it was not intended as an *Infallible Way* to every one that makes use of it; and therefore it is easy for Men to mistake in judging by it of things it was not design'd for. As if a Man designed to observe all the old Roman Cities and Stations here, and were told the old Roman Way would be a certain Way to lead him to them, with the Help of the Roman Itinerary; if that Man objects, that this will not do, for he cannot find out all the Modern Towns and Villages by this Means, is it not a just and reasonable Answer to say, that is a most certain Way, which leads a Man to that which it was design'd for; and the Roman Way was only intended for Roman Foundations; but it is very unreasonable to find Fault with it, because it doth not lead you to all modern Towns and Villages. So say I here: The Scripture was designed by Divine Wisdom to make us wise to *Salvation*; and thither it will infallibly lead us, if we keep to it: But if besides this we would know by it such things as are not necessary to *Salvation*, we blame it for that, which was not in the Original Intention and Design of it. For when we make use of it to be our Rule of Judgment, meerly as to Truth

Second Letter, pag. 6.

Truth and Falshood of things not necessary to Salvation; it is not because it was designed for that End, but because it is of *Divine Revelation*, and so is the surest Standard of *Divine Truth*; and we are sure there is no other Rule for us to judge by besides. From whence we may and ought to reject any *Points of Faith* imposed upon us, which are neither contained in Scripture, nor can be proved from it. And so it is our positive *Rule of Faith*, as to all necessary *Articles*; and our negative *Rule*, as to all pretended *Points of Faith*, which are not proved from thence.

II. I answer, That this Method of Mr. *Serjeant* will overthrow the Possibility of any *Rule of Faith*; because none can be assigned, which it is not possible for Men to misapprehend, and to mistake about it. Let us at present suppose Mr. *Serjeant* to substitute his *Rule of Faith* instead of *Scripture*, viz. *Oral and Practical Tradition*. Why may not Men mistake the *Sense of Tradition*, as well as the *Sense of Scripture*? Is *Tradition* more *Infallible* in it self? Is it deliver'd by Persons more *Infallible*? Doth it make those to whom it is deliver'd *Infallible*? Why then may not those who deliver it, and those who receive it, both be mistaken about it?

Second Letter to Mr. Godden, p. 7.

Third Catholic Letter, pag. 6.

This I had mention'd in my *second Letter*, that it was very possible to mistake the *Sense and Meaning of Tradition*; and I instanced in that of *Christ's being the Son of God*, where the *Traditionary Words* may be kept, and yet an *Heretical Sense* may be contained under them. Mr. *Serjeant* answers, *That the Sense of the Words, and all the rest of Christ's Doctrine, is conveyed down by Tradition*. This is bravely said, if it could be made out, and would presently put an End to all Disputes. For if all the *Doctrine of Christ* be derived down to us in such a manner, that we cannot mistake the *Sense of it*, we must be all agreed whether we will or not. For how can we disagree, if we cannot mistake the *Sense of Tradition*? *Not while we hold to Tradition*. Then it seems it is possible not to hold to *Tradition*; and if so, we have found a terrible Flaw in *Human Nature*, that will let in Errors in abundance, viz. that it may grossly err about the *Rule of Faith*; yea, so far as to renounce it. But how is this possible, if the *Sense of Tradition be infallibly conveyed*? For is not *Tradition's being the Rule of Faith* any part of it? We must in Reason suppose this: And if we do so, how can Persons renounce its being the *Rule*, while they cannot but believe its being the *Rule*? If Men may mistake about *Tradition's being the Rule of Faith*, why may we not suppose, they may as well mistake about any *Points* convey'd by it? For the greatest Security lying in the *Rule*, there must be more Care taken about that, than about the *Points* convey'd by it.

But let us see how he proves that Men cannot mistake the *Sense of Tradition in particular Points*: The Force of what he saith, is, *That Men were always Men, and Christians were always Christians*, and Mr. *Serjeant* is always Mr. *Serjeant* pretending *Demonstration*, when there is nothing like it. If Men were always Men, they were always apt to be deceived; and unless Christians, by being such are *Infallible*, they are liable to Mistakes. *But the highest means to convey the Sense of Words are to be found in Tradition*. I am quite of another Opinion; I think it the most uncertain way in the World, and the Corruption of the first Ages of the World are an evident Proof of it, when there were all possible Advantages of *Tradition*, and yet the Principles of *Natural*

ral Religion were strangely corrupted, although they were plain, easy, few, of the highest Importance, and Men lived so long to inculcate them into the Minds of their Children. If therefore, notwithstanding Tradition, the World might then degenerate into Polytheism and Idolatry; what Absurdity is it to suppose, that notwithstanding Tradition, the Christian Doctrine might be corrupted likewise?

But Mr. Serjeant alledges not only Words but Actions, to determine the Sense of them; as, that Christ is the Son of God, by praying to him, and giving Divine Reverence to Christ without stinting them, or making them scruple, lest they give too much, or commit Idolatry, by giving that to a Creature, which is due onely to God. And does not this Practice, beyond all Possibility of Mistake, insinuate into them, that he is equally to be adored with God the Father, or Co-equal to him, and so not a Creature, but Very God of Very God?

I answer;

I. Would not the very same Reasoning have made the coming in of Idolatry impossible? For, that there was but one true God was evident from all Acts of Worship, being given onely to him, as the proper Object of it: How then could Men so foully mistake, as to give proper Divine Worship to any Creature, there being an infinite Distance between God and his Creatures, which every Child could not but know by a constant Tradition from Adam.

II. How was it possible that External Acts of Worship should so infallibly prove Christ to be true God, if all external Acts of Worship be of an Equivocal Nature, and receive their Determination from the inward Sense of the Mind? Did not the Arians use the same external Acts of Worship with others, with Respect to Christ? Where did they ever separate from the Christian Assemblies, on the Account of the Worship given to Christ? If not, how was it possible from thence to prove Christ not to be a Creature? So that this is very far from putting the Point of the Divinity of Christ beyond the Possibility of Mistake. Especially, when solemn Invocation, which is one of the most natural Parts of Divine Worship, came to be allowed to meer Creatures. All the Difference that can be assigned then, must be from Mens Words and Professions, and not from their External Actions.

III. The same Divine Reverence was given to Christ in the Apostolical Times, and the utmost Care used to instruct People in the true Doctrine of Christ; and yet then we find that Persons did err in the Sense of that Proposition, That Christ is the Son of God. For even then, the Ebionites and Cerinthians understood it, not in Respect of Nature but Adoption; and so did the Artemonites and Samosatensians afterwards. And how can that be proved impossible to be done, which we shew was actually done? Men did notoriously mistake the sense of Christ's being the Son of God, when it was received by Tradition; and yet Mr. Serjeant pretends it cannot be mistaken, if it be so received.

Mr. Serjeant still urges, That Faith hath Sense in it; and it is inconsistent with the Nature of Mankind not to hold some Sense or other, and with the Nature of Christians, not to instruct their Children in that Sense. And I think Words written have as much sense in them as Words spoken, and less liable to Mistakes; there being no such Mixtures of the Infirmities of Men in a written Rule, as in Oral Tradition. But Instances are unlucky things to be brought against Demonstrations, and such is that

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of

of the *Cerinthians* and *Artemonites*, who pleaded *Tradition* for their *Sense*; and yet they were Men, and pretended to deliver the *true Doctrine* of *Christ* to their Disciples.

I alledged another Instance, how the *Sense* of *Tradition* might be mistaken; and that was about a *Real Presence* in the *Eucharist*, which might be understood in very different *Senses*. No, saith Mr. Serjeant *That cannot be*; for, *Faith* works on our devout *Affections*, which must either oblige us to pay an infinite *Veneration* to a *Creature*, if *Christ's* *Real Body* (and consequently *God*) be not there, or if *Christ* be not *God*, which is the greatest deviation from true *Religion* that is possible; or else to be highly irreverent, and to want the most efficacious *Motive* that can be imagined to excite and elevate our *Devotions*, if he be there, or *Christ* be indeed *God*. Truly Mr. Serjeant's way of Writing is the most effectual means I know to make me Question whether written Words be a good way to convey a *Certain Sense* to our Minds. For, I cannot understand, how *Faiths* working on our devout *Affections*, should oblige us, either to pay an infinite *Veneration* to a *Creature*, or else to be highly Irreverent. For, supposing I believe *Christ's* *Body* not to be really in the *Eucharist*, but yet that *Christ* himself is *God*, I think my self bound to shew the utmost *Reverence* to *Christ* as *God*, even in the *Act* of *Receiving* the *Eucharist*: And I am of Opinion, that the just Apprehension of the *Divine Majesty*, is as apt to excite and elevate our *Devotion*, as the believing the *Body* of *Christ* to be there really present. But it is observable, what Mr. Serjeant here grants, that if *Christ's* *Body* be not there, they are guilty of paying an *Infinite Veneration* to a *Creature*, which is the greatest deviation from true *Religion* that is possible. And upon my Word then they had need have better Assurance, than what he offers, to prove *Christ's* *real Body* to be there. For, if as great *Reverence* may be paid to *Christ* in *Heaven*, as if he were in the *Elements*, I cannot see how the *Posture* of *Adoration* can any ways determine the *Sense* of *Tradition* in this Matter.

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p. 32.

And thus Mr. Serjeant left the *Sense* of *Tradition* as uncertain, as he pretends that of *Scripture* to be; and if his Argument will hold against the One being the *Rule* of *Faith*, it will do as great a Kindness for the Other also. Thus I have fully answered his main Argument, against *Scriptures* being a *Rule* of *Faith*, which he hath been so free with me, as to tell me I cannot Answer; and he and I must now leave it to the Reader's Judgment.

The summ of it is,

I. We distinguish *Necessary Points* of *Faith*, from *Matters* of *Speculation*.

II. We distinguish *Certainty* of *Faith* in order to *Salvation*, and *Certainty* of *Opinion* in *Matters* of *Controversie*.

III. We distinguish the *Certainty* of the *Rule*, from the *Certainty* of the *Application* of that *Rule*.

And then my Answer lies in these things;

I. That the *Scripture* is a certain *Rule* of *Faith* as to all *Points* necessary to *Salvation*, to all such as make use of it as such, and do not through their own fault make a wrong *Application* thereof.

II. That the *Scripture* was not designed for a *Certain Rule* as to *Unnecessary Opinions*; and therefore Mens not arriving at a *Certainty* in them, doth not hinder its being a *Rule* of *Faith*.

III. The *Scripture* being our *Rule* of *Faith*, we are bound to reject all pretended *Articles* of *Faith*, which cannot with *Certainty* be proved from

from the *Sense* of *Scripture*. And so the Proof of *Certainty* lies upon those who affirm such *Articles* of *Faith*, and not upon us who deny them.

This Argument is Mr. Serjeant's *Goliath*, and now it is no wonder if his lesser *Men at Arms* soon quit the Field. But I must take some notice of them, lest they be magnified, by being slighted.

His next Argument is, *That I contradict my self*: I hope I have in the beginning made him unwilling to repeat such a Charge against me, till he hath cleared himself. But wherein is it? In another place, he saith, *I deny any Absolute Certainty as to Tradition attesting the Books of Scripture; which in the Conference I asserted*. I have looked in the Place he refers to, and there I find nothing like it. I deny the Necessity of any Infallible Society of Men, either to Attest or Explain the Scripture. Where, by an *Infallible Society* of Men, I mean such as have a *Divine Assistance* to that purpose: And what is this to the *Absolute Certainty* we have of the *Books of Scripture* by *Universal Tradition*? But he urges it further, *If this Society be not Infallible, then it is Fallible; and if it be Fallible, then we cannot be more than fallibly Certain, and so we can have no absolute Certainty from a Fallible Testimony*. This is the whole force of what he saith. To which I Answer.

I. I understand no such thing as *Infallibility* in Mankind, but by *immediate Divine Assistance*. I grant, that the Holy Spirit may, where he pleases, preserve the Minds of Men from any possibility of mistake, as to those things, wherein it doth enlighten them; but set aside this, there is no such thing as *Infallibility*; the utmost is a *rational Certainty* built on clear and convincing Motives. Where the *Motives* are merely *probable*, there may be *Opinion*, but on *Certainty*; where the Evidence is thought so strong as to determine Assent, there is a *Certainty* as to the Mind; as when we commonly say, we are *certain* of such things, we mean no more, than that we firmly believe them; but when the Evidence is the highest, which in point of Reason the thing is capable of, then there is that which I call *Absolute Certainty*; i. e. such as depends not merely on the Assent of the Mind, but the Evidence which justifies that Assent.

II. If by being *fallibly Certain*, he means any *Suspicion*, that notwithstanding such Evidence in all its Circumstances, *I may be deceived*, then I utterly deny it; for otherwise I could not be *absolutely Certain*; but if he means only, that there is no *Divine Infallibility* (and I know no other) then I own that there is still *humane Fallibility* consistent with this *Absolute Certainty*. But Mr. Serjeant will have *Absolute Certainty* to be *Infallible*: If nothing will satisfy him, but *Humane* (i. e. fallible) *Infallibility*, much good may it do him; but I much rather chuse proper Terms, which I know the certain meaning of, than improper, though they make a far greater Noise. I do own an *Absolute Certainty* in some Acts of the Mind by *inward Perception*, as that *I think, I doubt, and that I am*; I do own an *Absolute Certainty* as to common *Objects of Sense*; and as to some Deductions of Reason; I do own an *Absolute Certainty* as to some *Matters of Fact*, by a Concurrence of Circumstances; but for all that, I do not account *Humane Nature Infallible*, nor this an *Infallible Certainty*, unless it be taken in another Sense than *Divines* take it in. For even the *Divines* of the Church of *Rome*, as well as Ours, make a difference

ference between a *Humane* and *Acquisite Certainty*, and that which is *Divine* and *Infallible*. And if Mr. Serjeant by *Divine* means *Humane*, and by *Infallible* no more than *Certain*, he must not think he hath gained any great matter, when he hath made use of *Words* in an improper and unusual Sense.

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p. 25

III. His next Argument is, That our *Rule of Faith* is common to all the *Heresies in the World*, which pretend *Scripture*, as well as we. This is just the Old *Sceptical* Argument against *Certainty*; if there be any such a thing as *Certainty*, you must assign such a *Criterion* which is not common to *Truth* and *Falshood*; but if you cannot assign any such Mark of *Truth*, which may not as well agree to what is *False*, then there is no such thing as *Certainty* to be had. In matters of this nature, the *Proof* must not lie in *Generals*, but we must come to *Particulars*, to shew the *Grounds* of our *Certainty*, viz. as to the *Trinity*, and *Incarnation* of *Christ*, and then if we cannot shew why we believe those Points, and reject the opposite *Heresies*, as *Arianism*, *Sabellianism*, *Eutychianism*, &c. then we are to be blamed for want of *Certainty* in these Points, but not before. But this, he saith, is to make *Light* and *Darkness* very consistent, and *Christ* and *Belial* very good *Friends*. It seems then, there is no difference to be found, by the *Rule* of *Scripture*, between the *Doctrine* of *Christ* and the *Devil*. Is this in *Truth* your avowed Principle? Do you in earnest believe the *Scripture* to be such a *Chaos*, where there is no difference of *Light* and *Darkness*, and that nothing but *Confusion* can be found in it; And we cannot tell by it, whether we are to *Worship* God or the *Devil*? If Mr. Serjeant grants, that there is enough in *Scripture* to distinguish these two; then it is a *Rule*, so far, as to put a difference between *Light* and *Darkness*, between *Christ* and *Belial*; and so these Expressions must be disowned as little less than *Blasphemous*, for all his pitiful Defence of them in his *Second Letter*; which is, That he never said that *Christ* and *Belial* could be reconciled, or advanced any Position that implied it. But he said, That to make *Scripture* our *Rule*, is to make *Light* and *Darkness* consistent, and *Christ* and *Belial* very good *Friends*. And is not this *Blasphemy* against *Scripture*? and implies, that if we go by that *Rule* only, they may be very good *Friends*. How can this be, unless he asserts that by *Scripture* alone, we can find no certain difference between *Light* and *Darkness*, between *Christ* and *Belial*? Let Mr. Serjeant Answer to this, and not think to escape with such a poor Evasion. If he owns the *Scripture* a *Certain Rule* as to the difference of *Christ* and *Belial*, and *Light* and *Darkness*, then we have gained thus much, that in some Matters of very great Moment, the *Scripture* is a very sufficient *Rule* and *Ground* of *Certainty*, as to all Points between Us and *Infidels*. And if it be so, as to these Points, then why not as well as to other Points consequent upon these? If *Christ* be the *Eternal Son* of *God* in opposition to *Heathen Deities*, and we can know him by *Scripture* to be so, then we may as well know him to be the *Eternal Son* of *God* in opposition to *Arians* and *Socinians*. If against the *Heathens* we can prove from *Scripture*, that the *Word* was made *Flesh*, Why will not this as well hold against *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*? And so the *Scripture* becomes a very sufficient *Rule* to distinguish *Light* and *Darkness* in such Points among *Christians* too. For, is it ever the less fit to be a *Rule*, because both Parties own it? But they differ about the Sense of it, and therefore *Controversies* can never be ended by it. If *Church-History* deceive us not, the greatest

greatest Controversies were ended by it, before General Councils were heard of, and more than have been since. Many of those we read of in the first Ages were quite laid asleep, as *Theodoret* observes; but since Church Authority interposed in the most reasonable manner, some Differences have been perpetuated, as appears by the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Controversies. I do not blame the Authority of Councils, proceeding as they then did by the Rule of Scriptures, but the Event shewed, that most probable Means are sometimes very ineffectual for ending Controversies. And those which Men think will most effectually suppress Heresies, do often give a new Life and Spirit to them; so vain are the Imaginations of Men about putting an End to Controversies, till they come to a Certainty about the true Sense of Scripture. It is possible to stop Mens Mouths by Force and Power, but nothing brings Men to a true Satisfaction, but inward Conviction as to the true Sense of Scripture; and there can be no rational Certainty as to these Points without it. If Controversies be not ended, let us not blame the Wisdom of Providence; for God doth not always appoint the Means most effectual in our Judgment, but such as are most suitable to his own Design. And we see Reason enough to blame the Folly and Weakness, the Prejudice and Partiality, the Willfulness and Obstinacy of Mankind, till humane Nature be brought to a better Temper, we may despair of seeing any End of Controversies. Men may dispute, and for all that I know, will do to the World's End, about the Method to put an End to Dispute. For the Controversies about Certainty and Fatality have been always the Matters of Debate among disputing Men, under several Names and Hypotheses, and are like so to be to the general Conflagration.

IV. He saith, *Scripture is not our distinguishing Rule of Faith, but our own particular Judgments about Scripture; for that which distinguishes my Rule from that of the most abominable Heresies, can only be my own Judgment upon the Letter of Scripture, and wriggle which way I will, there it will and must end at last.* I wish Mr. Serjeant had been a little better conversant in the old Disputes about Certainty; for it would have saved me the trouble of answering some impertinent Objections; such as this before us. For they would have been thought mean Logicians, who could not put a difference between the Rule of Judgment, and the Judgment which a Man made according to the Rule. Suppose the Question were about Sense, whether that were a certain Rule or not to judge by; and *Epicurus* should affirm it, and say he so firmly believed it, that he judged the Sun to be bigger than he seemed to his Senses, would not he have been thought ridiculous, who should have said this Fancy of *Epicurus* was his Rule? The Rule he went by was in it self certain, but he made a wrong Judgment upon it; but that was not his Rule. So it is here: We declare the Scripture to be our only certain and standing Rule, whereby we are to judge in Matters of Faith; and we understand it as well as we can, and form our Judgments by it; but doth it hence follow, that our Judgment is our Rule? We may be deceived in our Judgments, but our Rule is Infalible; we may differ in our Judgments, but our Rule is one and the same. And how is it possible for those who differ in Judgment to have the same Rule, if our Rule and our Judgment be the same? For then their Rules must be as different as their Judgments. I know not what modern Logick Mr. Serjeant learnt; but I am sure he learnt not this way

way of Reasoning from the ancient *Philosophers*, who discoursed about the *Criterion* after another manner than our great Pretender to Logic doth.

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V. He objects, That our People do not make Scripture the Rule of their Faith, not one in a Million relying upon it; and therefore this Pretence of mine, he saith, looks like a Jest; and cannot persuade himself that I am earnest, while I advance such a Paradox. What doth J. Serjeant mean, to call one of the Articles of our Church a Jest and a Paradox? For the Words of our Sixth Article, are, *Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation.*

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Doth J. Serjeant now take this for a Paradox among us? I assure him I love not to make Jests about Scripture, nor Matters of Faith and Salvation. But wherein doth this Jest lie? Why, forsooth, I make the People to make the Scripture their Rule, and not one in a Million thinks of relying on it. Have they then any other Rule of Faith, which they rely upon? What is it, I pray? Is it the Church's Infallibility? No. Is it Pius the Fourth's Creed? No truly, while they are Children they believe Tradition. Now, I think, J. Serjeant hath hit it. Tradition is indeed a Rule of Faith for Children; who are very apt simply to believe their Fathers and Teachers. But suppose they come to Years of Discretion, what Rule of Faith have they then? Have they a Judgment of Discretion then? No; this is another Jest. For he supposes all our People to be a dull sort of Animals, that understand nothing of Scripture or Faith themselves, (I wonder then that they make no more Converts among them) but trust their Parson for all; for, *Boves arabant & Asina pascebantur juxta eos*, therefore the People have no Judgment of Discretion: I hope J. Serjeant knows whose Jest or rather Argument that was.

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Whatever he insinuates as to our People, I have Reason to believe far better of them; and that all those who mind their Salvation, do seriously read and consider the Holy Scriptures as the Rule of their Faith. But if in Matters of Opinion, or in doubtful or obscure Places, they make use of the Skill and Assistance of their Teachers, wherein are they to blame? The Scripture is still their Rule, but the Help of their Teachers is for the better understanding it. And cannot our Logician distinguish between the Rule of Faith, and the Helps to understand it? Suppose now a Mother or a Nurse should quit honest Tradition, as J. Serjeant here calls it; and be so ill inclined, as to teach Children to spell, and to read in the New Testament, and by that means they come by degrees to understand the Doctrine which Christ preached, and the Miracles which he wrought, and from thence to believe in Christ, and to obey his Commands, I desire to know into what these Persons do resolve their Faith. Is it indeed into those who taught them to read? Or into the New Testament, as the Ground of their Faith? When they have been all along told, that the Scripture alone is the Word of God; and whatever they are to believe, it is because it is contained therein. And so, by whatever means they come to understand the Scripture, it is that alone they take for the Rule and Foundation of their Faith. If a Man were resolved to observe Hippocrates his Rules, but finds himself incapable of understanding him, and therefore desires a Physician's Help; I would fain know

know, whether he relies upon the Skill of his Interpreter, or the Authority of Hippocrates? It is possible his Interpreter may, in some doubtful and obscure Place, have mistaken Hippocrates his Meaning; but however, the Reason of his keeping to the Rules is not upon the Account of the Interpreter, but of Hippocrates. *Suppose a College of Physicians interpret Hippocrates differently, will you then believe his own Interpreter against the Sense of the College?* *Answer.* If a College of Physicians should translate Bread for Cheese; or by *Polemon* should declare was meant cutting of Arteries, or of a Man's Throat, let them presume to be never so Infallible, I would trust any single Interpreter, with the Help of Lexicons and Common Sense, against them all; but especially, if I can produce Galen and the old Physicians, who understood Hippocrates best, on my side. This is our Case, as to the People, about disputable Points; we do not set up our own Authority against a Church pretending to be Infallible, we never require them to trust wholly to our Judgments; but we give them our best Assistance, and call in the old Interpreters of the Church, and we desire them to use their own Reason and Judgment, with Divine Assistance, for settling their Minds.

If People be negligent and careless, and will not take necessary Pains to inform themselves, which Mr Serjeant suggests, we are not bound to give an Account of those who do not observe our Directions. And I never yet knew the Negligent and Careless brought into a Dispute of Religion; for in this Case, we must suppose People to act according to the Principles of the Religion they own, otherwise their Examples signify no more against our Doctrine, than Debauchery doth against the Rules of Hippocrates.

But suppose, saith Mr. Serjeant, that one of my own Flock should tell me, that I have erred in interpreting Scripture, he desires to know what I would say to him? This is a very easy Question, and soon answer'd. I would endeavour to convince him as well as I could. And is that all? And what would J. Serjeant do more? Would he tell him he was Infallible? I think not; but only as honest Tradition makes him so, and how far that goes towards it, I shall examine afterwards.

Well; but suppose John Biddle, against the Minister of his Parish, and the whole Church of England to boot, understands Scripture to be plainly against a Trinity and Christ's Divinity.

And it is but fair for me to suppose him, maintaining his Heresy against J. Serjeant; and let any one judge whether of us be more likely to convince him. He owns the Scripture, and confesses if we can prove our Doctrine from thence, he will yield; but he laughs at Oral Tradition, and thinks it a Jest for any one to prove such a Doctrine by it. And truly, if it were not for the Proofs from Scripture, I do much question, whether any Argument from meer Tradition could ever confute such a one as John Biddle. But when we offer such Proofs, as are acknowledged to be sufficient in themselves, we take the only proper way to give him reasonable Satisfaction. Suppose he will not be convinced. Who can help that? Christ himself met with wilful and obstinate Unbelievers. And was this any Disparagement to his Doctrine? God himself hath never promised to cure those who shut their Eyes against the Light.

Shall

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Shall the Believing Church then have the Liberty to interpret Scripture against the Teaching Church? Who ever asserted any such thing? We only say, that the People are to understand the Grounds of their Faith; and to judge by the best Helps they can, what Doctrine is agreeable to Scripture, and to embrace what is so, and to reject what is not: But among those Helps we take in, not bare the personal Assistance of their own Guide, but the Evidence he brings, as to the Sense of the Teaching Church, in the best and purest Ages.

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It is very strange, that after this, it should presently follow, 'Tis evident hence, that Tradition of our Fathers and Teachers, and not Scriptures Letter, is indeed our Rule; and by it we interpret Scripture. If this be so evident, then how is it possible, we should set up the Ecclesia Credens against the Ecclesia Docens; as he charged us just before. If Tradition be our Rule, and we interpret Scripture by it, what fault then are we guilty of, if Tradition be such an Infallible Rule? But, methinks, this Hence looks a little Illogically upon the Premises; and if this be his Conclusive Evidence, he must excuse me as to the making it a Ground of my Faith.

But he allows, That we set up Scripture as our Rule, when we Dispute against them; but when that is done, we set up our own Authority over the People, and do not allow them that Privilege against us, which we take against the Church of Rome. This is all the strength of what I can make out of that Paragraph. For if all Writing were like his, it would be the best Argument for Oral Tradition; his Sense is so intricate, and his Conclusions so remote from his Premises. Just before he said, 'Tis evident hence that we follow Tradition. And presently, 'Tis as evident we do not follow it, and set up our Authority against it. We do interpret Scripture by Tradition; and yet immediately, we set up Scripture against Tradition. We plead for the Peoples Right to a Judgment of Discretion; and yet we do not allow them a Judgment of Discretion. What invisible links hath Oral Tradition to connect things, that seem so far asunder?

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But however it be expressed or connected, his meaning is, That we only set up Scripture against the Church of Rome, and then set up our own Authority over the People. This is not possible, if we do allow them a Judgment of Discretion; and this is one of the things he so much charges upon me; and saith, He never read any Protestant that puts Matters more into private hands than I do; and yet in the very next Page, he saith, I deny the People the same Privilege against Pastoral Authority. How can I deny them such a Privilege, if I put Matters into their hands above any other Protestant? I do not know, that I do in the least differ from the sixth Article of our Church; nor do I take off from the due Authority of Bishops and Pastors of Churches. But all our Dispute is, about this Judgment of Discretion, whether it be allowable to People, and how far.

Third Letter, p. 92.

In his Third Letter he resumes this Argument, and thither I follow him, that I may lay things together into some Method. The words he cavils at, are, "If we have the Consent of all Christian Churches against the only pretended Infallible Judge, we have their Consent likewise, that every Man is to judge for his own Salvation. What hurt is there in this? It seems then nothing will content us now but Infallibility. Was there ever such an awkward Man at Reasoning? It follows indeed, that either there must be an Infallible Judge, or every Man must judge for himself. Do I then allow no Authority to Church-Governors, that

that do not pretend to Infallibility? Yes, very much, while they do not pretend to Impose on our Faith, by a pretence to Infallibility. But what Occasion do I give for this, when I say only, *That every Man must judge for his own Salvation*; and yet he had the Conscience to leave this out in repeating my Sense, but two lines after. May not you mistake or pervert to Day, what you heard Yesterday, when I find you mistaking or perverting my Sense, but at two lines distance? And then run on in a long Discourse, as though you had taken the true Sense of my Words. Is not this a fit Person to play out Mr. Godden's Game, who shuffles in so strange a manner, and so openly plays false Cards? Where did I ever dispute against Church-Authority in due proposing Matters of Faith, provided that every Man is to judge for his own Salvation? But I have, he saith, *an aking Tooth at the Churches intermeddling in Matters of Faith*. From whence doth this appear? This must either arise from great Ignorance, as to the Right of Judging every Man hath as to his own Salvation; or from a Malicious Design, to expose me to all Church-Governors; but I pity his Ignorance, and despise his Malice. What pleasant Entertainment doth he make with the Sober Enquirer? 'Tis pity (saith he) *but he had a blue Apron on, and a Tub to Hold forth in*; as a Sober Enquirer may possibly find some Pretenders to Infallibility have done in their Time. But what is the meaning of all this ado about a Sober Enquirer? I had said many years ago, "That the Scriptures being owned, as containing in them the whole Will of God so plainly revealed, that no Sober Enquirer can miss of what is necessary for Salvation, there can be no Necessity supposed of an Infallible Society of Men either to Attest or Explain these Writings among Christians, any more than there was for some Ages before Christ, of such a Body of Men among the Jews, to Attest or Explain to them the Writings of Moses and the Prophets. And where lies the Heresie or Danger of this Doctrine? If I said that no Sober Enquirer can miss of things necessary to Salvation in Scripture, it is no more than St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, Aquinas, and other School-men, had said before me; and *Were they for blue Aprons and Tubs to Hold forth in*? Nay, to shew how unskilful J. Serjeant is in the Writers of his own Church, (if they do own him) even Ballarmine himself grants as much as I say. For being to Answer that Place Jam. 1. 5. *If any Man lack Wisdom, let him ask it of God, who giveth liberally, &c.* he Answers, This is to be understood of *Sapientia necessaria ad Salutem*; so then a Sober Enquirer praying to God to give him Wisdom, shall not want that which is Necessary to his Salvation. And he quotes several Passages of St. Augustin to prove, *that Prayer obtains nothing Infallibly but that which is necessary or useful to the Salvation of him that prays*. If this be then obtained Infallibly, then we see an Infallible Ground of Certainty, as to what is Necessary or Useful to Salvation. Bellarmine indeed saith, that a Gift of Interpretation is not to be had by Prayer; and, Do I ever say it is? Did I ever give the least Countenance to Enthusiastick Pretenders, or to the Breakers of the Laws and Orders of our Etablissement Church? What means then these spiteful Insinuations? Doth the Man hope to raise Himself by exposing Me? Or to be caressed by F. P. and F. W. for the brave attempt of throwing Dirt so plainly in my Face? Which will never stick, being so unskilfully thrown, either to my Prejudice, or his Advantage.

Page 93.

Bell. de verbo Dei, l. 3. c. 6. sect. Respondeo.

But

But this Matter about the Peoples Judgment of Discretion, must not be thus pass'd over: For he resumes it at the end of his *Third Letter*, and thought it a good relishing Bit to conclude with. And towards the very end he begins to state the Controversy, this true Logician having forgotten it before, or reserved it for a Desert at the last.

Third Letter, p. 99.

To come closer (saith he) and take a more distinct View of this Judgment of Discretion. It was even time to come closer in the 99th Page of the *Third Letter*. Alas for Mr. Godden! he is like to have a hopeful Game of it, when his Substitute talks at this rate at the very end of the Game. But let us see what Feats he will do now he comes closer. Now he will acquaint me how far he allows it, and how far, and how in what he rejects it. This is well, but why no sooner? He was at another Game before, viz. two or three Throws at the *sober Enquirer*, and having knock'd him down with his *blue Apron and Tub*, he now comes to T. Godden's Cards again. And let us see how well he plays them. First, he grants, *That every Man is to judge for his own Salvation*, i.e. he yields what the *sober Enquirer* aim'd at; and now methinks he desires the *blue Apron and Tub*, to hold forth himself. Secondly, he saith, *All Mankind are agreed in it.* It seems then the *Fanaticks* are true *Catholics* in Mr. Serjeant's Opinion. Thirdly, he yields, *That every Man is to judge of the best way to Salvation, and of all the Controversies between them and us.* Now the *Tub* is turn'd to a *Chair*, and the *Holder-forth* become a *Judge of Controversies*. Nay, he goes so far as to say, the contrary Tenet is ridiculous, as what's most; nay, that it is *Sottishness* to hold it; and to deprive Mankind of this Privilege of judging thus, is to debar him of the *Light and Use of his Reason*, when it is most useful for him. Is not all this very obliging? But where now lies the Difference? Why, truly, if his Discretion leads him to the *Infallible Rule of Tradition*, all is well; but if not, it is no longer Discretion. What! has he been Judge of all the Controversies between us already, and is he to seek for his Rule still? What Discretion had he all that time to judge without a Rule? What a Judge of Controversies have we found at last? Methinks the *sober Enquirer* far exceeds him in point of common Discretion; for he never pretended to judge without a Rule, much less all the Controversies between us. But this discreet Judge of all Controversies, first determines all the Points; and when he hath done this, he finds out his Rule. Of all the Judges of Controversies that have been yet talk'd of, commend me to this set up by J. Serjeant: For how is it possible for him to judge amiss, who had no Rule to judge by?

Page 102.

You see (saith he) how we allow them the Use of their Reason and Judgment of Discretion, till it brings them to find a certain Authority, and when they have once found that, the same Judgment of Discretion which shewed them that Authority was absolutely certain, obliges them to trust it, when it tells them what is Christ's Faith, without using their private Judgments any longer about the particular Points themselves thus ascertain'd to them, but submitting to it. To which I answer,

I. The same Reason which enabled Men to find out this *Infallible Guide* or certain Authority, will help them to judge concerning this Authority, and the Matters propos'd by it. For either he hath a Rule to find out this Authority, or he hath none; if he hath a Rule, it must

be

be either Scripture or pure Natural Reason. If Scripture, that only affords *fallible Certainty*, he saith over and over, and so a Man can never come certainly to this Authority. And if the Foundation be uncertain, what can the Rule do? But Mr. *Serjeant* doth not pretend *Scripture* but *Reason* for his Infallible Rule. Then I demand, whether Reason doth afford an Infallible Ground of Certainty, as to this certain Authority or not? If it doth, we are yet but *fallibly certain*; if it doth not, then what need this certain Authority; for in the Opinion of all reasonable Men, *certain Reason* is better than *certain Authority*. And he cannot deny the Certainty of Reason, who builds the Certainty of Authority upon it.

II. Suppose the particular Points proposed by this certain Authority be repugnant to that Certainty of Reason, by which I am required to believe it: As suppose this Authority tells me, I am no longer to rely upon my Reason, but barely to submit it, although the Matter proposed be never so much against it: What is to be done in this Case? I am to believe this certain Authority on the Account of Reason, and that requires me to believe such things as overthrow the Certainty of Reason; how is it possible for me to rely on this certain Authority on the Certainty of Reason, when that Authority tells me, there is no Certainty in Reason?

III. Must I believe *Reason* to be *certain* just so far and no further? But who sets the Bounds? Hath God Almighty done it? When and where? I may and ought to use my Reason in searching after this certain Authority, and to judge all Controversies in order to the finding it out; all this is allowed: But as soon as ever this certain Authority is discover'd, then *Good-night Reason*, I have now no more Use for you. But who bid you be so ungrateful to that certain Reason, which conducted you so far? It is very possible it may be as useful still, why then do you turn Reason off so unkindly after so good Service?

IV. Are all People capable of this certain Reason, or not? It requires, it seems, a great deal of Logick to prove this certain Authority, or this Infallible Guide by Reason; and I am one of those that think it can never be done. Suppose then some of us duller People can never comprehend the Force of this Reason, which is to lead us to an Infallible Guide, what is like to become of us incapable People? Are we all to be damned for Dunces and Blockheads? No, not so neither: This is really some Comfort. For then it is to be hoped we may go to Heaven without finding out this *certain Authority*; and then we may have true Faith without it: This is still better and better. And then I pray what need have I to find out this certain Authority at all, if I may have true Faith, and be saved without it?

V. I have greater Certainty by *Reason* of the *certain Authority* of *Scripture*, than you can have of the *certain Authority* of *Tradition*. Here is *Reason* on both sides, and *Authority* on both sides; but I say there is no Comparison between either the *Reason* or the *Authority*. The *Reason* to believe the *Scripture* is so incomparably beyond the Reason to believe *Oral Tradition*; and the Authority of *Scripture* hath so much

greater Force on the Consciences of Men, that it is very extraordinary among those who own the Scripture to be the Word of God, to find them compared in Point of *Authority*: For we must deal plainly in this Matter; the Scripture we look on as the *Rule* of our *Faith*, because it is the *Word of God*. If you do not own it to be so, but resolve all into *Tradition*, we know what you are; but if you do own the *Scripture* to be of *Divine Revelation*, how can you pretend to set up any *certain Authority* in comparison with it?

VI. If this *certain Authority* be only to lead us into the *certain Sense* of Scripture, then it must be either into the *Sense* of plain Places, or of difficult and obscure: If of plain Places, then it is to kindle a Torch to behold the Sun; if of obscure Places, then who hath appointed this *certain Authority* to explain them? Who is to appoint such a *certain Authority* in the Church to explain his Word, but God himself? And we desire to see some plain Places, that set up this *Authority* to explain those which are obscure and doubtful. We think it our Duty to read and *search the Scripture*, and especially the *New Testament*, where we find very great Occasion for this *certain Authority* to be mentioned. We find Churches newly settled, and many Disputes and Controversies started among them, and those of great and dangerous Consequence; we find the Apostles giving frequent Advice to these Churches with respect to these Differences, and with great Earnestness giving Caution against Seducers, and warning them of the Danger of them; but not one Word can we find in all their Epistles tending this way, or mentioning any *certain Authority* they were to submit to, for the putting an End to all Controversies. This is really a Matter of so much Concernment to the whole Christian World, that if any such thing had been in the Design of Christianity, I can never believe that the Apostles would have omitted it in their several Epistles. Had not they sufficient Care of the *Certainty* of Mens Minds, and of the Peace of the Church? Was it a *Secret* concealed then from them? Or not thought fit to be communicated by them, when it was most necessary to prevent the early Corruptions and Errors of the Christian Churches? But they are so far from it, that I cannot find any Intimation to that Purpose in all their Writings, altho' they had the fairest Occasions for it.

VII. If Men by *certain Reason* have found out this *certain Authority*, what are they to do with this *certain Reason* afterwards? Methinks it is a little hard for ever to discharge so useful a Servant immediately after so extraordinary a Piece of Service, as the finding out an *Infallible Guide*. We do not find the Apostles directing the People not to make use of their Understandings, because their Guides were *Infallible*. I am apt to think the Apostles were as *Infallible* as *Tradition* or *Church-Authority* ever since; and therefore what Allowance was made by them to a *Judgment of Discretion* is still to continue. What
 1 Cor. 10. 15. doth St. Paul mean to speak to the Corinthians in such a manner, I
speak as to wise Men, judge ye what I say. How different is this from I
speak by an Infallible Spirit, and ye are not to judge what I say? When
 1 Theff. 5. 21. he saith to the Thessalonians, *Prove all things,* doth he mean, *Swallow all*
 John 4. 1. *things, and prove nothing?* When St. John saith, *Try the spirits, whether*
they are of God, doth he only mean, till they had found a *certain Au-*
 thority

thority? Did not they believe St. John's Authority to be Certain? If not, to what purpose did he write his Epistle to them? If he did, he supposed them still to have a liberty of Judging, even those who pretend to Inspiration. For, many false Prophets are gone out into the world. And there are certain Rules and Marks to judge of the Pretences to an Infallible Spirit, which were in vain assigned, if they were not to judge by them.

VIII. Suppose Men differ about this *Certain Authority*, wherein it lies, and how far it extends; Are not they to exercise their *Reason* still about this? Suppose some pretend, that it lies in an *Infallible Assistance* which Christ hath promised to his Church in all Ages; and Others say, this is impossible to be a Ground of Faith, because it is itself an Article of Faith: Must not a Man exercise his Reason about this? Here is *Certain Authority* pleaded; but Others say, there is *Certain Reason* against this Pretence of *Certain Authority*; and they must grant I must follow *Certain Reason*, though against *Certain Authority*. Again, Others say, the *Certain Authority* of *Oral Tradition* is a Novel, vain and dangerous Opinion, *destructive of Faith*, and leading to *Herésie* and *Atheism*; What is to be done in this Case? Must our Reason be quitted, and Men not be allowed to judge of this *Authority* by it? Yes, till they come to own it, and then they are to judge no longer; i. e. put out your Eyes once, and ye need never think of opening them after. Be very circumspect in the Choice of your Way, till you come to a *Precipice*, and when you are come there, be sure to throw your self from it headlong, and there is an *End of Controversies*. But we do not judge this a very Reasonable Method; but think he had much better keep upon plain Ground, and use the best Method he can to find the true Way; and if his Judgment, will serve him to find the *Way* to a *Precipice*, we think it will much better serve him to keep him from it; And that he had better bear with some imperfection of his Sight, than put out his Eyes that he may be the more quietly led, he knows not whither.

There is onely one thing more, which deserves to be taken notice of, about this Argument, viz. that J. Serjeant saith, *I expressly exclude the Churches Help*; which is, as he triumphantly concludes his Third Letter, *The First Principle, nay the Quintessence of all Herésie, Fanaticism in the Egg, perfect Enthusiasm when hatcht, and downright Atheism when fledg'd.* This is a parting Blow indeed. It is the bite of an Angry Viper, at its last Gasp, when it puts its utmost force into the Venom, and hopes even dying to destroy. Others love to conclude gently, but J. Serjeant is a Man by himself, and as though he were writing Epigrams, would reserve his Sting for the last. But what Ground is there for all this venomous Froth? Even just as much as there was for the Author of *Pax vobis* to say, *that I am for introducing Paganism*; or for another to make me *the Founder of Anti-Catholick, and Anti-Christian Doctrines*; whereas I profess to own no other than what have been received in this Church ever since the Reformation. But some Mens Spleen and Gall must have a Vent lest it destroy them. It is some satisfaction to me to think that none but such, who either *Oppose* or *Betray* our Church, set themselves thus to defame me; and it is a great comfort to find such feeble Reasoning, where so much Spite and Malice is discover'd. Thus it is here, with J. Serjeant he could merit nothing without giving me hard

Second Letter, p. 21.

words, and because many look on the Beginning and End of a Book, who mind nothing else in it; therefore he hath here put together as the Consequence of my Doctrine, no less than *Herese, Fanaticism, Enthusiasm, and downright Atheism*. He thought he could not make my Case Equal with his own, unless I were charged with *Herese, and Principles leading to Atheism*. But he is charged by the most *Zealous Catholicks*, and in respect to his avowed Principles; but my charge here is by an enraged Adversary; and for such a Doctrine which is owned by all Men of Understanding in both Churches, and if I may name him among them, even by *J. Serjeant* himself. My words are, *If it be said, that the Churches Power will become explicit to any sober Enquirer, then every such Person may without the Churches help find out all necessary Points of Faith*. And where lies the *Herese, the Enthusiasm, the Atheism* of this Doctrine, which I have already shewed was asserted both by *Fathers and School-men*? And *J. Serjeant* himself grants, that every Man is to judge for his own Salvation; and of the best way to his Salvation, and of all the Controversies between them and us, and especially of the true Grounds of Faith; and all this without the Churches help. And if he can do all this, I desire to know whether he cannot find out all Necessary Points of Faith? Hath he indeed resolved all Controversies, and yet wants some necessary Points of Faith? And hath he found out the Churches Authority too, without the Churches Help, and yet doth he want some necessary Points of Faith? Then it follows, that after the submitting to the Churches Authority, there are still necessary Points of Faith which may be wanting; and then an absolute Submission is not all that is required of one that hath found out the Churches Authority. But my whole Argument there proceeds upon a Supposition, *viz.* that if one may without the Churches Help find out the Churches Authority in Scripture, then why not all necessary Points of Faith? So that it goes upon a Parity of Reason; and I see no Answer at all given or pretended, but onely he endeavours to stop my Mouth with a handful of Dirt.

Thus I have dispatched this long Argument about the *Judgment of Discretion*. And I shall now sum up my Answer in these particulars.

I. Every Christian, as such, is bound to enquire after the true Way to Salvation, and hath a Capacity of Judging concerning it.

II. Every Christian proceeding according to the best Rules of judging, hath Reason to receive the Scripture as the Rule of his Faith.

III. The Scripture is so plain in all Necessaries, and God hath promised such Assistance to them, that sincerely seek it, that none who do so, shall want the knowledge of such things as are necessary to their Salvation.

IV. When any thing is offer'd as necessary to be believed in order to Salvation, every Christian hath a Right and Liberty of Judging, whether it can be proved by the Scripture to be so necessary or not.

V. We do not allow to particular Persons the same Faculty of Judging in doubtful Points of Controversie which we do as to Matters that immediately concern their Salvation.

VI. No pretence of Infallibility or Authority can take away that Right of Judging, which was allowed them by the Apostles, whose Authority was Infallible.

VII. This

VII. This Right of Judging doth not exclude the Churches due Authority as to Matters of Faith and Controversies of Religion, (as it is declared *Art. 20.* of our Church) but all that we now plead for, is (not any Authority as to others) but a Right of Judging as to themselves, in Matters that concern their Salvation.

VIII. The Certainty of Faith, as to them, depends upon two Things;
1. The Clearness of Scripture about them, which implies the *Certainty of Reason.* 2. The Promise of Divine Assistance which makes their *Faith Divine*, both as to its *Principle*, its *Ground*, and its *Effect*.

But I have not yet ended his *Objections* about our Rule of Faith; For

VI. He objects, *That we cannot necessarily resolve our Faith into the Writings of the Apostles onely.* What is the meaning that we cannot necessarily resolve it? I think we must Resolve it into a Written Rule, till we see another proved. Third Letter, Page, 34.

Did the Apostles when they went to convert the World, go with Books in their Hands, or Words in their Mouths? Doubtless, with Words in their Mouths. Or were those Words a jot less Sacred, when they came from their Mouths, than when they put them in a Book? Not one jot. Or lastly, doth any Command from Christ appear to write the Book of Scripture, or any Revelation beforehand, that it was to be a Rule of Faith to the future Church? No such matter; and the Accidental Occasions of its writing at first, and its Acceptation afterwards bar any such pretences. On the other side, their grand Commission was not scribe, but onely prædicate Evangelium.

I have given an Account so lately of the Reasons and Occasions of writing the *Gospels* and *Epistles* of the New Testament, that I need onely here to give these general Answers.

I. Whatsoever was done as to the Writing the Books of the New Testament, was done by the immediate Direction and Appointment of the Holy Ghost. Luke, 1. 4.
Job. 20. 31.

II. The Reason given, by the Writers of the *Gospels* themselves, is, that Matters of Faith might be delivered with the greatest Certainty.

III. Those Writings were not intended onely for the Benefit of the Church then being, but for future Ages; and thence the Books of Scripture were so received and esteemed in the Primitive Churches.

IV. The most Antient Writers of the Christian Church assure us, that the Apostles wrote the same Doctrine they taught, and for that purpose, that they might be a *Pillar and Foundation of Faith*.

V. The most certain way we now have to know what Doctrine the Apostles taught is by their Writings; since they taught and wrote the same Doctrine; and we are certain we have the Doctrine they wrote, but we have no other Way to be certain what Doctrine they taught.

VII. He objects, *That the Question being put concerning the New Testament's containing all Divine Revelations of Christ and his Apostles, I gave no direct Answer, but shuffled it off to Matters necessary to Salvation.* The setting out of this is the Subject of some pages. To which I give an easie Answer. Third Letter p. 38. 39, 40

The Question concerning the New Testament containing all the Divine Revelations of Christ and his Apostles, may be taken in two Senses.

1. As relating to the *entire Object* of Faith; and so the Answer was most direct and plain, to the second Question, "That the Rule, whereby we hold all the same Doctrine, that was taught by Christ and his Apostles, is by the Divine Revelations contained in the Writings of the New Testament. For since we believe all that is there, and nothing but what is there, that must contain the Entire Object of our Faith. And the word *All* must relate to that.

2. As to all those things which particular Persons are bound to believe, as contained therein; and so the Question being put, about the *Universal Testimony to assure us*, i. e. all particular Christians, *That the New Testament contained all the Divine Revelations of Christ and his Apostles*: My Answer was direct and apposite to this Sense, viz. that the Universal Testimony of the Christian Church, as to the Book of Scripture, and Doctrine therein contained, is a sufficient Ground to make us certain, i. e. all particular Persons, of all Matters necessary to our Salvation. So that the Substance of my Answer lies in these three things.

I. That all our Faith is contained in Scripture; and thereby we hold all the Doctrine taught by Christ and his Apostles.

II. That although all particular Persons may not reach to the entire Object of Faith contained in Scripture, yet they had hereby a Certainty, as to all Matters necessary to their Salvation.

III. That the Ground of Certainty as to both these, was the Universal Testimony of the Christian Church, concerning the Books of Scripture, and the Doctrine contained therein.

Second Letter,
p. 17.

The Words of my Letter are, "We are to consider, that the Scripture being our sole and entire Rule of Faith, all Matters necessary to Salvation, must be supposed to be contained therein; and therefore the same Testimony, which delivers the Scripture to us, doth deliver all the necessary Articles as contained therein. Which are there received as in the Lump; and if we receive the Book which contains all, we must by the same Authority receive all contained in it. As if a Purse be left to a Man by his Father's Will, full of Gold and Silver, and this by the Executors be declared to contain all the Gold and Silver his Father left him, they who deliver this Purse to him from the Executors, do certainly deliver to him all the Gold and Silver left him by his Father. But if he suspects there was both Gold and Silver left him by his Father, which was not in that Purse, then he must call in Question the Integrity of the Executors, who declared that all was contained therein. This is now the Case of the Christian Church, as to all Divine Truths which respect Mens Salvation; the Primitive Church, who answer to the Executors in the other Case, did unanimously declare that all such Truths were undoubtedly contained in the Written Word. Although therefore there may be a real Difference in the nature of the Doctrines therein contained, as there is between Gold and Silver, yet he that receives all, must receive one as well as the other; and the Matters of

" Salvation,

" Salvation, being of greatest Moment, they that receive the whole
 " Will of God upon Grounds of Certainty, must be assured that there-
 " in they receive all Matters necessary to our Salvation.

Never was any Purse so rifled as this is by J. Serjeant; he examines not only the Coin in it, but the very Strings and Linings of it. He is a dreadful Man at ransacking a Metaphor. He tells me, *My Similitude is so far from running on four Legs, that it is in many regards lame on the right (and indeed only) Foot it ought to stand on; and which is worse, perhaps against myself. The Sum of it amounts to this, that because Scripture contains all, and Protestants have Scripture, therefore they have all. A strange kind of Discourse! As if, because they have it in a Book, therefore they have it in their Minds and Souls, in which, and no where else Faith is to reside.* Third Letter, P. 40.

But was not the Question put, whether we had *All the Points of Faith which our Saviour taught*? And how could I answer a Question about *All*, but by shewing where we had *All*? If *All* the Doctrine of Christ be there, we must be certain we have *All*, if we have the Scripture which contains *All*. For I profess to believe every thing there, and nothing as a Point of Faith but what is there. We do not pretend, that it is enough for Persons to say, their Faith is in such a Book; but we grant that they ought to read and search, and actually believe whatever they find in that Book; but still all Points are not equally necessary to all Persons that are therein contained, but all such as are necessary to Salvation, lie there open to the Capacities of all who desire to know them.

Now this is one of the things J. Serjeant finds fault with this Similitude of a Purse for, *viz. That People think it is an easy thing to open, and as easy to come at the Sense of Scripture, as to take Money out of a Purse: 'Tis but plucking the Strings, and the Deed is done.* And is this any Disparagement to a Rule of Faith to be plain and easy? If it were not so, it could not be a Rule of Faith for all Persons. We do not say, that any Person by opening the Scriptures, may presently attain to the certain Sense of all Places of Scripture; but that which I assert, is, That no Man who sets himself to read and consider the Scriptures as he ought, and prays for Wisdom from God, shall miss of knowing all things necessary to his Salvation. But Mr. Serjeant is for mending the Similitude, and truly he doth it after an extraordinary manner. *He will allow the Scriptures to be a Purse, provided the Purse's Mouth were tied up with a Knot of such a mysterious Contrivance, that none could open it but those who knew the Mind of the Bequeather; and that the Church, to which it was left as a Legacy, had Knowledge of his Mind, and so could open it, whilst others only perplexed themselves more while they went about it.*

The Point then between us is, whether the Scripture were left only to the Church to interpret it to the People in all Points; or whether it were intended for the general Good of the whole Church, so as thereby to direct themselves in their Way to Heaven; and consequently, whether it may not be opened and understood by all Persons in Matters that are necessary to their Salvation.

One would think by the Church of Rome's Management of the Scripture, keeping it so much out of the Peoples Hands, and talking so much of the Danger and Mischief that comes by it, that they did esteem

esteem it just as the old Romans did the *Sybilline* Oracles, which were to be kept up from the View of the People, and only to be consulted in Cases of great Difficulty, and no farther Questions were to be asked, but what the Keepers of them declared to be their Meaning, was to be so received without any farther Examination. And this is the Sense of the Politicians of that Church concerning the Scripture.

But when they have written like *Divines*, and have been driven to state the Controversie truly, they have been forced to such Concessions as have overthrown the *Political Hypothesis*. For,

*Bell. de verbo
Dei, l. 1. 2.*

I. They cannot deny that the Scripture was designed to be a certain and infallible Rule of Faith to all. This *Bellarmino* proves in the beginning of his Controversies; where he shews at large, That the Law was the Rule in the *Old Testament*. *To the Law and to the Testimony. Blessed are they that search thy Commandments, &c.* That in the *New Testament* Christ proves his Doctrine by the Scriptures, and refers the Pharisees to the Scriptures, and confuted the Sadducees out of them. That the Apostles direct Christians to honour, and esteem, and to rely upon them. And then he proves, that a Rule of Faith must be certain and known; and for the Scriptures, he saith, *Nihil est notius, nihil certius*; Nothing is more known, nothing more certain. How can this be, if there be such *mystical Knots which tie it together, that none but the Church-Guides can unloose?* How can this then ever be so known, as to be a Rule of Faith to the People? And not meerly a Rule, but a most certain and safe Rule. Which is the greatest Nonsense in the World, if it cannot be understood by those who are to make it their Rule. They may as well say, That *Algebra* was a Rule for *Masons* and *Carpenters*, and a *Jacob's Staff* for a *Taylor's Measure*.

But Mr. *Serjeant* hath beaten his Brains so long about *Rules* and *Rulers*, and that which is ruled and regulated by them. that we must not expect that he should be tied down to Cardinal *Bellarmino's* Notions; and therefore I must consider what he saith, after above twenty Years hard Labour about these things.

*Third Letter,
p. 81.*

He tells me plainly, I quite mistake the Meaning of the Word Rule. For (saith he) it speaks Rectitude. No doubt a right Rule doth. But still I mistake his Meaning. How so? There must be a Rectitude in the Rule. That is not it. What then? It must be evident Rectitude, i. e. Evident to be right. Not so. I hope we shall come at it at last. It is such an evident Rectitude as preserves those who regulate themselves by it from Obliquity or Deviation, that is, in our Case, from Error. And is this the wonderful Mystery? There wants but one Word to make it past Dispute, viz. who effectually regulate themselves by it. For Regulating is an ambiguous Word, and may be taken either, 1. For what a Man takes and professes to be his Rule, which he is to act by; so a *Ciceronian* regulates himself by *Cicero*, i. e. He declares his Manner of Speech to be the Rule he orders his Speech by. And yet it is very possible that such a Man may use Phrases which are not *Cicero's*, for want of sufficient Skill and Care. 2. For what he doth in Conformity to his Rule. And so he doth regulate himself by *Cicero*, who doth not in the least swerve from his Manner of Speaking. But *Cicero* is the Rule to both these. And so the Question here comes to this, Whether that can be said to be a true Intellectual Rule, which Men through their own

own Default, and not through any Defect in the Rule, may deviate from? If a Rule be in it self certain, and be certainly received for a Rule, that is surely enough to make it a Rule to a Man; but it is not necessary to the Being of a Rule, that a Man can never deviate from it by his own Fault. For, there is no Intellectual Rule can be assigned, but it is possible for a free Agent to deviate from; although he do at the same time profess it to be his Rule. Do not all Christians agree the Commands of Christ to be an Infallible Rule of Life? And *J. Serjeant* by his admirable Logick will either prove this not to be a Rule, or that it is impossible for Men to sin. For, saith he, *a Rule speaks Rectitude, and that such an evident one as preserves those who regulate themselves by it from Obliquity or Deviation.* Yes, saith he, this is very plain, those who regulate themselves by Christ's Rule, cannot sin: I grant it, those who do effectually regulate themselves by it; but others may profess this to be their Rule, and the most Infallible Rule of Life, and yet through their own Fault may deviate from it. So here Persons may own the Scripture to be a most certain and infallible Rule as to Truth and Falshood; and they are sure while they effectually regulate themselves by it, they can never err; but while they profess to do it, they may. So that all *Mr. Serjeant's* Subtlety vanishes into a nothing, by so plain and easy a Distinction. Therefore I am still of the mind, that a Rule of Faith is that whereby we are to judge what we are bound to believe as to Divine Revelations: No, saith *J. Serjeant* I ought to have said, *It is that by which, while we follow it, we shall be absolutely secured from erring in Faith.* This follows from the *Rectitude* of the Rule, that while Men keep to it, they cannot err; but it doth not follow from the Nature of the Rule, that Men must necessarily follow it. For is it possible for Men to misunderstand a Certain Rule or not? *i. e.* such a Rule which if they truly follow, they shall be secured from Erring: If not, then the Rule must be plain and evident to all Capacities, to such a degree, that they cannot fail in judging by it. If it be possible, then, although the Rule be in it self certain and infallible, yet it is possible for Men to err through such a Mistake; and while they think they follow the Rule, they may run into Error. And it is strange to me that *Mr. Serjeant* in all this time hath not discerned the Fallacy that hath misled him. If it hath really misled him, and not been set up by him, on purpose to confound and confute Hereticks, as he tells the Cardinals at *Rome*. But one of that number hath fully proved, as I have shewed already, that the Scripture was intended for a Rule of Faith to the People; and then it follows from *J. Serjeant* himself, that while they regulate themselves by it, they can never err. What Reason then can be given, why such a Rule of Faith should be kept from them? And the Purse should be tied up with so many mysterious Knots, which are utterly inconsistent with the Notion of a Rule of Faith.

II. They grant, That there is a great difference in the Points contained in Scripture; of which some are allowed to be *simply necessary to Salvation*, as those which are required to Baptism; and *Bellarmino* yields, *That all these Points are certainly contained in Scripture, and were the things which the Apostles constantly preached to all People:* Who cannot be denied to have been capable of understanding these things, when they heard them preached; and how could they lose the Capacity of understanding them when they were written? And if they might

Bell. de verbo Dei, l. 4. c. 11.

still Understand them, then the Scripture hath no such *Mysterious Knots*, but all Points necessary to Salvation may be understood by the People. So that as to these Points of greatest Importance, the Scripture must be left as a Legacy to all Christians, and not onely to the Guides of the Church.

But J. Serjeant craves leave to Explain himself; and it is great pity to deny it him. *Mistake me not, saith he, I do not mean Scriptures Letter Third Letter, is not clear in such Passages as concern Morality, or the X. Commandments; P. 44. nor in Matters of Fact, as the Marks or Signs of the Messias foretold by the Prophets; (Methinks the Mysterious Knots should have been about Prophecies,) nor in Parables explained by himself and such like; but in Dogmatical Points or Tenets, which are Spiritual, and oftentimes profound Mysteries, as a Trinity, Christ's God-head, the Real Presence of his Body in the Sacrament, and such like; and in such as these our Rule is not intelligible enough to keep the Followers of it from Erring. I Answer, Either the Apostles Preached these Points to all Persons as necessary to their Salvation; or they did not. If not, how come they to be necessary to be believed now? If they did, then the People were capable of Understanding them when they heard them, and therefore may as well understand them when they read them. I do not mean the Manner as to the Trinity and Incarnation (as to Transubstantiation, I know nothing in Scripture about it either as to Thing or Manner) but the Revelation of such a Doctrine. So that if these Points be owned to be necessary to Salvation, they must be so plain that Men may understand their Duty to believe them. For, that is the Bound I keep my self within, that all things Necessary to Salvation, are so plain, that we may be certain of our Duty to believe them; but if not, we may Err without Prejudice to our Salvation.*

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Mr. Serjeant asks what I mean by all things necessary to Salvation. Nothing but what all others do mean by it. *Did Christ (saith he) teach any unnecessary Points? Alas for him! But are all Points taught by Christ, or written in Scripture, equally necessary to the Salvation of all People? No, he saith presently after, That he will grant that fewer means than the Knowledge of all Christ taught, may suffice for the Salvation of some particular Persons. Very well; now I hope he will make something of the main business in hand, viz. To prove that Absolute Certainty of all that Christ Taught, is Necessary to Mens Salvation, when he grants that some may be Saved, without so much as Knowing all that Christ Taught. To what purpose was all this Heat about the Certainty of our Faith, as to all that Christ Taught, if at last some may be Saved without so much as Knowing it? How doth Mr. Serjeant prove, That those some are onely the Ignorant People in the Church of Rome; but that all Ours are tied to no less than Infallible Certainty of all that Christ Taught. He would have done well, to have proved such a Privilege for Ignorance to have been limited to their Communion; and that no Claim can be allowed as to the Circumstances of any other particular Persons. Some few (he saith again) may be Saved without Knowledge of such and such Points, slender Motives being enough for their Circumstances. I thank Mr. Serjeant for this. It seems that Point as to Salvation is gained, unless particular Persons among us can be proved to be none of these few. But where-ever they are, it seems they may be Saved; but I hope, not without True and Saving Faith; whence it follows, that such Faith hath no necessary Relation to these high*

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high Points; and there is no need of Infallible Certainty, as to them, of all Christ Taught. One of these high Points, is that of *Transubstantiation*; too high for me and Thousands and Millions besides, ever to apprehend, let us do our utmost; nay we cannot apprehend (such is our Dulness) that we can have any Certainty, as to Sense or Reason, if we hold it. We hope therefore J. Serjeant will enlarge his Number, and not talk only of *some* ~~Persons~~ *that may be Saved* without the Knowledge of such deep Mysteries; we desire to be admitted into his Number, for truly our Capacities can never be stretched so far, as to comprehend the Possibility of Transubstantiation. Suppose *our Motives be slender*, yet they are such as move us to that degree, that we cannot overcome the Reluctancies of Sense, and Reason, and Revelation, and Tradition against it.

ibid.

But Mr. Serjeant brings himself off with a *Salvo*; *Though all Points are not necessary for every particular Person, yet all of them are necessary for the Body of the Church, whose Pastors are to Instruct their Children in them, and apply the Efficacy of them to their Souls, as their Capacities admit, and Exigencies require.* It seems still they are not Necessary to particular Persons, but according to their Capacities and Exigencies, but *they are to the Body of the Church.* But how came they to be Necessary to the Body of the Church? For Instance, The Point of Transubstantiation is a very deep Point; and although particular Persons may be Saved without believing it, yet I cannot understand how this deep Point comes to be Necessary, in any Respect, for the Body of the Church. I hope J. Serjeant will not deny this to be one of his Necessary Church-Points: Let him then shew, how it comes to be so Necessary for the Pastors of the Church to Instruct their Children in it. My Capacity, I assure him, will not reach to this, and therefore I hope I may be excused; and in his own words, my mind is not capable of *being cultivated by such elevating Considerations.* I do not believe there is any such danger of the Flocks dying, or falling short of their full growth they might have had in the *Plentiful Pasturage of the Church*, as J. Serjeant elegantly speaks, if they do not believe Transubstantiation, or any such deep Points.

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But still we have no Absolute Certainty of our highest Fundamentals. No? We affirm the Contrary; and from Absolutely Certain Grounds. It is Absolutely Certain, that whatever God Reveals is true, and ought to be believed by us. And we are as absolutely Certain, as Scripture and Reason can make us, that God hath Revealed the Fundamentals of our Faith. But there is Experience to the Contrary. What Experience? That we are not Certain? We affirm that we are; and who can tell best? How comes Mr. Serjeant to know we are not Certain, when we say we are? But all are not, as Socinians, &c. What are they to us? Are not we certain, because some are not Certain? What pitiful Reasoning is this? Is Mr. Serjeant Certain of his Infallible Ground of Certainty, Oral Tradition? Why do I ask such a Question? For very good Reason; because there are some not Certain of it, and even in his own Church; but cry out upon it, as Fallible, Fallacious, Dangerous, and Destructive of Faith, and leading to Atheism. From whence it follows, on Mr. Serjeant's Principles, that he cannot be Certain himself, because others are not. Nay, it is impossible he should have any Certainty on his own Grounds. For he can have no Rule of Certainty, as I shall evidently prove from his own Words. A Rule must have Absolute Certainty; Absolute Certainty there cannot be where Persons are left un-

certain;

certain; but there are many in the Church of *Rome*, that not onely doubt of his Rule of Infallible Certainty, but utterly deny it, and dispute against it. How is it then possible for him to be certain of it on his own Grounds?

But it is time to proceed to another Objection against our Rule of Faith.

Third Letter.
Page, 50.

VIII. *J. Serjeant* saith, *We can be no more certain of our Rule, than we are of the Truth of the Letter of Scripture; but we cannot be certain we have the right Letter, unless we have a right Translation, and that must be from a true Copy: No Copy can be true, unless conformable to the Original; and if there be any Failure in any of these, nay, if we have not absolute Certainty of all these, we cannot have any absolute Certainty of our Faith.*

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This Objection those of the Church of *Rome*, who believe Scripture to be a Rule of Faith, (though not the complete) are concerned to answer as well as we. For, the Matters of Faith contained in Scripture are convey'd to their Minds after the same manner. But Mr. *Serjeant* saith, *Their Case is different from ours.* Do not they make the vulgar Translation authentick? And will not the same Objections then lie against all those who rely upon it? Let us see how *J. Serjeant* clears this Matter: 1. *The Canon of the Books comes down, saith he, by the Testimony of all Christian Churches, that are truly Christian.* And we say, the Canon of the Books comes down by the concurrent Testimony of all Christian Churches, however differing in other things. And herein, I think, we have much the Advantage: For, we do not except against the Testimony of any Christian Churches, nor condemn them as not truly Christian, till their Cause be better heard and examin'd. 2. *The Doctrine of Christ, saith he, transfused into the Hearts of the Faithful, both taught them how, and obliged them to correct the Copy in those particular Texts that concerned Faith.* What is this, but in plain Terms to expose the Scriptures to the Scorn and Contempt of Atheists and Infidels? Who would desire no better a Concession than this, that the Scripture hath been corrected in Matters of Faith, according to the Faith of the Church. If this be granted, it is impossible to prove that we have any true Original Texts, in Matters of Faith: For if the Church did correct the Copy in those particular Texts, which concerned Faith, according to the Sense of the Faithful, then the Church in every Age might so correct it: And consequently we can never be sure, that the Texts continue the same for any two Ages together, unless it be first proved impossible for the Sense of the Church to vary in any two Ages, or of those who think themselves bound to correct the Texts. And I should be very sorry to have my Faith rest upon such a slippery Foundation. I will put the Case as to the *Arian Controversy*. How was it possible for the *Nicene Fathers* to have convinced the *Arians* on such a Supposition as this? "You alledge several Texts of Scripture, might they say, to prove the God-head of Christ, and his Equality with the Father; but how then can we know that these were Original Texts, and not corrected by the Guides of the Church then, according to their own Sense? We do not deny that there were some leading Men of this Opinion, and having gained a Party to themselves, they corrected the Texts according to it: And therefore we can never be satisfied that these were the Original Texts, because we can bring down a Tradition of a contrary Sense from the Apostles times. I do not see

see what Satisfaction they could ever receive, if this pernicious Principle be allowed, that the Texts were to be corrected in Matters that concern Faith, according to the Sense of the Church. But he saith it is, *If any Error, through the Carelessness, Unattentiveness, or Malice of the Translators or Transcribers, at any time had crept in.* This doth not one jot mend the Matter; for if the Faith of the present Church be the Rule, then the Texts are to be corrected according to it, and the Blame to be laid on the Carelessness or Malice of Translators and Transcribers. This is a miserable Account of the *Certainty of Texts of Scripture in Points of Faith*: As to other Texts of inferior Concern, as he speaks, *they could be best corrected by Multitudes of other ancient Copies, the Churches Care still going along, as was shewn in the highest manner by the Council of Trent, that so it might be as exact as Human Diligence could well render it.* As to Multitudes of Copies, they serve us as well as them; but as to the Care of the Council of Trent, I am by no means satisfied. For, 1. They went no farther than a Translation, and declared that authentick, without due Regard to the Original Text. 2. The Care taken was not so exact; for then Clemens VIII. did great Injury to Sixtus V. when he recalled and corrected his Bibles in so many Places, after Sixtus V. had published his for an exact Edition. 3. There are still Complaints in the Church of Rome of want of Exactness in the vulgar Latin. 4. After all this is but *Human Diligence*, and no such *Absolute Certainty*, as J. Serjeant requires from us.

But it may be, he will say, *That he doth not at all make it his Rule of Faith*: Let him declare so much, and then we know what to answer. *This is still putting off.* Therefore I will give a distinct Answer.

I. We do utterly deny that it is in any Church's Power to correct Original Texts, because they contradict the Sense of the present Church; or any Translations, any farther than they differ from the Originals. And I do not know any Assertion that shakes more our Faith, as to the Scripture, than this of J. Serjeant doth.

II. The early Appeals made to Scripture in Matters of Faith by the Writers of the Christian Church, make us certain, that there could be no such Alterations or Corrections of the Texts, according to the Sense of the Correctors. As for Instance; We find the Places produced against the Arians, used before against the Samosatzenians and Artemonites.

If it be said, *They might correct the Fathers too.* I answer, That there is no imaginable Ground for any such Suspicion, because the Fathers lived in distant Places and Countries; and therefore when their Testimonies agree about some Places of Scripture alledged by them, there can be no Reason to suspect any Corruption or Alteration of the Text. As for Instance; no one Text of the whole New Testament hath been more suspected than that of 1 St. John 5. 7. *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven, &c.* And it cannot be denied, that there have been great Variety both in the Greek and Latin Manuscripts about it; yea, there was so in St. Jerom's time, as appears by his Preface to the Canonical Epistles, who charges the leaving it out to the Unfaithfulness of the Translators. St. Jerom is cried out upon as a Party in this Controversy, and therefore it is said on the other side, that he put it in as favouring his own Opinion. But his Integrity is vindicated herein, because St. Cyprian so long before the Arian Controversy produced this

S. Cyprian de
Unit. Epist.
ad Jubai.
Place.

Place. So that our Certainty as to Scripture doth not depend upon the meer Letter, but upon comparing the best and most ancient Copies with the Writings of the Fathers, who still made Use of the Scriptures in all Discourses and Debates about Matters of Faith.

III. The *Variety of Readings* in Matters that are not of Faith cannot hinder our Certainty in Matters of Faith. We do not pretend that there is no kind of Variety in the Copies of the New Testament; but I am of Opinion that this rather establishes than weakens our Faith. For considering the great Multitudes of them, and how insignificant they are, it shews that this Book was liable to the common Accidents of Books; but yet, that there is no such Variety as to make one suspect any Fraud or Design in the Alterations that appear in the Manuscript Copies. And as to Translations that have been made among us, the People who are not able to examine them by the Originals, have no Reason to suspect them, as to any Matter of Faith; not meerly from the Skill and Integrity of the Persons, and the Care that hath been taken, but because it was so much the Concernment of some Men to have lessend the Credit of our Translations as much as was possible, and they have not been able to produce any thing that might shake the Faith of a considering Man.

If it be said after all, This is but *Human Faith*, and not *Divine*; I answer,

IV. We must be careful to distinguish the Certainty of *Human* and *Divine Faith* in this Matter. We do not pretend that we have an absolute Divine Certainty of things that are only capable of Human Certainty; and we do not say, that we have onely Human Certainty of things capable of *Divine Certainty*. If the Question be put concerning the *Objects of Divine Faith*, then we do answer, That we have a *Divine Certainty* of them from those things which are the proper Evidence of Divine Revelation. We believe the Doctrine of Christ with a Divine Faith, because it was confirmed by Miracles and Prophecies: We believe the New Testament to be written by the Holy Spirit, because the Promise of the Spirit was fulfilled upon them, and especially in a thing of so great Concernment to the whole Christian Church. But if the Question be asked onely concerning a Matter of Fact, as whether the Books that bear such Names were written by the Persons whose Names they bear, then I can have no greater Certainty than belongs to a Matter of Fact; but then it is so circumstantiated, that I have a greater and more absolute Certainty as to this, than any other Matter of Fact which wants the Proofs that this hath. And if as to Books, and Copies, and Translations, we have as high a Certainty as the thing is capable of, it is Madness to expect and require more. For where there is but a Human Testimony, there cannot be the Certainty of Divine Faith, which must not only have a Divine Object, but must rest on a Divine Testimony; but where the Testimony is *Human*, the Certainty must be such as relates to the highest of that kind. But still, such a Faith may have absolute Certainty of its kind; and altho' in regard of its Testimony it be Human Faith, yet in regard both of its *Object*, its *inward Cause*, and its *Effects*, it may be truly called *Divine*.

IX. The last *Objection* is, concerning the *Number of Canonical Books*. *Third Letter, Pray satisfy us (saith Mr. Serjeant) - about this exact Number of Books, and how many will just serve turn.* One would think by his *Objections*, *J. Serjeant* were preparing Matter for the *Critical History of the New Testament*, he seems so concerned to lessen the Authority of it. But I shall answer the *Objections* he offers.

I. There may have been Books lost that were written by Persons divinely inspir'd, and we have no unanimous Consent of the Christian Church, that there is none lost; and those Books might contain Matters different from, or to be superadded to the Canon we have now; and without this, we can have no Certainty, that the Books we have now, contained all the Divine Revelations. I answer, Page 56.

I. If we have the unanimous Consent of the Christian Church, that we have the Canon of the *New Testament* entire, then we have their Consent, that there is no Book, written by Divine Inspiration, lost. And this appears by the Contest in the IVth Century, about the just Number of the Canonical Books. The Churches then differ'd about some Books not then universally receiv'd, as the *Apocalypse* in some, and the *Epistle to the Hebrews* in others: Which shews, that the Churches were then so solicitous to preserve any Books that appear'd to be written by Persons inspir'd, that although these did then want universal Consent, yet they were still kept, and read, and dispers'd, till upon further Examination they came to be universally read. It is not therefore in the least probable they should suffer any Apostolical Writings to be lost.

II. This is to charge the Christian Church with so gross a Neglect, as overthrows the Force of all his Arguments for Tradition: For we must suppose an Apostolical Writing sent to some Church by Direction of the Holy Spirit, and yet that Church be so notoriously careless, as to lose a Book containing in it many Points of Faith. Now I appeal to any one of common Sense, whether he could trust their Word for Matters of Faith, who could be so negligent as to lose a great many Points of Faith at once. And the more such a Book were dispersed, the Argument is still stronger against Tradition. Besides, this shews the great Insufficiency of Oral Tradition, if these Points of Faith are lost, because such a Book was lost wherein they were contained. If Tradition had been so effectual a Means of conveying Matters of Faith, it should have appear'd in such a Case, viz. in preserving such Matters of Faith, tho' the Books were lost: But we find nothing like this so much as pretended, altho' it were much easier pretended than proved.

III. This is to suppose the Providence of God not to be immediately concerned in preserving Books written by Divine Inspiration. Mr. Serjeant doth really suppose that Books written by Divine Inspiration may have been lost, or at least that we cannot prove that they are not: But we think it a considerable Proof that they could not, because the Divine Providence doth so immediately concern it self in preserving that which tends so much to the Good of his Church.

If

Mat. 10. 29,
30.

If a Hair doth not fall from our Heads, nor a Sparrow fall on the Ground, without the Providence of God (as our Saviour affirms) is it not very unreasonable to suppose that a Divine Book, written for the Benefit of the Christian Church, should be wholly lost? Especially considering the extraordinary Care the first Christians took, in Times of the greatest Persecutions, to preserve the Scriptures; and no force or violence could extort them out of their hands. On Mr. Serjeant's Supposition, it was no hard Matter for a Book of Scripture to be lost, viz. if the several Books had been committed to the Custody of some Men in Trust for the whole Church; but if we consider the things as they really were, it will appear hardly possible. For the Books were not kept up at first in a few hands, but dispersed abroad in multitudes of Copies, and received with mighty Veneration both on the Account of the Authors of them, and the Matters contained in them. They were read both in Publick and in Private, they heard them in their Assemblies, and they made them their constant Impolyment at home; they were their Rule of Life, as well as of Faith. And how is it possible to suppose any Book so received, so esteemed, so dispersed, so constantly read, could be suffer'd to be lost among Christians?

If it be Objected, *That they were not all so esteemed at first, as appears by Epistle to the Hebrews, and therefore might more easily be lost;* I Answer, That however they were not universally received at first, yet they were by those Churches to whom they were written; and among them they were not kept up, but mightily dispersed; so that there was no way to lose them, from the first spreading of them abroad; unless we can suppose such multitudes of Christians to conspire together to suppress a Book of so great Concernment to themselves. As if Persons who claim an Estate by virtue of some Deeds, should all agree to imbezel them, or any material part of them. Here was no pretence for Registers and Abridgments, which some make use of to lessen the Authority of the Books of the *Old Testament*; for here we have the very Authentick Writings of the Apostles, and their own Epistles in their own style and Expressions. And supposing the Churches, to whom they were sent, to have received them as their Writings, and to have communicated them to others, as they did, I do not see, under these Circumstances, how a Book, containing Divine Revelations, could be lost.

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II. He Objects, *That the Canon of Scripture was not entire, but deficient for some hundreds of years, till the whole Canon was collected and acknowledged, and therefore so long the Church had no Perfect Rule of Faith.*

I Answer,

I. I distinguish between a Compleat Rule of Faith, and a Compleat Canon of Scripture. For, if the Books owned and universally received, contain in them all Matters of Faith, then the Rule of Faith is Compleat, although some particular Books may be still in Dispute. As for Instance, it is certain, that in St. Jerom's Time, the Church of Rome did not receive as Canonical the Epistle to the Hebrews; Had not that Church therefore a Compleat Rule of Faith? If God hath so abundantly provided for his Church, that there may be a full Revelation of all Points of Faith in the rest, then the disputing the Authority of such an Epistle, doth not derogate from the Compleatness of the Rule of Faith.

Faith. For, if they have all Points of Faith, they must have a Compleat Rule of Faith.

II. It is no Prejudice to the true Canon of Scripture, that some particular Books of the *New Testament* were for some time disputed by some particular Churches. For, if it were done without Ground, it doth reflect more on those Churches than on those Books; especially when those very Churches afterwards received them. And this was the Case of the Church of Rome, as to the Epistle to the Hebrews: St. Jerom affirms, *That not only the Greek Churches all received it, but all the Ancient Writers did so; and not meerly as an Ecclesiastical, but as a Canonical Epistle.* Hieronym. ad Dardanum. Therefore this must be a late thing in the Church of Rome; and in probability, began upon the *Novatian Controversie*; which Epistle was thought too much to favour the *Novatian Doctrine*; and when that *Controversie* did abate, that Epistle recovered its Authority in the Church of Rome. But Mr. Serjeant is angry with me, for reflecting on the Church of Rome for not receiving the Epistle to the Hebrews in St. Jerom's Time; which (he thinks) was an Act of Prudence, antecedent to the Judgment or Determination of any Church, whether Greek or Latine. Third Letter, p. 57. One may see by this how well versed he is in the Canon of Scripture, when St. Jerom declares, that not only all the Greek Writers received it, but all the Ancient, and that as Canonical. Was here no antecedent Judgment of the Church in this Matter? Doth not the Consent of all Ancient Writers, even in St. Jerom's Time, make a Judgment of the Church? But he adds, *That what I make a heinous Crime in the Church of Rome, was a commendable Caution in it.* That which I said, was, That it hence appear'd, that the Church of Rome was far from being believed then to have the Authority of making the Canon of Scripture, or being Infallible in Faith. And what saith J. Serjeant in Answer to this? Not one Syllable, but runs it off to another thing.

But why do I not as well blame the Greek Churches for not receiving the *Apocalypse*? They do not pretend to such Authority and Infallibility in this Matter, as the Church of Rome doth. I do not deny that there were some Greeks then to blame in rejecting the *Apocalypse*, but *Bel-larmine* saith, they were but few and obscure Persons; and he produces the Testimonies of *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaus*, *Theophilus*, *Melito Sardensis*, *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen* and *Athanasius*, all approving it. And the Occasion of disputing it arose from the *Millenary Opinion*, which some thought they could not confute, as long as the *Apocalypse* had such Authority in the Church.

And such Disputes as these, which wore off by degrees, are no real Prejudice to the Canon of the *New Testament*, which was at first generally received; and although some few Books were contested for a time, yet they recover'd their Authority, and have ever since been received by the Universal Consent of all Christian Churches.

III. He objects against this universal Consent, the Testimonies of *Marcion*, *Ebion*, *Valentinus*, *Cerinthus*, and *Epiphanius* his other Hereticks, who rejected the Canon of the *New Testament*. Third Letter, p. 59. Could any Man but J. Serjeant make such an Objection as this? But he had a Mind to bring me in as a Favourer of all Hereticks; and, as such another Man of Integrity hath done, of all *Anti-Catholick* and *Anti-Christian Doctrines*. But where have I given any Occasion for such spiteful Reflections?

lections? All that I said, was, We have the Universal Consent of all Christian Churches for the Canon of the *New Testament*, i. e. of all since the time that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was receiv'd into the Latin, and the *Apocalypse* into the Greek Churches; notwithstanding all the Divisions they have since fallen into, yet they had no Difference as to the Canon of the *New Testament*. And this I insisted on as the Ground of our Certainty, viz. the unanimous Consent of all the great Bodies of Christians, that have continued under different Denominations to this Day.

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To this he gives no other Answer, *but that my Answer to the fifth Question, is co-incident with that to the fourth.* I thought J. Serjeant, in the self-evident way, would have liked my Answer the better for it: But he doth not comprehend the Design of it. I had said before, That we relied on the Universal Testimony of the Christian Church; upon that the Question was asked, What I meant by the Christian Church: My Answer was, *That it was that which was made up of all Christian Churches; i. e. saith J. Serjeant, That all the Parts make the Whole:* And what Incongruity is there? When Mr. Godden said, That the Christian Church may be taken in several Latitudes, he desired to know in what Sense I took it; and could I answer him more directly than to tell him, I took it in the largest Sense, as it was made up of all the Parts, and not in such a Sense as they do, who give the Denomination of the Whole to a Part? *But by this I do not seclude all*

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Hereticks. I do not take upon me to judge of all the Bodies of Christians in the World, whether they be justly charged with Heresy or not; but I take them only as Christians, and from their Universal Consent I prove the Certainty of the Canon of Scripture. *Hereby I profess a Brotherhood with excrementitious Outcasts.* I know not what Brotherhood lies in making use of their Testimony; but I had rather do it, than with unsufferable Pride and Folly call so many Bodies of Christians, for whom Christ died, *Excrementitious Outcasts.* But although he seems to own that their Testimony doth strengthen the Evidence for the Canon of the *New Testament*, yet he calls it back again, and for extraordinary Reasons. 1. *They may have corrupted the Letter of Scripture, although they may allow of the Books.* Let us then take their

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Testimony for the Books, and examine the Letter afterwards. 2. *This Universal Testimony must reach to each Chapter and Verse; but we must have Assurance not only of each Verse, but of each significant Word in the Verse.* How hardly are some Men satisfied about the Certainty of Scripture! Are there not different Copies in all Parts to examine and compare, if there be cause of Mistrust; and if there be none, What Prejudice is this to our Certainty? At this rate, Men may argue against every thing; and that there can be no Certainty of any Writing, unless the Person stood by, and saw the Author write; and even then he might question his Senses too. These Objections do indeed lead to an incurable Scepticism in the Church of Rome. 3. *The Judges suspect the Justness of the Cause, if known Knights of the Post are called in to corroborate the Evidence.* What a desperate Cause is that, which forces Men to fling such Dirt in the Face of so many Christian Churches? And that without the least Evidence or Proof against them. How come all the Greek, Abyssine, Coptick, Oriental Christians to be compared to *Knights of the Post*, because they afford a concurrent Testimony with us about the Canon of the *New Testament*? They may be the honest-
est

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est and best Part of Christendom for any thing J. Serjeant knows ; and what Justice can there be in such uncharitable Censures? It is not enough for you to say, they are all accounted Hereticks or Schismatics by you ; for we that know how unjust and unreasonable your Censures are so near home, have no cause to regard them at such a distance.

Thus I have answered all the Objections I have met with in J. Serjeant against our Rule of Faith.

I now come to the last part of my Task, which is to examine the Arguments produced to prove the *Infallibility* of Oral and Practical Tradition.

The main Argument is thus set down by Mr. Serjeant : *All Traditio- First Letter, nary Christians believe the same to Day which they did Yesterday, and so up p. 8. to the time of our Blessed Saviour ; and if they follow this Rule, they can never err in Faith, and therefore are Infallible. And they could not innovate in Faith, unless they did forget what they held the Day before, or out of Malice after it.*

All the Parts of this Argument Mr. Serjeant endeavours to shew to be *self-evident* ; but in truth it is a *self-evident Fallacy*, as I shall shew at large. But before I particularly lay it open, I must consider what he saith against the Method I used in the Conference, for answering it.

I then thought and do still, that the clearest Answer to an Argument, which proves a thing impossible, was to bring an undeniable Evidence that such a thing really was which was proved impossible to be. And to this purpose I produced the *Instance of the Greek Church, which professed to follow Tradition, and yet they could not deny to have erred.*

This Mr. Serjeant saith, *Is giving no Answer at all ; for this is no An- Page 10. swer to his Argument, but producing a new Argument against him.* And he magisterially tells me, *That it is my turn to answer ; and therefore I am confined to Concedo, Nego, or Distinguo, as the Propositions are either true, false, or ambiguous ; or I may deny the Inference, if I find more Terms in the Conclusion than in the Premises. But these are my Bounds, which I must not exceed.* But with Submission to these Logicians, I answer, That where an Argument is designed to prove a thing impossible, which is contrary to Sense and Experience, the producing an evident Instance is the plainest and shortest way of answering ; as well as in an Induction, which is allowed to be disproved by a plain Instance. As in the Case of Zeno's Argument against Motion ; Diogenes his moving was a far more effectual Answer, than if he had stood a great while with his Concedo, Nego, and Distinguo. J. Serjeant confesses, *That Page 11. the Vanity of Zeno's Argument was not ill ridiculed by Diogenes his moving before him.* And why might not I then expose the Vanity of this Demonstration by the Instance of the Greek Church, unless some Fault be found in the Instance. He brings the Argument, and I an Instance against it, what are People the wiser ? And which shall they be for, the Argument or the Instance ? Zeno brought his Argument, and Diogenes his Instance ; were not By-standers the wiser, when it so apparently proved the Foppery of the Argument ? Doth J. Serjeant think the Vanity of it was not enough exposed by that means ? But he saith, *This is excepting against the Conclusion, when there lies none against the Premises.* No such Matter ; for it shews there is a Fallacy in the Premises.

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It is however but an Argument, ad hominem; call it what you will, so it doth my business, to shew the vanity of the Demonstration. This way doth but sham an Adversary. And truly that is a great matter, if they be such as P. Godden. They are of no use for discovery of Truth. As much as laying open Sophistry helps to the discovery of Truth; which is not a little when we deal with Sophistical Disputers.

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But we come to the Instance. How doth he after all clear this Instance of the Greek Church? Doth he deny that they hold to Tradition? No, Doth he deny that they have erred notwithstanding? All that he saith is, That P. Godden *was no ways obliged not to deny that the Greek Church had erred in Points of Faith.* No? then he must grant that the Roman Church hath erred, for they contradict each other. Let him take his choice; one doth my business as well as the other, and more effectually destroys the pretence of Infallibility in the Roman Church. *But I say, they did not err.* What is my saying to the business in hand? Besides, there are other Points contradictory held between the Greek and Roman Churches, besides that of the *Filioque*, and the Argument holds as well in any other, as in that. And therefore he must fix the Error on one side or other.

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After all this flourishing he takes heart, and resolves to grapple with the Instance. *Let us see what your Instance will do.* Now I thought we should have a direct Answer. But I am strangely disappointed. For he runs still back to that, *That I do not believe it erred.* Was the Instance brought against me, or against P. Godden? *But his Answer doth not make or marr the business.* The business of the Demonstration it doth,

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and that was my business. *But this doth not prove that a Church going upon Tradition errs, unless I will grant that the Greek Church hath erred.* What strange Trifling is this? The Dispute was about P. Godden's Argument, and not my Opinion. Is this the Answer to the Instance about the Greek Church which Mr. M. promised? If this pass for an Answer, I think J. Serjeant may defend *Sure footing.* I mentioned P. Godden's Answer, *That the Greek Church followed Tradition till the Arians left the Rule, and took up a new one.* And why saith J. Serjeant hath he not answered well? Because he did not answer to the purpose; which was not about the *Arians*, but the present Greek Church. *But a Church may follow Tradition at one time, and leave it at another.* Very true; but the Greek Church did not forsake Tradition, and yet erred. and therefore Tradition and Error were found together, and therein lies the force of this undeniable Instance. The rest is such Trifling, that I am really ashamed to answer it over and over. Still he attempts to give an Answer, and still fails; but it is something new, and therefore shall be considered. *His Answer, saith J. Serjeant holds as well to the present as past Greek Church.* His Answer! Where is it? *It was that those who err in Faith must leave Tradition.* But the Greeks did not leave Tradition, and yet erred in Faith; so that the Instance holds good still. *He denies that Error and Tradition can be found together in the Greek Church, or any other Ancient or Modern, i. e. the Conclusion must be held against all the Instances in the World.* But I ought to say, whether the differences were in matters of Faith. Yes, in such which the Church of Rome accounts matters of Faith. *But how can an erring Church still plead Tradition and adhere to it?* Answer the Instance; for the Greek Church doth plead Tradition. But then pleading Tradition is no more but quoting some Expressions of ancient Writers, as the Arians did: Not so neither;

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for

for the Greek Church relies most upon Tradition from Father to Son in Practice, of any Church in the World. But if they adhere to Tradition, and that Tradition leads them to Christ, who could not err, how can they possibly err? For, pray did Christ teach any Error? No certainly. When a Father believed what Christ taught him, and the Son what the Father believed, did not the Son too believe what Christ taught? Run it on to the last Son that shall be born in the World, must not every one believe what Christ taught, if every one believed what his Father believed?

And so Goodnight to the Greek Church; we are come back to the Argument. I might as well have Instanced in the Latin Church it self. Truly I think so too; and so you shall find in short time; and how little Advantage you get by such a Challenge. Page 19.

But it is impossible for a Church to adhere to Tradition, and yet to Err; therefore if the present Greek Church have Erred, it has not adhered to Tradition; if it have adhered to Tradition, it hath not Erred. This is, the Argument must be good, let the Instance be what it will. But an easie Distinction will shew the Weakness of this Argument. Page 20.

Adhering to Tradition may be taken Two ways.

I. For adhering to Tradition, as the Rule and Means of Conveyance of Matters of Faith.

II. For actual Adhering to that very Doctrine which Christ taught, and hath ever since been truly convey'd down by Tradition.

In this latter Sense we grant it impossible for Men to Err, while they actually adhere to that very Doctrine which Christ taught, and is supposed to be deliver'd down by Tradition. But this is not the Matter before us; which lies in these Two Points.

I. Whether Tradition be an Infallible Way to convey the Doctrine of Christ down to us.

II. Whether it be impossible for those who hold to This as Their Rule, to Err or not.

And so the Answer is plain to the main Argument. If by *Traditionary Christians*, be meant such as adhere to that very Doctrine which Christ taught, and was actually conveyed down to them, then such Traditionary Christians, so believing, cannot Err.

But if by Traditionary Christians be meant such as take Tradition for an Infallible Rule of conveying all Matters of Faith; then we say such Traditionary Christians may and have Erred: And that for Two Reasons.

I. Because Tradition is no Infallible Rule.

II. Because although it were, yet Men might Err, either by mistaking it, or departing from it.

But saith J. Serjeant They cease to be Traditionary Christians if they do not believe the same to Day which they did Yesterday, and so up to Christ. Page 8.

If by Traditionary Christians be meant, they who do really believe what Christ taught, we grant it, that they are not.

If by Traditionary Christians be meant such as bear the Name of Traditionary Christians, and look on Tradition as their Rule, and imagine they have the same Faith which Christ taught; then they are still Traditionary Christians.

And

And now I am to give a clear and distinct Answer to the *Demonstration of the Infallibility of Oral Tradition*, as it is managed by J. Serjeant and taken into Propositions.

I. *All Traditional Christians believe the same to day which they did yesterday, and so up to the time of our Blessed Saviour.* J. Serjeant hopes I have nothing to say to this; but he is mistaken. For I have many things to say to lay open the Notorious Fallacy of it in every Clause.

I. *All Traditional Christians.* Who are they? Are all Christians Traditional Christians? This were to the purpose, if it could be proved. But how doth this appear? Why is it not said, *All Christians have gone upon this Principle?* He knows this could never have been proved. And therefore he puts in the thing in dispute, and would have it taken for granted, that there were no other but Traditional Christians. Which I deny, and I am certain he can never prove it. Suppose then that there were Christians not Traditional as well as Traditional, the Proposition appears ridiculous; so far is it from Demonstration. Traditional Christians believed so; Non-Traditional Christians believed otherwise; and which are to be determined by the Certainty of the Ground they went upon; and so we are come to the Debate between Scripture and Tradition.

II. *All Traditional Christians believe the same to Day which they did Yesterday.* This is capable of a threefold meaning.

I. That they do actually believe the same to Day which they did Yesterday. Which is a meer contingent thing, and proves nothing. Or,

II. That they are bound to believe to Day, as they did Yesterday. And that may be on several Accounts.

I. Because they see Evidence from the Word of God to Day as well as they did Yesterday.

II. Or because their Guides of the Church teach them the same to Day which they did Yesterday, whom they believe to be Infallible.

III. Or, meerly because they receive it by an *Oral Tradition*, and not on the other Accounts; and then it proves no more than that they are bound to do it; and it is too well known that many fail to do what they are bound to.

Or IV. That they do Infallibly believe the same to Day which they did Yesterday. But then this ought to have been inserted in the Proposition, That Traditional Christians cannot fail to believe to Day what they did Yesterday. If it be said, *That this is implied in their being Traditional Christians*, then I say, the whole is a Fallacy of $\tau\delta\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta$, for he supposes all true Christians to be Traditional Christians, and then that they Infallibly dolt to Tradition as their Rule, and from thence he proves Tradition to be Infallible. But if the Body of Christians may go upon another Rule, or if going upon Tradition, they may misunderstand it, then there is no inseparable connexion in the several Links of this Chain.

And there is a further Fallacy in supposing that if any Change in Faith happens, it must be as sudden and remarkable, as if all Men should to day refuse to believe what they believed Yesterday. Whereas the Changes of Opinions are oft-times wrought by insensible Degrees, and many concurrent

concurrent Causes ; and sometimes the very same Words may be used, and the Faith altered, as in the Case of *Merit, Sacraments, Sacrifice, &c.* which sheweth Men may continue the very same Terms, and yet believe quite a different thing. And where Changes are gradual, it is very unreasonable to pitch upon such a precise and narrow Space of time, as between *to Day* and *Yesterday*. By the same Method one may demonstrate it to be impossible that any Language should be changed ; for People speak the same Language *to Day* which they did *Yesterday*, and the same *Yesterday* which they did *the Day before*, and so up to the very Building of *Babel* ; and yet we all know that Languages are continually changed, and to such a degree, that in some Ages they cannot understand what was at that time intelligible by all. In such cases, it is enough to assign the general Causes and Reasons of Alterations, without fixing a precise and determinate Time. And those I shall speak to afterwards.

III. *And so up to the time of our Blessed Saviour.*

To prove any thing from hence it must be shewed,

I. That there can be no Pretence to Tradition taken up without Ground ; for if there may, it can by no means follow, That if Men pretend to Tradition, that Tradition must run up to the Time of Christ.

But then they cease to be Traditional Christians. What then? Not in pretence, for they may call themselves so still ; but in reality they are not.

II. That if Men lay claim to a Rule, they must always observe it. We do not pretend to it as to the Scripture : And what Reason is there for it as to Tradition? But if Men may pretend to follow *Tradition*, and do not, then from their being *Traditional Christians*, it can by no means follow that this Tradition must be carried up to the Time of our *Blessed Saviour*.

II. The second Proposition is, *And if they follow this Rule, they can never err in Faith.* This is palpably self-evident, saith J. Serjeant. So say I too, but it is onely to be a meer Fallacy.

To follow this Rule is to believe the same to Day which they did Yesterday, and so up to Christ, or downwards: If they did this from Christ's time, and so forwards, they must continue to believe the same to the End of the World.

If they really believe the same Doctrine which Christ taught, no doubt they cannot err. But the Question is, Whether this be an infallible Rule for us to judge, they could never mistake in this Rule, nor follow any other : For if either of these could happen, the Demonstration is lost. If it were possible for Error to come in some other way, or for Persons to misapprehend the Doctrine delivered, then it is not possible for us by this way to be convinced they could not err. The latter I have already spoken to ; I shall now shew that there were some other ways that Errors might come in. And here I shall pass over the common *Infirmities* of *Human Nature*, which I think *Oral Tradition* can never cure, and which leave Men always liable to Error ; but I shall name some more particular *Ways* of introducing them.

I. By

I. By the *Authority of False Teachers*. And for this I shall not run back to the *False Apostles* and *Seducers* in the *Apostles* times, and afterwards; but I shall bring a present Instance in the *Church of Rome*, and that is, of *Michael de Molinos*, a Person solemnly condemned at *Rome*, Aug. 28. of this Year, for 68 *Propositions* taken out of his Books, and owned by himself, as the *Decree* saith; which are there said to be *Heretical, Erroneous, Blasphemous, Offensive, Rash, Seditious, and contrary to Christian Discipline*. This Man is said to have had *Thousands* of *Disciples* in *Italy*, in the very Heart of the *Traditionary Church*. Now, I desire *J. Serjeant* to inform me, If *Tradition* be *Infallible*, and that be the way followed in the *Church of Rome*, how it was possible for such *Multitudes* to be deceived in *Matters* of such *Consequence*? To say they were not deceived, is to expose the *Authority* of the *Guides* of the *Church of Rome* to the greatest *Contempt*: To say they were deceived, is to own, That notwithstanding *Tradition*, a single *Priest* may gain such *Authority*, as to deceive *Thousands*; and where lies then the *Infallibility* of *Tradition*?

Euseb. l. 5.
c. 3. c. 14.
c. 18. l. 7.
c. 31.
Theod. l. 1.
c. 4. l. 2.

II. By *Enthusiasm*, or a Pretence to *Immediate Revelation*. For this I shall not produce the old Instances in *Ecclesiastical History*, as of *Montanus, Asclepiades, Theodotus, Manicheus, Arius, Aetius, &c.* who all pretended to *Revelations* for their particular *Opinions*. But I shall keep to the late Instance of *Molinos*, who asserts, That the *Perfection* of a *Christian State* lies in *simple, pure, infused and perfect Contemplation*, above the *Use* of *Ratiocination* or *discursive Prayer*, and that in order to this, nothing is so necessary as *Self-annihilation*. This *Doctrine* is now condemned at *Rome*; but how came it into the *Church*? Did not they believe the same to Day which they did Yesterday? If there were *Oral Tradition* for it, how came it to be condemned? If not, then notwithstanding *Oral Tradition*, dangerous *Doctrines* may get in, under a Pretence of a more *sublime* and *spiritual Way* of *Perfection*, than is to be attained in the dull and heavy way of *Tradition from Father to Son*.

Euseb. l. 3.
c. 32. l. 4.
c. 22.

III. By a Pretence to a more *secret Tradition*, and thus *Christianity* was at first corrupted, by such as pretended that there was a *Mystical Doctrine* delivered by *Christ* of a more purifying Nature, than the plain and common *Doctrine* taught to all the *People* by the *Apostles*. So *Hegeppus* in *Eusebius* affirms, That the *Christian Church* was corrupted by this Means; and to the same Purpose *Irenaeus*. So that *Tradition* was so far from securing the *Church* from *Error*, that it was the Means of bringing it in. And the *Publick Tradition* could not hinder this coming in of *Error*, because *secret Tradition* was pretended to be more *Divine* and *Spiritual*; the other was only for *Babes*, and this for grown *Christians*.

IV. By *Differences* among *Church-Guides* about the *Sense* of *Scripture* and *Tradition*. Thus it was in the *Samosatenian, Arian, Pelagian, Nestorian, and Eutychian Controversies*. Neither of these Parties denied *Scripture* or *Tradition*; and those who were justly condemned, pretended still to adhere to both. And if such *Flames* could not be prevented, so much nearer the *Apostles Times*, by the help of *Tradition*, what Reason can there be to expect it so long after?

V. By

V. By too great a *Veneration* to some particular Teachers not far from the Apostolical Times, in regard to their *Learning* or *Piety*; which made their Disciples despise *Tradition* in Comparison of their *Notions*. And thus *Origen's* Opinions came to prevail so much in the Church; and the Mixture of *Platonism* with *Christianity*, proved the Occasion of several Errors, with Respect to the *State of Souls after Death*, as well as in other Points.

VI. By *Compliance* with some *Gentile Superstitions*, in hopes to gain more easily upon the Minds of the People; who having been long accustomed to the *Worship of Images* and *Tutelar Deities*, it was thought no imprudent thing in some Guides of the Church, when the main Doctrines of *Paganism* were renounced, to humour the People in these things; so they were *accomodated* to *Christianity*; but others vehemently opposed this Method, as repugnant to the true primitive Christianity. But by degrees, those *superstitions* prevailed, and the *Original Tradition* of the Church thereby corrupted.

VII. By *implicit Faith*, which puts it into the Power of the Church-Guides to introduce what Doctrines they thought fit. When the best of the People were told it was against the *Fundamental Rights of the Catholick Church* for them to examine any Opinions which were proposed to them by their Guides, *That they neither did, nor could, nor ought to understand them*; and when once this Point was gained, People never troubled themselves about *Scripture* or *Tradition*; for all they had to do, was only to know what was decreed by the Church, tho' with a *Non-obstante* to a Divine Institution, as is plain in the *Council of Constance*, notwithstanding all the Tricks to avoid it.

If then Errors might come into the Church all these ways, what a vain thing is it to pretend, that *Oral Tradition* will keep from any possibility of Error?

And so I need give no other Answer to his last Proposition, *That if Men did innovate in Faith, it must be either through Forgetfulness or Malice*; for I have shewed many other Causes besides these; especially since I intend to shew in a particular Discourse, how the Errors and Corruptions we charge on the Church of Rome did come into it; my Design here being only to shew the Possibility of it.

There remain only two things which deserve any Consideration:
1. About the Charge of *Pelagianism*. 2. About the Council of Trent's proceeding on *Tradition*, which will admit of an easy Dispatch.

I. As to the Charge of *Pelagianism*. It doth not lie in this, *That he requires any rational Inducements to Faith*, which we do assert as well as he. But it lay in these two things.

I. That a *Divine Faith* was to be resolved into a *Natural Infallibility*. For we were told that *Divine Faith must have Infallible Grounds*; and when we come to examine them, we find nothing but what is *Natural*. And now to avoid the Charge of *Pelagianism*, this *Divine Faith* is declared to be *meer Human Faith*; and so *Human Faith* is said to have *Infallible Grounds*, but *Divine Faith* must shift for it self. For saith *J. Serjeant*. 'Tis con-
Third Letter, Page, 24.

fees'd and ever was, that the Humane Authority of the Church or Tradition, begets onely Humane Faith as its Immediate Effect; but by bringing it up to Christ, it leads us to what's Divine. Well; but what Infallible Ground is there for this Divine Faith? Where doth that fix? Is it on the Infallibility of Tradition or not? If not, then we may have Divine Faith without it. If it doth, then Divine Faith is to be resolved into Natural Means: And what is this but Pelagianism?

Faith Vindicated, p. 155.
Page 157.

II. That he excludes the Pious Disposition of the Will, from piecing out (as he calls it) the Defect of the Reasons why we Believe. And in another place he excludes the Will's Assistance in these words, That Faith, or a Firm and Immoveable Assent upon Authority is not thoroughly Rational, and by consequence partly Faulty, if the Motives be not alone able to convince an Understanding rightly disposed without the Will's Assistance. How then can a pious Disposition of the Will be necessary in order to the Act of Faith? And is it not Pelagianism to exclude it?

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Therefore I was in the right, when I said, That this of Oral Tradition resolves all into a meer Humane Faith; and that this is the unavoidable Consequence of it. No, he saith, he resolves all into Christ's and the Apostles teaching. How ridiculous is this? For, did not Pelagius and Celestius the very same? And the thing I charged upon them, was, That they went no farther upon this Principle than they did. Upon this he asks a very impertinent Question; but if I do not Answer it, I know what Clamours will follow. Pray do you hold that Christ is a meer Man, or that Believing him is a meer Humane Faith, or that the Doctrine taught by Him or Them is meerly Humane? What Occasion have I given for such a Question? But I perceive there is a design among some, to make me be believed to be no Christian. I pray God forgive the Malice of such Men. I thank God, I have better Grounds for my Faith than Oral Tradition. I do believe Christ to be more than meer Man, even the Eternal Son of God, and that his Doctrine is Divine, and his Apostles had Infallible Assistance in delivering it. But what is all this to the present Question? I perceive some Men, when they are hard pinched, cry out, that their Adversaries are Atheists or Socinians, &c. and hope by this means to divert them from the business before them. But these Arts will not do. And such a Dust cannot so blind the Reader's Eyes, but he must see it is raised on purpose that he may not be discerned in making an Escape.

II. As to the Council of Trent proceeding upon Tradition. That which I said, was, The Church of Rome hath no where declared in Council, that it hath any such Power of making Implicit Articles of Faith contained in Scripture to become Explicit by its explaining the Sense of them. And the Reason I gave, was, Because the Church of Rome doth not pretend to make New Articles of Faith: But to make Implicit Doctrines to become Explicit, is really so to do; as I there proved. Now what saith J. Serjeant to this?

I. He saith, That the Council of Trent defines it belongs to the Church to judge of the True Sense and Interpretation of Scripture. As though all that belonged to the Church, must presently belong to the Church of Rome;

Rome; or all Judgment of Scripture must be *Infallible*; or must make things necessary to be believed which were not so before.

II. He shews, *That the Church did proceed upon this Power.* What Power? Of making things not Necessary to become Necessary?

I. It declares Sess. 13. *That from some Texts mentioned, the Church was ever persuaded of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.* This is an admirable Argument, to prove that it can make that Necessary to be believed, which was not, because it was always believed.

II. Sess. 14. *It declares 1 Cor. 11. to be understood of Sacramental Confession, by the Custom and Practice of the Church.* Then I suppose the Church thought it Necessary before.

III. Sess. 14. *It declares Jam. 5. to be understood of Sacramental Confession.* But how? By its Power of making it Necessary to be believed merely by such Declaration? No; but by *Apostolical Tradition*; then the meaning is, that it was always so understood.

But because the Council of Trent doth pretend to *Apostolical Tradition* for the Points there determin'd, and the shewing that it had not *Catholick* and *Apostolick Tradition*, is the most effectual Confutation of the present Pretence of *Oral Tradition*, I shall reserve that to another Discourse, part whereof, I hope, will suddenly be Published.

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Reason, or all Judgment of Sins must be infallible, or must make things necessary to be believed which were not so before.

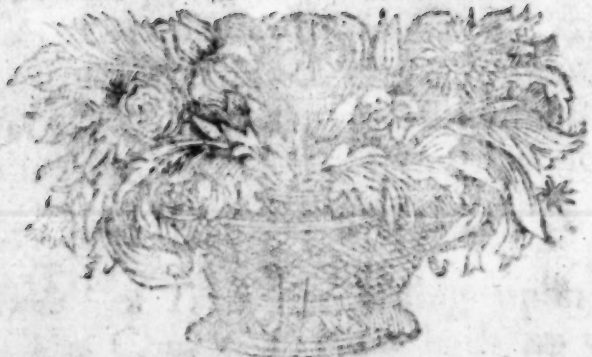
II. He shews, that the Church did never make this Power. What Power? Of making things not necessary to become necessary.

I. He declares Bell. 13. That from some Texts mentioned, the Church was not empowered of the Decree of Faith. This is an admirable Argument to prove that it can make that necessary to be believed, which was not, because it was always believed.

I. Bell. 14. He declares, 1 Cor. 12. to be understood of Spiritual Gifts, by the Confession of the Church. Then I suppose the Church thought it necessary below.

III. Bell. 14. He declares, 1 Cor. 12. to be understood of Spiritual Gifts, by the Confession of the Church. Then I suppose the Church thought it necessary below. But how? By no Power of making it necessary to be believed, merely by such Declaration? No; but by spiritual Gifts; then the meaning is, that it was always to be understood.

But because the Council of Trent hath pretended to establish Tradition for the Point, their determining, and the meaning that it had not any, and Apostolic Tradition is the most effectual Constitution of the present Practice of our Church, I shall referre this to another Discourse, part whereof I hope, will suddenly be published.



THE
Council of Trent

EXAMIN'D and DISPROV'D

BY

CATHOLICK TRADITION,

**In the main Points in Controversy between
Us and the CHURCH of ROME.**

WITH

**A Particular ACCOUNT of the Times and Occasions
of introducing Them.**

PART I.

**To which a PREFACE is prefixed, concerning the true Sense of
the Council of Trent, and the Notion of Transubstantiation.**

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THE

110-1.12.

PREFACE.



HERE is it seems a Train in Controversies, as well as in Thoughts; one thing still giving a start to another; Conferences produce Letters; Letters, Books, and one Discourse gives Occasion for another. For this follows the former as a necessary Pursuit of the same Argument against Tradition.

J. Serjeant in his last Letter, had vouched the Authority of the Council of Trent proceeding upon Tradition, and he instanced in three Points, Transubstantiation, Sacramental Confession and Extreme Unction. The Examination of this I thought fit to reserve for a Discourse by it self; wherein, instead of confining my Self to those three Particulars, I intend to go through the most material Points there established; and to prove, from the most Authentick Testimonies, that there was no true Catholick Tradition for any of them. And if I can make good what I have undertaken, I shall make the Council of Trent it Self the great Instance against the Infallibility of Tradition. Third Letter, p. 64.

This is a new Undertaking; which the Impetuosity of our Adversaries setting up Tradition for the Ground of their Faith, hath brought me to. But besides the shewing that really they have not Tradition on their side; I have endeavoured to trace the several steps, and to set down the Times and Occasions of Introducing those Points which have caused that unhappy Breach in the Christian Word, whose sad Effects we daily see and lament: But have little hopes to see remedied, till these new Points be discarded, and Scripture, interpreted by truly Catholick Tradition, be made the Standard of Christian Communion.

I do not pretend, that all these Points came in at one Time or in the same Manner; for some Errors and Corruptions came in far more early; some had the favour of the Church of Rome in a higher degree; some were more generally received in the Practice of the Church in latter times, than others; and some were merely School Points before the Council of Trent; but as far as the Thomists and Scotists could be made to agree there against the Reformers, these passed

passed for Articles of Faith. For, this was one of the great Arts of that Council to draw up their Decrees in such Terms, as should leave Room enough for Eternal Wranglings among themselves, provided they agreed in doing the business effectually against the Hereticks, as they were pleased to call them. I therefore forbear to urge these as Points of Faith, which have been freely debated among themselves since the Council of Trent, without any Censure. We have enough, in the plain Decrees and Canons of that Council, without meddling with any School-Points. And so I cannot be charged with Misrepresenting.

The great Debate of late hath been about the true Exposition of the Points there defined; and for my part, I am content to yield to any just and reasonable Methods of giving the true Sense of them. And such I conceive these to be.

I. Where the Council of Trent makes use of Words in a strict and limited Sense, there it is unreasonable to understand them in a large and improper Sense. As for instance, Sess. 6. c. 26. It decrees that *Justified Persons* do verè promerere, truly merit Eternal Life: and Can. 32. there is an Anathema against him who denies true Merit in the good Works of justified Persons, both as to Increase of Grace and Eternal Life. There is no one conversant in Ancient Writers, but knows that there was a large and improper Sense of the Word Merit; but how is it possible to apply that Sense, where such Care is taken, that it may be understood in a strict and limited Sense? If the Council had left the Word in its General Sense, there might have been Reason to have given the fairest Interpretation to it; but when it is certainly known, that there had been a difference of Opinions in the Church of Rome about true and proper Merit, and that which was not (however it were called,) and the Council declares from the former, no Man of understanding can believe that onely the improper Sense was meant by it. As in the Point of the Eucharist, when the Council declares that the Words of Christ, *This is my Body*, are truly and properly to be understood; Would it not be thought strange for any one to say, that the Council notwithstanding might mean that Christ's Words may be figuratively understood; And we must take the true notion of Merit not from any large expressions of the Ancients, but from the Conditions of true and proper Merit among themselves. But of this at large afterwards. So as to the Notion of Sacraments; every one knows how largely that Word was taken in Ancient Writers; but it would be absurd to understand the Council of Trent in that Sense, when Sess. 6. Can. 1. De Sacramentis, it denounces an Anathema

not merely against him that denies seven Sacraments, but against him that doth not hold every one of them to be truly and properly a Sacrament. And in the Creed of Pius IV. one Article is, that there are seven true and proper Sacraments. How vain a thing then were it for any to expound these Sacraments in a large and improper Sense?

II. Where the Council of Trent hath not declared it self, but it is fully done in the Catechism made by its Appointment, we ought to look on that as the true Sense of the Council. As in the Case of the Sacraments; the Council never declares what it means by true and proper Sacraments, but the Catechism makes large and full amends for this Defect. For after it hath mention'd the use of the Word in profane and sacred Writers, it sets down the Sense of it according to their Divines, for a sensible Sign which conveys the Grace which it signifies. And after a large Explication of the Nature of Signs, it gives this Description of a true and proper Sacrament, That it is a sensible thing, which by Divine Institution not only hath the Force of signifying, but of causing Grace. And to shew the Authority of this Catechism for explicating the Doctrine of the Sacraments, we need only to look into Sess. 24. c. 7. de Reform. Where it is required that the People be instructed in the Sacraments according to it. It is supposed, that the Catechism was appointed to be made in the 18th Session, at the Institution of Carolus Borromæus (since Canonized) but it was not finished while the Council sat, and therefore Sess. 25. it was refer'd to the Judgment and Authority of the Pope. I confess therefore it hath not a Conciliar Authority stamped upon it, but it hath a sort of transfused Infallibility, as far as they could convey it; and as much as a Council hath, when it borrows it from the Pope's Confirmation. It was near two Years hammering at Trent, viz. from 26th of Feb. 1562. to Decemb. 1563. when the Council rose; afterwards it was preparing at Rome three Years longer, and then presented to the Pope to be approved, and published by his Authority, after it had been carefully review'd by Cardinal Sirlet, Borromæo, and others, and hath since been universally received in the Roman Church; so that we can have no more authentick Exposition of the Sense of the Council of Trent, than what is contained in that Catechism.

III. Where the Council of Trent declares a thing in general to be lawful and due, but doth not express the manner of it, that is to be understood from the generally receiv'd and allow'd Practices at that time. For otherwise the Council must be charged with great

Unfaithfulness, in not setting down and correcting publick and notorious Abuses, when it mention'd the things themselves, and some Abuses about them. As in the 25th Session, concerning Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Worship of Images and Relicks, it goes no farther than the sound Doctrine be taught, that Saints are to be Invocated, Images and Relicks to be Worship'd; but never defines what that sound Doctrine is, what Bounds are to be set in the Worship of Saints, Images and Relicks, which it is unlawful to exceed. So that in this Case we have no other way to judge of the Meaning of the Council, but by comparing the publick and allow'd Practices of the Church with the General Decrees of the Council. And we have this farther Reason for it, that we are told by the latest Expositors of it, that the Sense of the Church in Speculative Points, is to be taken from Publick Practices. For thus one of them expresses himself: Moreover, even her Speculative Doctrines are so mixed with Practical Ceremonies, which represent them to the Vulgar, and instruct even the meanest Capacities in the abstrusest Doctrines, that it seems ever impossible to make an Alteration in her Doctrine without abrogating her Ceremonies, or changing her constant Practices.

Reply to the
Defence of
the Exposition,
on, &c. p. 134.

Sess. 13.
Can. 2.

IV. Where the Decrees of the Council are not sufficiently clear, there we must take in the Canons to make the Sense more plain. This Rule I take from the Council it self; which in the 6th Session, just before the Canons, saith, That those are added, that all may know not only what they are to hold and follow, but what they are to shun and avoid. As in the famous Instance of Transubstantiation; suppose that the Words of the Decree do not determine expressly the Modus, yet it is impossible for any one to doubt of it who looks into the Canon, which denounces an Anathema against him, not only that denies Transubstantiation, but that asserts the Substance of Bread and Wine to remain after Consecration. Therefore he that asserts Transubstantiation, according to the Council of Trent, must hold it in such a manner, as thereby to understand that the Substance of Bread and Wine doth not remain. Otherwise he is under an Anathema, by the express Canon of the Council.

Therefore it is so far from being a fatal Oversight (as a late Author expresses it) to say that the Council of Trent hath determin'd the Modus of the Real Presence, that no Man who is not resolved to oversee it, can be of another Opinion. And herein the Divines of the Church of Rome do agree with us, viz. that the particular Modus is not only determin'd by the Council, but that it is a Matter

Matter of Faith to all Persons of the Communion of that Church. As not only appears from the 2d Canon, but from the very Decree it self, Sess. 13. ch. 4.

The holy Synod declares, that by Consecration of the Bread and Wine, there is a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the Substance of the Body of Christ, and of the whole Substance of the Wine into the Substance of his Blood, which Conversion is fitly and properly by the holy Catholick Church called Transubstantiation. *In which Words the Council doth plainly express the Modus of the Real Presence to be, not by a Presence of Christ's Body together with the Substance of the Bread, as the Lutherans held, but by a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the Substance of the Body, &c. And since there were different Manners of understanding this Real Presence, if the Council did not Espouse one so as to reject the other as Heretical; then it is impossible to make the Lutheran Doctrine to be declared to be Heretical, i. e. unless the Council did determine the Modus of the Real Presence. For, if it did not, then notwithstanding the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent, Persons are at liberty to believe either Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation, wick I think no Roman Catholick will allow.*

But it is said, that the meaning of the Decree is, that the Real Presence is not to be understood after a Natural, but a Sacramental Manner; But doth it not plainly tell us, how that Sacramental Manner is to be understood, viz. by a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the whole Substance of the Body, &c. And if other ways be possible, and all others be rejected, then this particular Modus must be determin'd.

I grant that the Council doth not say, there is an Annihilation of the Elements; and I know no Necessity of using that Term, for that which is supposed to be turned into another thing cannot properly be said to be Annihilated (which is the reducing it to nothing) but the Council doth assert a Total Conversion of one Substance into another, and where that is, that Substance must wholly cease to be what it was; and so, there can be no Substance of the Elements remaining after Consecration. For, as Aquinas observes, *Quod convertitur in aliquid factâ Conversione non manet.* If then the Substance of the Elements doth not remain after Consecration, by virtue of this total Conversion, then the Council of Trent, by its Decree, hath plainly determin'd the Modus of the Real Presence, so as to exclude any such Manner, as doth suppose, the Substance to remain, whether it be by Impanation or Consubstantiation, or any other way.

What if Rupertus thought the Bread might become the Real Body of Christ by an Union of the Word to it? All that can be inferr'd is, that the Modus was not then so determin'd, as to oblige all Persons to hold it. But what is this to the Council of Trent? Can any one hold the Substance to remain, and not to remain at the same time? For, he that holds with Rupertus must allow the Substance to remain; he that believes a total Conversion must deny it. And he that can believe both these at once, may believe what he pleases.

But the Council only declares the Sacramental Presence to be after an ineffable manner. I say, it determines it to be by a total Conversion of one Substance into another; which may well be said to be ineffable, since what cannot be understood can never be expressed.

Our Dispute is not about the use of the Word, Transubstantiation, for I think it proper enough to express the Sense of the Council of Trent; but as the Word Consubstantial did exclude all other Modes how Christ might be the Son of God, and determin'd the Faith of the Church to that Manner; so doth the Sense of Transubstantiation, as determin'd by the Council of Trent, limit the Manner of the Real Presence, to such a Conversion of the Substance of the Elements into the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood, as doth imply no Substance to remain after Consecration.

It is to no purpose to tell us, the Council uses onely the Word Species and not Accidents; for whatever they are called, the Council denounces its Anathema against those who held the Substance to remain after the Consecration; and denies the Total Conversion of the Substance of the Bread and Wine into Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. If the Substance be not there, the Modus is to purpose determin'd. And whatever remains, call it what you will, it is not the Substance; and that is sufficient to shew, that the Council of Trent bath clearly determin'd the Modus of the Real Presence.

V. We must distinguish the School-Points left undetermin'd by the Council of Trent, from those which are made Articles of Faith. We never pretend, that it left no School-Disputes about the Points there determin'd; but we say it went too far in making some School-Points to be Points of Faith, when it had been more for the Peace of Christendom to have left them to the Schools still. Thus in the Point of Transubstantiation, the elder School-men tell us, there were different Ways of explaining the Real Presence; And that those, which supposed the Substance to remain, were more agreeable to Reason and Scripture than the other; and some were of Opinion, that the

Modus

Modus was no matter of Faith then. But after the Point of the Real Presence came to be warmly contested, in the time of Berengarius, it rose by degrees higher and higher, till at last the particular *Modus* came to be determined with an Anathema by the Council of Trent.

When Berengarius, A. D. 1059. was forced to Recant by Nicolas II. with the Assistance of 113 Bishops; no more was required of him, than to hold that the Bread and Wine after Consecration, are not only the Sacrament, but the true Body and Blood of Christ, and that it is sensibly handled and broke by the Priests hands, and eaten by the Communicants. Here is no denying the Substance of Bread to remain; and Joh. Parisiensis observes, that the words cannot be defended but by an Assumption of the Bread; For, saith he, If the Body of Christ be truly and sensibly handled and eaten, this cannot be understood of Christ's Glorious Body in Heaven, but it must be of the Bread really made the Body of Christ after Consecration.

The Sense which the Canonists put upon the Words of this Recantation is absurd, viz. that they are to be understood of the Species; For Berengarius his Opinion related to the Substance of Christ's Body which he denied to be in the Sacrament. And what would it have signified for him to have said that Christ was sensibly broken and eaten under the Species of Bread and Wine? i. e. that his Body was not sensibly broken and eaten, but the Species were. It had signified something, if he had said, there was no Substance of Bread and Wine left but onely the Species. But all the design of this Recantation was to make him assert the Sacrament to be made the true and Real Body of Christ, in as strong a manner, as the Pope and his Brethren could think of. And although the Canonists think, if strictly taken, it implies greater Heresie than that of Berengarius; yet by their favour, this Form was only thought fit to be put into the Canon-Law, as the Standard of the Faith of the Roman Church then; and the following Adjuration of Berengarius was only kept in the Register of Gregory the seventh's Epistle.

For about twenty years after, by Order of Gregory the VII. Berengarius was brought to another Adjuration, but by no means after the same Form with the former. For by this he was required to declare, that the Bread and Wine are substantially Converted into the true and proper Flesh and Blood of Christ, and after Consecration are the true Body of Christ born of the Virgin and Sacrificed upon the Cross, and that sits at the right hand of the Father; and the true Blood of Christ which was shed out of his Side, not onely as a Sacramental Sign, but in propriety of Nature and Reality of Substance. This

This was indeed a pretty bold Assertion of the Substantial Presence. And so much the bolder, if the Commentary on S. Matthew be Hildebrand's. For there be faith, the manner of the Conversion is uncertain. But, as far as I can judge, by Substantial Conversion he did not then mean, as the Council of Trent doth, a total Conversion of one Substance into another, so as that nothing of the former Substance remains; but that there was a Change by Consecration, not by making the Body of Christ of the Substance of the Bread, but by its passing into that Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin. For, upon comparing the two Forms, there we shall find lies the main difference. Pope Nicolaus went on farther than to the true Body of Christ; which it might be as well by Assumption, as Conversion; Gregory VII. went farther, and thought it necessary to add that the Change was into the Substance of that Body which was born of the Virgin, &c. And so this second Form excludes a true Body merely by Assumption, and asserts the Change to be into the Substance of Christ's Body in Heaven; but it doth not determine, that nothing of the Substance of the Elements doth remain. For when he puts that kind of Substantial Conversion which leaves nothing but the Accidents, and the Body of Christ to be under them, which belonged to the Substance of the Elements; he declares this matter to be uncertain. Which shews, that however a Change was owned into the Substance of Christ's Body, yet such a total Conversion, as is determined by the Council of Trent, was not then made an Article of Faith.

But from this supposition made by Hildebrand it appears, that the Doctrine of Substance and Accidents was then well known; and therefore the introducing Aristotle's Philosophy from the Arabians afterwards could make no Alteration in this Matter. For the words of Hildebrand are as plain, as to the difference of Substance and Accidents, as of any of the School-men; and that the Accidents of the Bread and Wine might be separated from the Substance of them; but this was not then made a Matter of Faith; as it was afterwards.

But the case was remarkably alter'd, after the Lateran Council under Innocent III. For Transubstantiation being admitted there among the Articles of Faith; and so entered in the Canon Law in the very beginning of the Decretals; this did not merely become a School-Term, but by the Inquisitors of that time, it was accounted Heresie to deny it. It may be sufficiently proved by the School-men and Canonists, that a difference of Opinions, as to the Modus did still continue, (but that belongs to a more proper place) and Joh. Parisiensis declares (p. 103.) that the Lateran Council, in his
Opinion,

Opinion did not make Transubstantiation a Point of Faith; or at least that Substance was not to be taken for the Matter, but the Suppositum; but the Inquisitors went more briskly to work and made it downright Heresie to assert, that the Substance of the Elements did remain after Consecration.

Of this, we have full Evidence in the Register of Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury, (which is no Invisible Manuscript.) For there we read, f. 25. that he called a select Convocation of Bishops, Divines and Canonists, May 17. A. D. 1382. to declare some Propositions to be Heretical, and some to be Erroneous and contrary to the determination of the Church. Among the first, two are set down in the first Place,

1. That the material Substance of the Bread and Wine doth remain in the Sacrament of the Altar, after Consecration.

2. That the Accidents do not remain without their Subject in that Sacrament after Consecration.

After this the Archbishop sent forth his Mandate to all his Suffragans not only to prohibit the preaching of that Doctrine, but to inquire after those who did it. And June 12. Robert Rygge Chancellor of Oxford and Thomas Brightwall appeared before him, and were examined upon these Propositions; which they declared to be Heretical: who thereupon required the Publication of them as such in the University; and the proceeding against those who were suspected to favour them.

The Ground the Archbishop went upon, was, that these had been already condemned by the Church, and therefore ex abundanti, they declared them to be so condemned; as appears by the Monition given to Robert Rygge himself as too much suspected to favour the contrary Doctrine; as well as Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppyndon D. D. and John Ashton B. D.

Against these the Archbishop proceeded as Inquisitor Hæreticæ Pravitatis per totam suam Provinciam, as it is in the Record; who appearing desired a Copy of the several Propositions, and then they were required to give in their judgment upon them. Ashton refused, but the other promised, which they performed soon after; and to these two Propositions, their Answers were,

To the first, that as far as it was contrary to the Decretal, *Firmiter Credimus*, it was Heresie.

To the second, that as far as it was contrary to the Decretal *Cum Marthæ*, it was Heresie.

These Answers were judged insufficient, because they did not declare what the Sense was. And the Archbishop put this Question

to

to them, whether the same Numerical material Bread which before Consecration was set upon the Altar, did remain in its proper Substance and Nature after Consecration, but they would give no other Answer at that time. But afterwards Reppyndon abjured, and was made Bishop of Lincoln.

From hence it appears, that it was then thought that the Modus was so far determin'd by the Lateran Council, that the contrary Doctrine was declared not merely Erroneous in Faith, but Heretical.

In the first Convocation held by Th. Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury A. D. 1396. A Complaint was brought, that several Divines and others of the University of Oxford held some Heretical and Erroneous opinions; the first whereof was,

That the Substance of Bread doth remain after Consecration; and doth not cease to be Bread; which is there affirmed to be Heresie, speaking of material Bread.

The second, that the Court of Rome in the Can. Ego Berengarius, had determined that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is naturally true Bread.

It is very hard to say, how this came to be then accounted Heretical Doctrine, when no less a Man than Durandus in the same Age affirms, that the Canonists grant that the Opinion of the ceasing of the Substance was grounded on the Can. Firmiter Credimus i. e. on the Lateran Council; but that of the remaining of the Substance on that, Ego Berengarius. But however it passed for Heretical, or at least very Erroneous Doctrine here; but the main Heresie was to hold, that the Substance remained.

For A. D. 1400. (as appears by the Register p. 2 f. 179.) William Sawtre, alias Chatris, a Parochial Priest in London, was summoned before the same Archbishop in Convocation upon an Information of Heresie; and one of the main Articles against him was, that he held the Substance of the Bread to remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after Consecration; and that it doth not cease to be Bread. Sawtre answered, that he believed, that after Consecration the Bread did remain with the Body of Christ; but it doth not cease to be simply Bread, but it remains holy and true the Bread of Life and Body of Christ. The Archbishop examined him chiefly upon this Article; and because he did not answer home to the point, he was condemned for a Heretick, and was the first who was burned for Heresie in England. And yet his Answer was that he could not understand the matter; then the Archbishop asked him, if he would stand to the Church's Determination; he

he said, He would so far as it was not contrary to the Word of God. Upon which he was declared an Heretic and delivered over to the Secular Power.

In the same Convocation, John Pervey made an Abjuration of Heresy, and the first he renounced, was, That after Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar, there neither is, nor can be an Accident without a Subject, and that the same Substance and Nature of Bread remained which was before.

In the Examination of William Thorp, by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1407. (which is not in the Register, being defective, but the Account is preserved from his own Copy) the Archbishop declared, That the Church had now determined, that there abideth no Substance of Bread after Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar. And that if he believed otherwise, he did not believe as the Church believed. Thorp quoted St. Augustin and Fulgentius, to prove that the Substance remained, and the very Mass on Christmas-Day. The Archbishop still pressed him with the Church's Determination. Thorp said, this was a School-Nicety, whether Accidents could be without a Subject; no, said the Archbishop, it is the Faith of the Church I go upon. Thorp replied, It was not so for a thousand Years after Christ.

In the Examination of the Lord Cobham, A. D. 1412. by the same Archbishop, we find that he owned the Real Presence of Christ's Body as firmly as his Accusers; but he was condemned for Heresy, because he held the Substance of Bread to remain. For the Archbishop declared this to be the Sense of the Church, That after Consecration, remaineth no material Bread or Wine which were before, they being turned in Christ's very Body and Blood. The Original Words of the Archbishop, as they are in the Register, are these.

The Faith and the Determination of holy Church, touching the blestfull Sacrament of the Auter is this, that after the Sacramental Words ben said by a Priest in his Masse, the material Bred that was before is turned into Christ's veray Body. And the material Wyn that was before, is turned into Christ veray Blode, and so there leweth in the Auter, no material Brede ne material Wyn the wich wer ther byfore the saying of the Sacramental Words.

And the Bishops afterwards stood up and said, It is manifest Heresy to say that it is Bread after the Sacramental Words be spoken; because it was against the Determination of holy Church.

But to make all sure, not many Years after, May 4th, A.D. 1415. the Council of Constance, Session 8. declared the two Propositions before mentioned to be heretical, viz. to hold that the Substance doth remain after Consecration, and that the Accidents do not remain without a Subject.

Let any impartial Reader judge whether it be any fatal Oversight to assert, that the Modus of the Real Presence was determin'd by the Council of Trent, when there were so many leading Determinations to it, which were generally owned and received in the Church of Rome. But there were other Disputes remaining in the Schools relating to this Matter; which we do not pretend were ever determin'd by the Council of Trent. As,

(1.) Whether the Words of Consecration are to be understood in a Speculative or Practical Sense? For the Scots say, in the former Sense they do by no means prove Transubstantiation, since it may be truly said This is my Body, though the Substance of Bread do remain, and that they are to be understood in a Practical Sense; i. e. for converting the Bread into the Body, is not to be deduced ex vi verborum, from the mere Force of the Words, but from the Sense of the Church which hath so understood them: Which in plain terms is to say, it cannot be proved from Scripture, but from the Sense of the Church; and so Scotus doth acknowledge, but then he adds, that we are to judge this to be the Sense of Scripture, because the Church hath declared it. Which he doth not think was done before the Council of Lateran. So that this Council must be believed to have had as Infallible a Spirit in giving this Sense of Scripture, as there was in the writing of it; since it is not drawn from the Words, but added to them. On the other side, the Thomists insist on the Force of the Words themselves; for if, say they, from the Words be infer'd that there is a Real Presence of the Substance of Christ's Body, then it follows thence, that there is no Substance of the Bread remaining; for a Substance cannot be where it was not before, but it must either change its Place, or another must be turned into it; as Fire in a House must either be brought thither, or some other thing must be turned into Fire: But, say they, the Body of Christ cannot be brought from Heaven thither, for then it must leave the Place it had there, and must pass through all the Bodies between; and it is impossible for the same Body to be locally present in several Places; and therefore the Body of Christ cannot otherwise be really and substantially present, but by the Conversion of the Substance of the Bread into it.

(2.) In what Manner the Body of Christ is made to be present in the Sacrament? The Scotists say it is impossible to conceive it otherwise than by bringing it from the Place where it already is; the Thomists say that is impossible, since that Body must be divided from it self by so many other Bodies interposing. The former is said to be an adductive Conversion, the latter a productive; but then here lies another Difficulty, how there can be a productive Conversion of a thing already in being. But my Business is not to give an account of these School-Disputes; but to shew how different they were from the Point of Transubstantiation; and that both these disputing Parties did agree that the Modus of the Real Presence was defined to be by changing the Substance of the Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ, but they still warmly disputed about the Modus of that Modus; viz. how a Body already in Being could be present in so many Places, without leaving that Place where it was already. And no Man, who hath ever look'd into these School-Disputes, can ever imagine that they disputed about the Truth of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, but only about the manner of explaining it. Wherein they do effectually overthrow each others Notions, without being able to establish their own; as the Elector of Cologne truly observed of their Debates about this Matter in the Council of Trent.

VI. Where the Sense of Words hath been changed by the introducing new Doctrines, there the Words ought to be understood according to the Doctrine at that time received. Of this we have two very remarkable Instances in the Council of Trent.

The first is about Indulgences, which that Council in its last Session never went about to define, but made use of the old Word, and so declares both Scripture and Antiquity for the use of them. But there had been a mighty Change in the Doctrine about them, since the Word was used in the Christian Church. No doubt there was a Power in the Church to relax Canonical Penances in extraordinary Cases; but what could that signify, when the Canonical Discipline was laid aside, and a new Method of dealing with Penitents was taken up, and another Trade driven with respect to Purgatory Pains? For here was a new thing carried on under an old Name. And that hath been the great Artifice of the Roman Church, where it hath evidently gone off from the old Doctrines, yet to retain the old Names, that the unwary might still think the Things were the same, because the Names were. As in the present Case; We deny not the use of Indulgences in the Primitive Church, as the Word was used for Relaxations of the Canonical Discipline; but we utterly deny it.

as to the Pains of Purgatory. And that this was the Sense then receiv'd in the Church of Rome, appears from the Papal Constitutions of Boniface VIII. Clemens VI. and Leo X. But of these more hereafter.

The other Instance is in the Word Species used by the Council of Trent, Sess. 13. Can. 2. where an Anathema is denounced against him that denies the Conversion of the whole Substance of the Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ, the Species of Bread and Wine only remaining. Now a Controversy hath been started in the Church of Rome, what is to be understood by Species, whether real Accidents, or only Appearances.

Maignan Philosophia Sacra, Part 2. Append. 5.

Some of the Church of Rome, who have had a Taste of the new Philosophy, reject any real Accidents, and yet declare Transubstantiation to be a Matter of Faith, and go about to explain the Notion of it in another manner. Among these one Emanuel Maignan, a Professor of Divinity at Tholouse, hath at large undertaken this Matter. The Method he takes is this :

(1.) He grants, that nothing remains of the Bread after Consecration, but that whereby it was an Object of Sense ; because that which is really the Being of one thing, cannot be the Being of another. And he confesses, that the Modus, as to the not being of the Substance after Consecration, is determin'd by the Councils of Constance and Trent.

(2.) He asserts, that real Accidents, supposing them separable from the Substance, are not that whereby the Elements are made the Objects of Sense ; because they do not make the Conjunction between the Object and the Faculty.

(3.) Since he denies that Accidents have any real Being distinct from the Substance they are in, he grants, that it is as much a Matter of Faith, that there are no real Accidents after Consecration, as that there is no real Substance ; and he brings the Authorities of the Councils of Lateran, Florence and Trent to prove it.

(4.) As the Substance did by Divine Concourse so act upon the Senses before, as to make it be an Object of Sense ; so after Consecration, God by his immediate Act makes the same Appearances, although the Substance be gone. And this, he saith, is the Effect of this miraculous Conversion, which is concealed from our Senses, by God's immediate causing the very same Appearances, which came before from the Substance. Which Appearances, he saith, are the Species mention'd by the Council of Trent, and other elder Councils and Fathers.

Against

Against this new Hypothesis, a famous Jesuit, Theophilus Raynaudus, opposed himself with great Vehemency, and urged these Arguments against it.

(1.) That it overthrows the very Nature of a Sacrament, leaving no external visible Sign, but a perpetual Illusion of the Senses, in such a manner, that the Error of one cannot be corrected by another.

(2.) That it overthrows the Design of the Sacrament, which is to be true and proper Food. My Flesh is Meat indeed, &c. John 6. Which, he saith, is to be understood of the Sacrament, as well as of the Body of Christ, and therefore cannot agree with an imaginary Appearance.

(3.) It is not consistent with the Accidents which befall the Sacramental Species, as to be trod under Foot, to be cast into indecent Places, to be devoured by Brutes, to be putrified, &c. If the Body of Christ withdraws, there must be something beyond mere Appearances.

(4.) He makes this Doctrine to be Heretical, because the Council of Constance condemned it as an Heretical Proposition, to affirm, that in the Eucharist Accidents do not remain without their Subject; and because the Council of Trent uses the Word Species in the Sense then generally received, and so it signifies the same with Accidents. Which, saith he, farther appears, because the Council speaks of the Species remaining; but if there be no real Accidents, the Species doth not remain in the Object, but a new Appearance is produced. And it seems most reasonable to interpret the Language of the Council according to the general Sense wherein the Words were understood at that time.

VII. What things were disputed and opposed by some in the Council, without being censured for it, although they were afterwards decreed by a Major Party, yet cannot be said to have been there received by a Catholick Tradition. Because Matters of Faith, which have been universally received in the Church, can never be supposed to be contested in a Council without Censure; but if it appears that there were Heats and warm Debates among the Parties in the Council itself, and both think they speak the Sense of the Catholick Church; then we must either allow that there was then no known Catholick Tradition about those Matters, or that the Divines of the Church of Rome assembled in Council did not understand what it was. And what happens to be decreed by a Majority, can never be concluded from thence to have been the Tradition before, because there was a different Sense of others concerning it. And since in a Division a single Person may make a Majority, it will be very hard to believe, that

that he carries Infallibility and Catholick Tradition along with him.

But I think it reasonable, in the Enquiry after Catholick Tradition, to take Notice of the different Opinions in the Council, and among the School-men before it; and not only to observe what was the Sense of the Roman Church, but of the Eastern Churches too, and where the Matter requires it, to go through the several Ages of the Church, up to the Apostolical Times; that I may effectually prove, that in the main Points in Controversy between us, which are established by the Council of Trent, there cannot be produced any Catholick and Apostolical Tradition for them.



THE Council of TRENT

EXAMIN'D and DISPROV'D, &c.



HERE are Two Things designed by me in this Treatise:

1. To shew that there is no such thing as universal Tradition for the main Points in Controversy between us and the Church of Rome, as they are determined by the Council of Trent.

2. To give an Account by what Steps and Degrees, and on what Occasions those Doctrines and Practices came into the Church.

But before I come to particulars, I shall lay down some reasonable *Postulata*.

1. That a *Catholick Tradition* must be universally received among the sound Members of the Catholick Church.

2. That the force of Tradition lies in the Certainty of Conveyance of Matters of Faith from the Apostolical Times; for no new Doctrines being pretended to, there can be no Matter of Faith in any Age of the Church, but what was so in the precedent, and so up to the Apostles times.

3. That it is impossible to suppose the Divines of the Catholick Church to be ignorant what was in their own time received for *Catholick Tradition*. For if it be so hard for others to mistake it, it will be much more so for those whose Business is to enquire into, and to deliver Matters of Faith.

These things premised, I now enter upon the Points themselves; and I begin with,

I. Tradition's being a Rule of Faith equal with Scriptures.

This is declared by the Council of Trent as the Ground-work of their Proceedings.

The Words are, Sess. 4. *That the Council receives Traditions both as to Faith and Manners, either delivered by Christ himself with his own Mouth, or dictated by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholick Church by a continual Succession, with equal Piety of Affection and Reverence as the Proofs of holy Scripture.*

Necnon Traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel

ore tenus à Christo vel à Spiritu sancto dictatas, & continuâ successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit & veneratur.

Where the Council first supposes there are such Traditions from Christ and the Holy Ghost distinct from Scripture which relate to Faith; and then it declares equal Respect and Veneration due to them. No one questions but

but the Word of Christ and Dictates of the Holy Ghost deserve equal Respect, howsoever conveyed to us; But the Point is, whether there was a *Catholick Tradition* before this time for an unwritten Word, as a Foundation of Faith, together with the written Word.

1. It is therefore impertinent here to talk of a *Tradition before the written Word*; for our Debate is concerning both being joined together to make a perfect Rule of Faith: and yet this is one of the common Pleas on behalf of Tradition.

2. It is likewise impertinent to talk of that Tradition whereby we do receive the written Word. For the Council first supposes the written Word to be received and embraced as the Word of God, before it mentions the unwritten Word; and therefore, it cannot be understood concerning that Tradition whereby we receive the Scriptures. And the Council affirms, *That the Truth of the Gospel is contained partly in Books that are written, and partly in unwritten Tradition*. By the Truth of the Gospel they cannot mean the Scriptures being the Word of God, but that the Word was contained partly in Scripture and partly in Tradition; and it is therefore impertinent to urge the Tradition for Scripture to prove Tradition to be part of the Rule of Faith, as it is here owned by the Council of Trent.

The Council doth not here speak of a Traditionary sense of Scripture, but of a distinct Rule of Faith from the Scripture. For of that it speaks afterwards in the Decree about the use of the Scripture; where it saith, *no man ought to interpret Scripture against the Sense of the Church, to whom it belongs to judge of the true Sense and Meaning of Scripture, nor against the unanimous Consent of the Fathers*. Whereby it is evident, the Council is not to be understood of any Consequences drawn out of Scripture concerning things not expressly contained in it; but it clearly means an unwritten Word distinct from the written, and not contained in it, which, together with that, makes up a Complete Rule of Faith. This being the true sense of the Council, I now shew that there was no *Catholick Tradition* for it.

Which I shall prove by these steps:

1. From the Proceedings of the Council it self.
2. From the Testimony of the Divines of that Church before the Council for several Centuries.
3. From the Canon Law received and allowed in the Church of Rome.
4. From the ancient Offices used in that Church.
5. From the Testimony of the Fathers.
6. From the Proceedings of the Council about this matter.

By the *Postulata* it appears, that a *Catholick Tradition* is such as must be known by the sound Members of the Church, and especially of the Divines in it. But it appears by the most allowed Histories of that Council, this Rule of Faith was not so received there. For Cardinal Pallavicini tells us that it was warmly debated and canvassed even by the Bishops themselves. The Bishop of Fano (*Berranus*) urged against it, that God had not given equal firmness to Tradition as he had done to Scripture, since several Traditions had failed. But the Bishop of Bitonto (*Mussus*) opposed him, and said, *Though all Truths were not equally to be regarded, yet every Word of God ought, and Traditions as well as Scripture were the Word of God, and the first Principles of Faith; and the greater part of the Council followed him*. It seems then there was a Division in, the

the Council about it; but how could that be, if there were a Catholick Tradition about this Rule of Faith? Could the Bishops of the Catholick Church, when assembled in Council to determine Matters of Faith, be no better agreed about the Rule of Faith; and yet must we believe there was at that time a known Catholick Tradition about it, and that it was impossible they should err about such a Tradition? Nay farther, the same Author tells us, that although this Bishop had gained the greatest part of the Council to him, yet his own Heart misgave him, and in the next Congregation himself proposed, that instead of *equal*, it might be put a *like Veneration*; and yet we must believe there was a Catholick Tradition for an equal Veneration to Scripture and Tradition. But the Bishop of Chioza, (*Naclantus*) he saith, *inveigh'd more bitterly against this Equality*, and in the Face of the Council *charged the Doctrine with Impiety*; and he would not allow any Divine Inspiration to Tradition, but that they were to be considered onely as Laws of the Church. It's true, he saith, he professed to consent to the Decree afterwards, but withal he tells us, that he was brought under the Inquisition not long after, upon Suspicion of Heresy, which shews they were not well satisfied with his Submission. We are extremely beholden to Cardinal *Pallavicini* for his Information in these Matters, which are past over too jejune by *F. Paul*.

N. 4.

2. I proceed to the Testimony of the Divines of the Roman Church before the Council of *Trent*. It is observed by some of them, that when the Fathers appealed to the Tradition of the Church in any controverted Points of Faith, they made their Appeal to those who wrote before the Controversy was started; as *St. Augustin* did against the *Pelagians*, &c. This is a reasonable Method of proceeding, in case Tradition be a Rule of Faith; and therefore must be so even in this point, whether Tradition be such a Rule or not. For the Divines who wrote before could not be ignorant of the Rule of Faith they received among themselves.

Aug. l. 2. c. Julian.

Gabriel Biel lived in the latter end of the 15th Century, and he affirms, *That the Scripture alone teaches all things necessary to Salvation*; and he instances in the things to be done, and to be avoided, to be loved and to be despised, to be believed, and to be hoped for. And again, *That the Will of God is to be understood by the Scriptures, and by them alone we know the whole Will of God*. If the whole Will of God were to be known by the Scripture, how could part of it be preserved in an unwritten Tradition? And if this were then part of the Rule of Faith, how could such a Man, who was Professor of Divinity at *Tubing*, be ignorant of it? I know he saith, he took the main of his Book from the Lectures of *Eggelinus*, in the Cathedral Church at *Mentz*; but this adds greater Strength to the Argument, since it appears hereby that this Doctrine was not confined to the Schools, but openly delivered in one of the most famous Churches of *Germany*.

Et cætera nostræ salutis necessaria, quæ omnia sola docet sacra Scriptura. Læction. in Canon. Missæ 71.

Hæc autem in sacris Scripturis discuntur, per quas solas plenam intelligere possumus Dei voluntatem. Id.

Cajetan died not above 12 Years before the Council, who agrees with this Doctrine of *Biel* or *Eggelinus*, (and he was accounted the Oracle of his time for Divinity) and he affirms, *That the Scripture gives*

Ecce quod tendit utilitas divinæ Scripturæ ad

perfectionem hominis Dei (hoc est qui totum seipsum Deo dat) perfectionem inquam talem ut sit perfectus ad omne bonum exercendum. In 2 ad Tim. 3. 16.

such a Perfection to a Man of God (or one that devoutly serves him) that thereby he is accomplished for every good Work; how can this be, if there be another Rule of Faith quite distinct from the written Word?

Dico illa omnia Scripta esse ab Apostolis quæ sunt omnibus necessaria, & quæ ipsi palam omnibus vulgò prædicaverunt.
Bellarm. de verbo Dei.

l. 4. c. 11.

Illud imprimis statuendum erit Propheticos & Apostolicos libros juxta mentem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ verum esse verbum Dei & certam ac stabilem Regulam fidei, *Id. l. 1. c. 1.*

At sacris Scripturis quæ Prophetis & Apostolicis literis continentur, nihil est notius, nihil certius. *Id. c. 2.*

Quare cum sacra Scriptura Regula credendi certissima tutissimæque sit. *Ibid.*

L. 4. c. 9.

He asserts farther, *That nothing is de fide, but what God hath revealed to the Prophets and Apostles, or is deduced from thence.* This he brings to prove that *whatsoever was received as a Matter of Faith in the Church, which is not found in Scripture, must have come from an Apostolical Tradition.* But if it be necessary to Salvation, according to his own Concession, it must be written; and if it be not, how comes it then to be received as a Matter of Faith? Unless it be first proved, that it is necessary to Salvation to receive an unwritten Rule of Faith, as well as a written: For either it must be necessary on its own Account, and then he saith it must be written; and if not, then it can be no otherwise necessary, than because it is to be believed on the Account of a Rule, which makes it necessary; and consequently that Rule must be first proved to be a necessary Article of Faith, which Bellarmine hath nowhere done; but only sets down Rules about knowing true Apostolical Traditions from others in Matters of Faith, wherein he wisely supposes that which he was to prove.

And the true Occasion of setting up this new Rule of Faith is intimated by Bellarmine himself, in his first Rule of judging true Apostolical Traditions; which is, *When the Church believes any thing as a Doctrine of Faith, which is not in Scripture, then saith he, we must judge it to be an Apostolical Tradition.* Why so? *Otherwise the Church must have erred, in taking that for a Matter of Faith which was not.* And this is the great Secret about this new Rule of Faith; they saw plainly several things were imposed on the Faith of Christians, which could not be proved from Scripture, and they must not yield they had once mistaken; and therefore this new, additional, less certain Rule for unnecessary Points must be advanced, although they wanted Tradition among themselves to prove Tradition a Rule of Faith; which I shall now farther make appear from their own School-Divines before the Council of Trent.

*Et quantum ad ea quæ proponantur omnibus credenda quæ pertinent ad fidem. 2. 2. q. 171. prol.

We are to observe among them what those are they strictly call Theological Truths, and by them we shall judge what they made the Rule of Faith, For, they do not make a bare Revelation to any Person a sufficient Ground for Faith; but they say, * *The Revelation must be publick, and designed for the general Benefit of the Church;* and so

Aquinas

Aquinas determines, That our Faith rests only upon the Revelations made to the Prophets and Apostles; and Theological Truths are such as are immediately deduced from the Principles of Faith; i. e. from publick Divine Revelations owned and received by the Church. The modern School-men, who follow the Council of Trent, make Theological Truths to be deduced from the unwritten, as well as written Word; or else they would not speak consonantly to their own Doctrine. And therefore if those before them deduce Theological Truths only from the written Word, then it will follow that they did not hold the unwritten Word to be a Rule of Faith. 1 q. 1. a. 5. Melch. Can. l. 12. c. 3.

Marsilius ab Inghen was first Professor of Divinity of Heidelberg, (at the latter end of the 15th Century, saith Bellarmine, but Trithemius saith the 14th) and he determines, That a Theological Proposition is that which is positively asserted in Scripture, or deduced from thence by good Consequence; and that a Theological Truth, strictly taken, is the Truth of an Article of Faith, or something expressed in the Bible, or deduced from thence. He mentions Apostolical Traditions afterwards, and joins them with Ecclesiastical Histories and Martyrologies; so far was he from supposing them to be part of the Rule of Faith. Marsil. in 4 lib. Sentent. l. 1. Proem. q. 2. art. 2.

In the beginning of the 15th Century lived Petrus de Alliaco, one as famous for his Skill in Divinity, as for his Dignity in the Church, he saith, That Theological Discourse is founded on Scripture, and a Theological Proof must be drawn from thence; that Theological Principles are the Truths contained in the Canon of Scripture; and Conclusions are such as are drawn out of what is contained in Scripture. So that he not only makes the Scripture the Foundation of Faith, but of all sorts of true Reasoning about it. He knew nothing of Cardinal Pallavicini's two first Principles of Faith. Pet. de Allia. co in Sent. l. 1. q. 1. a. 3.

To the same Purpose speak Gregorius Ariminensis, about the middle of the 14th Century; he saith, All Theological Discourse is grounded on Scripture, and the Consequences from it: Which he not only proves from Testimony, but *ex communi omnium conceptione*, from the general Consent of all Christians; for, saith he, All are agreed that then a thing is proved Theologically, when it is proved from the Words of Scripture. So that here we have plain Tradition against Tradition's being a distinct Rule of Faith; and this delivered by the General of an Order in the Church of Rome. He affirms, That the Principles of Theology, are no other than the Truths contained in the Canon of Scripture; and that the Resolution of all Theological Discourse is into them; and that there can be no Theological Conclusion but what is drawn from Scripture. Greg. Ari-min. q. 1. a. 2.

In the former part of that Century lived Durandus; he gives a threefold Sense of Theology. 1. For a Habit whereby we assent to those things which are contained in Scripture, as they are there delivered. 2. For a Habit whereby those things are defended and declared which are delivered in Scripture. 3. For a Habit of those things which are deduced out of Articles of Faith; and so it is all one with the holy Scripture. Durand. Prolog. q. 5. n. 9. a. 13. n. 21.

And in another Place he affirms, That all Truth is contained in the Holy Scripture at large; but for the People's Conveniency the necessary Points are summed up in the Apostles Creed. L. 3. Dist. 25. q. 2.

In his Preface before his Book on the Sentences, he highly commends the Scriptures for their Dignity, their Usefulness, their Certainty, their Depth; and after all concludes, That in Matters of Faith Men ought to speak agreeably to the Scriptures; and whosoever doth not, breaks the Rule

of the Scriptures, which he calls the Measure of our Faith. What Tradition did appear then for another Rule of Faith in the 14th Century?

Nam in
concernenti-
bus fidem e-
tiam dictum
unius privati
esset præfe-
rendum
dicto Papæ,
si ille move-
retur melio-
ribus novi &
veteris Testamenti quam Papæ.

But before I proceeded higher I shall shew the Consent of others with these School Divines in the three last Centuries before the Council of Trent. In the middle of the 15th lived *Nicholaus Panormitanus* one of the mighty Reputation for his skill in the Canon Law. In the Ch. *Significasti prima. 1. De Electione*, debating the Authority of Pope and Council, he saith, *If the Pope hath better Reason his Authority is greater than the Councils; and if any private person in matters of Faith hath better Reason out of Scripture than the Pope, his saying is to be preferred above the Pope's.* Which words do plainly shew, that the Scripture was then looked on as the only Rule of Faith; or else no Man's grounding himself on Scripture could make his Doctrine to be preferred before the Pope's; who might alledge Tradition against him, and if that were an equal Rule of Faith, the Doctrine of one Rule could not be preferred before the other.

Cum ergo
in omni ve-
ritate veritas
divina sit cer-
rior & im-
mutabilior,
ergo omnes
aliæ debent
regulari per
illam, & in

At the same time lived *Tostatus* the famous Bishop of *Avila*, one of infinite Industry and great Judgment, and therefore could not be mistaken in the Rule of Faith. In his Preface on *Genesis* he saith, *that there must be a Rule for our understandings to be regulated by, and that Rule must be most certain; and that is contained in Scripture, and therefore we must regulate our understandings thereby.* And this he makes to be the measure of Truth and Falshood. If he knew any other Rule of Faith besides the Scriptures, he would have mentioned it in this place; and not have directed Men onely to them, as the exact measure of Truth and Falshood.

quantum coformantur illi sunt veræ; in quantum autem deviant ab illa, deviant à natura veritatis. Sacra autem Scriptura veritas divina est, ideo iudicium nostrum debemus regulari per illam applicando ad eam, &c. *Tostat. in Ep. Hieron. c. 6, p. 28. D.*

In the beginning of this Century *Thomas Walden* (Confessor to our *Henry V.* saith *Thurthemi*us,) disputed sharply against *Wickliff*; but he durst not set up the Church's Authority or Tradition equal with the Scriptures. For when he mention Tradition after Scripture, he utterly

Non quod in Auctoritate
æquantur, absit; sed sequan-
tur. Non quidem in sub-
sidium Auctoritatis Canonicae,
sed in admonitionem, poste-
riorum. l. 2. Art. 2. c. 22.

c. 28.

c. 27.

disclaims any such thought as that of Equality between them; but he desires a due distance may be kept between Canonical Scripture and Ecclesiastical Authority or Tradition. In the first place he saith we ought to believe the holy Scriptures; then the Definitions and Customs of the Catholick Church; but he more fully explains himself in another place, where

he plainly asserts, *that nothing else is to be received by such Faith as the Scripture and Christ's Symbolical Church; but for all other Authorities, the lowest degree is that of Catholick Tradition, the next of the Bishops, especially of the Apostolical Churches, and the Roman in the first place; and above all these he places that of a General Council; but when he hath so done, he saith, all these Authorities are to be regarded but as the Instructions of Elders, and Admonitions of Fathers.* So that the chief Opposers of *Wickliff* had not yet found out this new Rule of Faith.

Joh. Gerson,
Exam. Doctr.
p. 540.
Part. 1. Conf.
5.

Much about the same time lived *Joh. Gerson*, whom Cardinal *Zabarella* declared, in the Council of *Constance*, to be the greatest Divine in his time, and therefore could not be ignorant of the true Rule of Faith. He agrees with *Panormitan* in this, *that if a Man be well skilled in Scriptures, his Doctrine deserves more to be regarded than the Pope's Declaration; for,*

saith

faith he, the Gospel is more to be believed than the Pope, and if such a one teaches a Doctrine to be contained in Scripture, which the Pope either knows not or mistakes, it is plain whose Judgment is to be preferred. Nay, he goes farther, that if in a General Council he finds the Majority incline to that part which is contrary to Scripture, he is bound to oppose it, and he instances in Hilary. And he shews, that since the Canon of Scripture received by the Church, no Authority of the Church is to be equalled to it. He allows a Judgment of Discretion in private persons, and a Certainty of the literal Sense of Scripture attainable thereby. He makes the Scripture the only standing Infallible Rule of Faith for the whole Church to the end of the world. And whatever Doctrine is not agreeable thereto, is to be rejected either as Heretical, suspicious, or impertinent to Religion. If the Council of Trent had gone by this Rule, we had never heard of the Creed of Pius IV.

Conf. 6.

Nihil audendum dicere de divinis nisi quæ nobis à sacra scriptura tradita sunt.

Cujus ratio est, quo niam scriptura nobis tradita est tanquam Regula sufficiens & infallibilis, pro Regimine totius Ecclesiastici corporis & membrorum usque in finem seculi. Est igitur talis ars, talis regula, vel exemplar, cui se non conformans alia Doctrina, vel abjicienda est ut hæreticalis, aut suspecta, aut impertinens ad Religionem prorsus est habenda. Exam. Doctr. Part. 2. Confid. 1.

In the beginning of the 14th Century lived *Nicolaus de Lyra*, who parallels the Scriptures in matters of Faith with First principles in Sciences; for as other Truths are tried in them by their reduction to First-principles, so in matters of Faith by their reduction to Canonical Scriptures, which are of divine Revelation, which is impossible to be false. If he had known any other Principles which would have made Faith impossible to be false, he would never have spoken thus of Scripture alone. But to return to the School Divines.

Lyra, Prefat. ad lib. Tob. x.

About the same time lived *Joh. Duns Scotus*, the head of a School, famous for Subtilty; He affirms, that the Holy Scripture doth sufficiently contain all matters necessary to Salvation; because by it we know what we are to believe, hope for, and practice. And after he hath enlarged upon them, he concludes in these words, *pater quod Scriptura sacra sufficienter continet Doctrinam necessariam viatori*. If this be understood onely of Points simply necessary, then however it proves, that all such things necessary to Salvation are therein contained; and no Man is bound to enquire after unnecessary Points. How then can it be necessary to embrace another Rule of Faith, when all things necessary to Salvation are sufficiently contained in Scripture?

Scot. in Sentent. Prolog. Q. 2. n. 14.

But *Thomas Aquinas* is more express in this matter; For he saith, that those things which depend on the Will of God, and are above any desert of ours, can be known no otherways by us, than as they are delivered in Scriptures by the Will of God, which is made known to us.

Ea enim quæ ex sola Dei voluntate supra omne debitum Creaturæ,

nobis innotescere non possunt, nisi quatenus in sacra Scriptura traduntur, per quam Divina voluntas nobis innotescit. 3. q. 1. a. 3. in C.

This is so remarkable a Passage, that *Suarez* could not let it escape without corrupting it; for instead of Scripture he makes him to speak of Divine Revelation in general, viz. under Scripture he comprehends all; that is, under the written Word he means the unwritten. If he had meant so, he was able to have expressed his own mind more plainly; and *Cajetan* apprehended no such meaning in his words. But this is a matter of so great consequence, that I shall prove from other passages in him, that he asserted the same Doctrine, viz. That the Scripture was the only Rule of Faith.

Suarez, in 3. p. 117.

1. He

Authori-
tatibus au-
tem Canoni-
cæ Scripturæ
utitur pro-
priè ex neces-
sitate argu-
mentando;
autoritatibus
autem alio-
rum Docto-
rum Ecclesiæ

quasi arguendo ex propriis sed probabiliter. Innititur enim fides nostra Revelationi Apo-
stolis & Prophetis sanctæ, qui Canonicos libros scripserunt, non autem Revelationi si qua fuit aliis Docto-
ribus facta. 1. q. 1. a. 8. ad 2.

Quæ igitur
fidei sunt
tentanda
probari nisi
per Autorita-
tes his qui

Autoritates suscipiunt. 1. q. 32. a. 1. c.

Si autem ad veritatem eloquiorum sc. sacrorum respicit, hoc & nos Canone utimur. Ib.

3. He asserts that the *Articles of the Creed* are all contained in Scripture, and are drawn out of Scripture, and put together by the Church only for the ease of the People. From hence it necessarily follows that the Reason of believing the *Articles of the Creed*, is to be taken from the written Word and not from any *unwritten Tradition*. For else he needed not to have been so careful to shew, that they were all taken out of Scripture.

Dicendum quod veritas fidei in Sacra Scriptura diffusè continetur--ideo fuit necessarium ut ex sententiis Sacræ Scripturæ aliquid manifestum summarie colligeretur, quod proponeretur omnibus ad credendum; quod quidem non est additum Sacræ Scripturæ, sed potius ex Sacra Scriptura sumptum. 2. 2. q. 1. a. 9. ad primum.

4. He distinguisheth the Matters of Faith in Scripture, some to be believed for themselves, which he calls *prima Credibilia*; these he saith every one is bound explicitly to believe; but for other things he is bound onely implicitly, or in a preparation of mind, to believe whatever is contained in Scripture; and then onely is he bound to believe explicitly when it is made clear to him to be contained in the Doctrine of Faith. Which words must imply the Scripture to be the onely Rule of Faith; For otherwise implicit Faith, must relate to whatever is proved to be an *unwritten Word*.

Quantum ad prima Credibilia, quæ sunt Articuli fidei, tenetur homo explicitè credere, sicut & tenetur habere fidem. Quantum autem ad alia credibilia non tenetur homo explicitè credere, sed solum implicitè, vel in præparatione animi in quantum paratus est credere quicquid Scriptura continet; sed tunc solum hujusmodi tenetur explicitè credere, quando hoc ei confiterit in Doctrina fidei contineri. 2. 2. q. 2. a. 5. c.

From all this it appears that *Aquinas* knew nothing of a *Traditional Rule of Faith*; although he lived after the *Lateran Council*, A. D. 1215. being born about nine years after it.

Et nihil nobis dicendum est, præter ea quæ

And *Bonaventure*, who died the same year with him, affirms, that nothing was to be said, (about Matters of Faith) but what is made clear out of the Holy Scriptures.

nobis ex Sacris Eloquiis clarent. Bonav. in 3 Sent. Dist. 1. Art. 2. q. 2.

Not long after them lived *Henricus Gandavensis*; and he delivers these things which are very material to our purpose.

1. That the Reason why we believe the Guides of the Church since the Apostles, who work no Miracles, is, because they preach nothing but what they have left in their most certain Writings, which are delivered down to us pure and uncorrupt by an universal consent of all that succeeded to our times. Where we see he makes the Scriptures to be the onely Certain Rule, and that we are to judge of all other Doctrines by them.

non prædicant alia quàm quæ illi in scriptis certissimis reliquerunt, quæ constat per medios in nullo fuisse vitata ex consensione concordie in eis omnium succedentium usque ad tempora nostra. Hen Gandav. Sum. Art. 9. q. 3. n. 13. 2.

2. That Truth is more certainly preserved in Scripture than in the Church; because that is fixed and immutable, and Men are variable, so that multitudes of them may depart from the Faith, either through Error or Malice; but the true Church will always remain in some righteous persons. How then can Tradition be a Rule of Faith equal with Scriptures, which depends upon the Testimony of Persons who are so very fallible?

sonis autem Ecclesiæ mutabilis est & variabilis ut dissentire fidei possit multitudo illorum, & vel per errorem, vel per malitiam à fide discedere licet; semper Ecclesia in aliquibus justis stabit, Art. 8. q. 1. n. 5.

I might carry this way of Testimony on higher still, as when Richardus de S. Victore saith, in the thirteenth Century, that every Truth is suspected by him, which is not confirmed by Holy Scripture; but instead of that I shall now proceed to the Canon Law, as having more Authority than particular Testimonies.

Rich. de S. Victore, De Præpar. Animi ad Contempl. Part. 1. c. 81.

3. As to the Canon Law collected by Gratian, I do not insist upon its Conformation by Eugenius, but upon its universal Reception in the Church of Rome. And from thence I shall evidently prove that Tradition was not allowed to be a Rule of Faith equal with the Scriptures.

Dist. 9. c. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10. The Authority and Infallibility of the Holy Scripture is asserted above all other Writings whatsoever; for all other Writings are to be examined, and Men are to judge of them as they see cause.

Now Bellarmine tells us, that the unwritten Word is so called, not that it always continues unwritten, but that it was so by the first Author of it. So that the unwritten Word doth not depend on mere Oral Tradition, according to him, but it may be found in the Writers of the Church; but the Canon Law expressly excludes all other Writings, let them contain what they will, from being admitted to any Competition with Canonical Scriptures; and therefore according to that, no part of the Rule of Faith was contained in any other than Canonical Scriptures.

Dist. 37. c. Relatum, A man is supposed to have an entire and firm Rule of Faith in the Scriptures.

Cum enim ex divinis Scripturis integram quis & firmam Regulam veritatis suscepit.

Caus. 8. q. 1. c. Nec sufficere, The Scriptures are said to be the onely Rule both of Faith and Life.

Quibus sacris literis unica est credendi pariter & vivendi Regula præscripta.

And the Gloss on the Canon Law there owns the Scripture to be the Rule for matters of Faith; but very pleasantly applies it to the Clergy, and thinks Images enough for the Laity.

Caus.

Caus. 24. q. 1. c. Non afferentes. The Scriptures are acknowledged to be the true Balance; and that we are not so much to weigh what we find there, as to own what we find there already weighed. Which must imply the Scripture alone to be that Measure we are to trust to.

Dist. 8. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. It is there said, that Custom must yield to Truth and Reason, when that is discovered, and that for this Reason, because *brist said, I am Truth and not Custom.* Now, if Tradition be an Infallible Rule of Faith, Custom ought always to be presumed to have Truth and Reason of its side. For, if we can once suppose a Custom to prevail in the Church against Truth and Reason, it is impossible that Tradition should be Infallible; for what is that but Ancient Custom?

Caus. 11. Q. 3. c. 101. Si is qui praeest. If any one commands what God hath forbidden, or forbids what God hath commanded, he is to be accursed of all that love God. And if he requires any thing besides the Will of God, or what God hath evidently required in Scripture, he is to be looked on as a false Witness of God, and a Sacrilegious Person. How can this be, if there be another infallible way of conveying the Will of God besides the Scriptures?

Sed in
hanc impi-
entiam ca-
dunt, qui
cum ad cog-
noscendam
veritatem

Caus. 24. q. 3. c. 30. c. Quid autem. In matters of doubt it is said that Men are to fly to the Written Word for satisfaction, and that it is folly not to do it. It is true, Mens own Fancies are opposed to Scripture, but against Mens Fancies no other Rule is mentioned but that of the Written Word.

Joh. 22. Extravag. c. Quia quorundam. Tit. 14. makes his Appeal to Scripture in the Controversie then on foot about Use and Property; *Dicunt nobis ubi legunt, &c.* and he shews that if it were a matter of Faith, it must be contained in Scripture, either expressly or by reduction; otherwise the Scripture would be no certain Rule; and by consequence, the Articles of Faith which are proved by Scripture, would be rendered doubtful and uncertain.

Nec quasi
hoc sacra
Scriptura con-
tineat, quo
negato tota
Scriptura sa-
cra redidit
dubia; & per
consequens
articuli Fidei,
qui habeat
per Scripturam
sacram probari
redduntur
dubii & incerti.

The Glosser there saith, *Whence comes this consequence;* and refers to another place; where he makes it out thus; that Faith can onely be proved by the Scripture, and therefore if the Authority of that be destroyed, Faith would be taken away. The Roman Editors for an Antidote refer to Cardinal Turrecremata, who doth indeed speak of Catholick Truths, and he which are not to be found in the Canon of Scripture; quotes a passage in the Canon Law for it under the name of *Alex. 3. c. cum Martha Extrav. de Celebr. Missae.* but in truth it is *Innoc. 3. Decretal. l. 3. Tit. 14.* and yet this will not prove what he aims at; for the Question was about the Author of the Words added in the Eucharist to those of Christ's Institution; and he pleads that many of Christ's words and actions are omitted by the Evangelists, which the Apostles afterwards set down; and he instances in Saint Paul, as to those words of Christ, *It is more blessed to give than to receive;* and else. But what is all this to Catholick Truths not being contained in Scripture either in words or by consequence; The Cardinal was here very much to seek, when he had nothing but such a Testimony as this to produce in so weighty and so new a Doctrine. The best Argument he produces is, a horrible blunder

Extrav. Joh.
22. Cum in-
ter Gloss. per
consequens.
Turrecrem.
de Ecclesia, l.
4. part. 2. c. 9.

Turrecrem.
l. 2. c. 18.

blunder of Gratian's, where S. *Augustin* seems to reckon the Decretal Epistles equal with the Scriptures, *Dist. 19. c. in Canonicis*; which the Roman Correctors were ashamed of, and confess that S. *Augustin* speaks only of Canonical Epistles in Scripture. So hard must they strain, who among Christians would set up any other Rule equal with the Written Word.

4. I proceeded to prove this from the ancient Offices of the Roman Church.

In the Office produced by *Morinus* out of the Vatican MS. which he saith was very ancient; the Bishop before his Consecration was asked, *If he would accommodate all his prudence, to the best of his skill, to the sense of Holy Scripture*; Morin. de Ordin. Sa- cris, p. 273.

Resp. Yes, I will with all my heart consent, and obey it in all things.

Inter. Wilt thou teach the People, by Word and Example, the things which thou learnest out of Holy Scriptures?

Resp. I will.

And then immediately follows the *Examen* about Manners.

In another old Office of S. *Victor's*, there are the same Questions in the same manner. Morin. p. 333.

And so in another of the Church of Rouen lately produced by *Mabillon*, which he saith was about *William* the Conquerour's time, there is not a word about Traditions; which crept into *Ordo Romanus*, and from thence hath been continued in the Roman Pontificals. But it is observable, that the *Ordo Romanus* owns that the *Examen* was originally taken out of the Gallican Offices, (although it does not appear in those imperfect ones lately published at Rome by *Thomasius*) and therefore we may justly suspect that the additional Questions about Traditions were the Roman Interpolations, after it came to be used in that Pontifical. Mabillon Analest. To. 2. p. 468.

And the first Office in *Morinus* was the true ancient Gallican Office. But if Tradition had been then owned as a Rule of Faith, it ought no more to have been omitted in the ancient Offices than in the modern.

And the ancient Writers about Ecclesiastical Offices speak very agreeably to the most ancient Offices about this matter. *Amalarius* saith the Gospel is the Fountain of Wisdom; and that the Preachers ought to prove the Evangelical Truth out of the sacred Books. *Isidore*, that we ought to think nothing (as to matters of Faith) but what is contained in the two Testaments. *Rabanus Maurus*, that the knowledge of the Scriptures is the foundation and perfection of Prudence. That Truth and Wisdom are to be tried by them; and the perfect instruction of Life is contained in them. Our Venerable *Bede* agrees with them, when he saith, that the true Teachers take out of the Scriptures of the old and new Testament that which they preach: and therefore have their minds imploy'd in finding out the true meaning of them. Amalarius de Officiis, l. 3. c. 5. Isidor. de Of. fic. l. 2. c. 23. Rab. Maur. de Inst. Cler. l. 3. c. 2. l. 2. c. 53. Bed. in Cant. l. 5. De Tabernaculo l. 1. c. 6.

5. I now come to the Fathers; wherein I am in great measure prevented by a late Discourse, wherein it is at large shewed that the Fathers made use of no other Rule but the Scriptures for deciding Controversies; therefore I shall take another method, which is to shew that those who do speak most advantageously of Tradition, did not intend to set up another Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture. Vindict. of the Answ. to some late Papers.

And here I shall pass over all those Testimonies of Fathers which speak either of Tradition before the Canon of Scripture, or to those who did not receive it, or of the Tradition of Scripture it self, or of some

Rites and Customs of the Church, as wholly impertinent. And when these are cut off, there remain scarce any to be considered, besides that of *Vincentius Lerinensis*, and one Testimony of *S. Basil*.

Commonit. 1.
c. 2.
Cum sit perfectus Scripturarum Canon sibi; ad omnia satis superq; sufficit.

I begin with *Vincentius Lerinensis*, who by some is thought so great a Favourer of Tradition; but he saith not a word of it as a Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture; for he asserts the *Canon of Scripture to be sufficient of it self for all things*. How can that be, if Tradition be a Rule of Faith distinct from it? He makes indeed Catholick Tradition the best Interpreter of Scripture; and we have no reason to decline it in the Points in dispute between us, if *Vincentius* his Rules be follow'd.

1. If Antiquity, Universality and Consent be joyned.

c. 39.

2. If the difference be observed between old Errors and new ones. For, saith he, when they had length of time, Truth is more easily concealed, by those who are concerned to suppress it. And in those Cases we have no other way to deal with them, but by Scripture and ancient Councils. And this is the Rule we profess to hold to.

c. 6.

Of the Necessity of Church Guides
p. 201.

p. 199.

But to suppose any one part of the Church to assume to it self the Title of Catholick, and then to determine what is to be held for Catholick Tradition by all Members of the Catholick Church, is a thing in it self unreasonable, and leaves that part under an impossibility of being reclaimed. For in case the Corrupt Part be judge, we may be sure no Corruptions will be ever owned. *Vincentius* grants that *Arianism* had once extremely the advantage in Point of Universality, and had made many Councils of its side; if now the prevailing Party be to judge of Catholick Tradition, and all are bound to submit to its Decrees without farther Examination, as the Author of the *Guide in Controversies* saith upon these Rules of *Vincentius*; then I say all Men were then bound to declare themselves *Arians*. For if the Guides of the present Church are to be trusted and relied upon for the Doctrine of the Apostolical Church downwards; how was it possible for any Members of the Church then to oppose *Arianism*, and to reform the Church after its prevalency? To say it was condemned by a former Council, doth by no means clear the difficulty; For the present Guides must be trusted, whether they were rightly condemned or not; and nothing can be more certain, than that they would be sure to condemn those who condemned them. But *Vincentius* saith, Every true Lover of Christ preferred the ancient Faith before the novel betraying of it; but then he must chuse this ancient Faith against the judgment of the present Guides of the Church. And therefore that, according to *Vincentius*, can be no Infallible Rule of Faith.

But whether the present Universality dissents from Antiquity, whose Judgment shall be sooner taken than its own? Saith the same Author, This had been an excellent Argument in the mouth of *Ursacius* or *Valens* at the Council of *Ariminum*; and I do not see what Answer the Guide in Controversies could have made. But both are Parties, and is not the Councils Judgment to be taken rather than a few Opposers? So that, for all that I can find by these Principles, *Arianism* having the greater number, had hard luck not to be established as the Catholick Faith. But if in that case, particular Persons were to judge between the New and the Old Faith, then the same Reason will still hold, unless the Guides of the Church have obtained a new Patent of Infallibility since that time.

The great Question among us, is, Where the true ancient Faith is; and how we may come to find it out? We are willing to follow the ancient Rules in this matter. The Scripture is allowed to be an Infallible

lible Rule on all hands; and I am proving that Tradition was not allowed in the ancient Church as distinct from it. But the present Question is, how far Tradition is to be allowed in giving the Sense of Scripture between us. *Vincentius* saith, *we ought to follow it when there is Antiquity, Universality and Consent*: This we are willing to be tried by. But here comes another Question, Who is to be Judge of these? *The present Guides of the Catholick Church*? To what purpose then are all those Rules? Will they condemn themselves? Or, as the *Guide* admirably saith, *If the present Universality be its own Judge, when can we think it will witness its departure from the true Faith?* And if it will not, what a Case is the Church in, under such a pretended *Universality*?

p. 199.

The utmost use I can suppose then, *Vincentius* his Rules can be of to us now, is in all that Case which he puts when Corruptions and Errors have had time to take root and fasten themselves; and that is, *By an Appeal to Scripture and Ancient Councils*. But because of the Charge of Innovation upon us, we are content to be tried by his second Rule. *By Consent of the Fathers of great Reputation, who are agreed on all hands to have lived and died in the Communion of the Catholick Church: and what they delivered freely, constantly and unanimously, let that be taken for the undoubted and certain Rule in judging between us.* But if the present *Guides* must come in to be Judges here again, then all our labour is lost, and *Vincentius* his signifie just nothing.

The Testimony of S. Basil is by Mr. *White* magnified above the rest, *Tabula Suffragial.* p. 54. and that out of his Book *de Spiritu Sancto* above all others, to prove that the Certainty of Faith depends on Tradition; and not merely on Scripture. The force of it is said to lye in this, *that the Practice of the Church, in saying, with the Holy Spirit, though not found in Scripture, is to determine the Sense of the Article of Faith about the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.* But to clear this place, we are to observe,

1. That S. Basil doth not insist on Tradition for the Proof of the Article of Faith, for he expressly disowns it in that Book; *It is not enough, saith he, that we have it by Tradition from our Fathers; for our Fathers had it from the Will of God in Scripture, as appears by those Testimonies I have set down already, which they took for their Foundations.* Nothing can be plainer than that S. Basil made Scripture alone the Foundation of Faith as to this Point. And no one upon all Occasions speaks more expressly than he doth as to the Sufficiency of Scripture for a Rule of Faith; and he was too great and too wise a Man to contradict himself.

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ
ἡμῖν κερχαί,
καὶ οἱ γὰρ
τὰ βελήματα
γερῶς ἠκολού-
θησαν, ἐκ τῆς
μαρτυρίας, ὅς
μικρὸν προέδεν
ὑμῖν ἐκ τῆς

γερῶς παρέδραμε, τὰς ἀρχὰς λαβόντες. *De Spir Sancto* c. 7.

2. That there were different forms of speech used in the Church concerning the Holy Ghost, some take out of Scripture, and others received by Tradition from the Fathers. When he proves the Divinity of the Holy Ghost he appeals to Scripture, and declares, that he would neither think nor speak otherwise than he found there. But it was objected that the Form S. Basil used was not found in Scripture; he answers, that the equivalent is there found; and that there were some things received by Tradition, which had the same force towards Piety. And if we take away all unwritten Customs, we shall do wrong to the Gospel, and leave a bare name to the Publick Preaching. And from thence he insists on some Traditionary Rites, as the Sign of the Cross, Praying towards the East, &c. His business is to shew that to the greater solemnity of Christian Worship several Customs

Ascet. Reg. 26.
Reg. 80. c. 22.

De Sg. Sancti
c. 9.

c. 10.
c. 21.

c. 29.

were observed in the Church, which are not to be found in Scripture. And if other ancient Customs were received which are not commanded in Scripture, he sees no Reason that they should find such fault with this. And this is the whole force of S. Basil's Reasoning, which can never be stretched to the setting up Tradition as a Rule of Faith distinct from Scripture.

Having thus shewed that there was no Catholick Tradition for this New Rule of Faith, I am now to give an Account how it came into the Church.

Richer. Hist.
Conc. General.
l. 1. c. 11.
n. 13.

The first Step that was made towards it, was by the second Council of Nice. For, although the Emperor in the Synodical Epistle proposed to them the true ancient Method of judging in Councils, by the Books of Scripture placed on a Throne in the middle of the Council; yet they found, they could by no means do their business that Way, and therefore, as Ballarmin observes, they set up Tradition in the 6th and 7th Sessions, and pronounced Anathema's against those who rejected unwritten Traditions. But although there were then almost as little pretence for Tradition as Scripture in matter of Images; yet there having been a practice among them, to set up and to worship Images, (which Richerius thinks came first into the Church from the Reverence shewed to the Emperors Statues) they thought this the securest way to advance that, which they could never defend by Scripture.

But this prevailed very little in the Western Church, as is well known by the rejection of that Synod; however Pope Hadrian joined with them, and produced a wretched Tradition about Sylvester and Constantine to justify their Proceedings; as appears by the Acts of that Council. And from the time that Images were received at Rome, the force of Tradition was magnified; and by degrees it came to be made use of to justify other Practices, for which they had nothing else to plead.

Scot. in l. 1.
Sent. Dist. 11.

Hitherto Tradition was made use of for matters of Practice, and Scripture was generally received as the Rule of Faith; but some of the Schoolmen found it impossible to defend some Doctrines held in the Church of Rome by mere Scripture, and therefore they were forced to call in the Help of Tradition. The most remarkable of these was Scotus, who although in his Prologue he asserted, as is said already, that the Scripture did sufficiently contain all things necessary to Salvation; yet when he came to particular Points, he found Scripture alone would never do their business. And especially as to the Sacraments of the Church, about which he saw the Church of Rome then held many things which could never be proved from thence. And this was the occasion of Traditions being taken in for a partial Rule.

l. 4. Dist. 11.
n. 15.

For after the Council of Lateran had declared several things to be of Faith, which were in no former Creeds, as Scotus confesses, and they were bound to defend them as Points of Faith, the Men of Wit and Subtilty, such as Scotus was, were very hard put to it, to find out ways to prove those to have been old Points of Faith, which they knew to be very new. Then they betook themselves to two things, which would serve for a colour to blind the common People; and those were,
1. That it was true, these things were not in Scripture; but Christ said to his Disciples, I have many things to say unto you, &c. and among those many things they were to believe these new Doctrines to be some.

2. When

2. When this would not serve, then they told them, though these Doctrines were not explicitly in Scripture, yet they were implicitly there; and the Church had authority to fetch them out of those dark places, and to set them in a better light. And thus Scotus helped himself out in that dark Point of *Transubstantiation*. First he attempts to make it out by Tradition; but finding that would not do the business effectually, he runs to the Authority of the Church, especially in the business of Sacraments, and we are to suppose, saith he, that the Church doth expound the Scripture with the same Spirit which indited them. This was a brave Supposition indeed, but he offers no proof of it.

n. 13.

If we allow Scotus to have been the Introducer of Tradition, as to some Points of Faith, yet I have made it appear, that his Doctrine was not received in the Schools. But after the Council of *Constance* had declared several Propositions to be *Heretical*, which could not be condemned by Scripture, there was found a Necessity of holding, that there were *Catholick Truths* not contained in Scripture. The first Proposition there condemned was, *That the Substance of Bread and Wine remain in the Sacrament of the Altar*: the second, *That the Accidents do not remain without their Subject*: Now how could such as these be condemned by Scripture? But although only some were said to be *Heretical*, yet all were said to be *against Catholick Truth*. But where is this *Catholick Truth* to be found? Cardinal *Cusanus* thought of a current sense of Scripture, according to the Churches Occasions; so that though the Churches Practice should be directly contrary, yet the Scripture was to be understood as the Church practised. This was a very plain and effectual way, if it had not been too gross; and therefore it was thought much better by Cardinal *Turrecremata*, to found *Catholick Verities* on *unwritten Tradition*, as well as on Scripture.

Scripturas
esse ad tem-
pus adaptatas
& variè intel-
lectas, ita ut
uno tempore
secundum
currentem
Epist. 2.

universalem ritum exponerentur, mutato ritu iterum sententia mutaretur. Cusan. ad Bohem.

After this, *Leo X.* in his famous Bull against *Luther*, *Exurge Domine*, made a farther step; for the 22 Proposition condemned therein, is *That it is certain that it is not in the power of the Church or Pope to appoint new Articles of Faith*. It seems then the Pope or Church have a Power to constitute new Articles of Faith; and then neither Scripture nor Tradition can be the certain Rule of Faith, but the Present Church or Pope.

This had put an end to the business, if it would have taken; but the World being wiser, and the Errors and Corruptions complained of not being to be defended by Scripture, Tradition was pitched upon as a secure Way; and accordingly several attempts were made towards the setting of it up, by some Provincial Councils before that of *Trent*. So in the Council of *Sens*, 1527. Can. 53. It is declared to be a pernicious Error to receive nothing but what is deduced from Scripture, because Christ delivered many things to his Apostles which were never written. But not one thing is alledged as a matter of Faith so conveyed; but only some Rites about Sacraments and Prayer; and yet he is declared a Heretick as well as Schismatick, who rejects them. Indeed the *Apostles Creed* is mentioned, but not as to the Articles contained in it, but as to the Authors of it. But what is there in all this that makes a Man guilty of Heresie?

Jod. Clithoveus, a Doctor of *Paris*, the next year wrote an Explication and Defence of this Council, but he mistakes the Point; for he runs upon it as if it were, *whether all things to be believed and observed in the Church*;

Church, were to be expressly set down in Scripture? Whereas a just consequence out of it is sufficient. And the greatest strength of what he saith to the purpose, is, that the other Opinion was condemned in the Council of Constance.

And from no better a Tradition than this did the Council of Trent declare *the unwritten Word to be a Rule of Faith equal with the Scriptures.*

5.2.C.

II. About the Canon of Scripture, defined by the Council of Trent.

This is declared by the Council of Trent, *Sess. 4.* and therein the Books of Tobias, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticks, Maccabees and Baruch are received for Canonical, with the twenty two Books in the Hebrew Canon, and an Anathema is denounced against those who do not. And presently it adds, *that hereby the World might see what Authorities the Council proceeded on for confirming matters of Faith as well as reforming manners.*

Now to shew that there was no Catholick Tradition for the ground of this Decree, we are to observe,

1. That these Canonical Books are not so called in a large sense for such as have been used to read in the Church; but in the strict sense for such as are a good Foundation to build matters of Faith upon.

2. That these Books were not so received by all even in the Council of Trent. For what is received by virtue of a Catholick Tradition, must be universally received by the account given by both the Historians.

Hist. of the Council of Tr. l. 2. p. 154.

F. Paul saith, *that in the Congregation there were two different Opinions of those who were for a particular Catalogue; one was to distinguish the Books into three parts, the other to make all the Books of equal authority; and that this latter was carried by the greater number.* Now if this were a Catholick Tradition, how was it possible for the Fathers of the Council to divide

Ibid. l. 6. c. 11. p. 4.

about it? And Cardinal Pallavicini himself saith, *that Bertanus and Seripandus propounded the putting the Books into several Classes, some to be read for Piety, and others to confirm Doctrines of Faith; and that Cardinal Seripando wrote a most learned Book to that purpose.* What! against a Catholick Tradition? It seems, he was far from believing it to be so. And he confesses, *that when they came to the Anathema, the Legats and twenty Fathers were for it; Madrucci and fourteen were against it, because some Catholics were of another opinion.* Then certainly, they knew no Catholick Tradition for it.

p. 8.

Cau. Loc. Theol. l. 2. c. 11.

Among these Cardinal Cajetan is mention'd, who was, saith Pallavicini, severely rebuked for it by Melchior Canus; but what is that to the Tradition of the Church? Canus doth indeed appeal to the Council of Carthage, Innocentius I. and the Council of Florence; but this doth not make up a Catholick Tradition against Cajetan; who declares that he fol-

Cajet. in Eccl. fine. Ad Ester c. 10. ad fin.

lows S. Jerom, who cast those Books out of the Canon with Respect to Faith. And he answers the Arguments brought on the other side, by this distinction, that they are Canonical for Edification, but not for Faith. If therefore Canus would have confuted Cajetan he ought to have proved that they were owned for Canonical in the latter Sense. Cajetan in his Epistle to Clemens VII. before the Historical Books, owns the great Obligation of the Church to S. Jerom for distinguishing Canonical and Apocryphal Books; and saith, *that he hath freed it from the Reproach of the Jews, who said the Christians made Canonical Books of the Old Testament* which

which they knew nothing of. And this was an Argument of great consequence; but *Canus* takes no notice of it, and it fully answers his Objection, that Men could not know what Books were truly Canonical, viz. such as were of Divine inspiration, and so received by the Jews. *Catharinus* saith, in Answer to *Cajetan*, that the Jews had one Canon, and the Church another. But how comes the Canon to be received as of divine Inspiration which was not so received among the Jews? This were to resolve all into the Churches Inspiration, and not into Tradition.

Bellarmino grants, that the Church can by no means make a Book Canonical, *De Verb. Dei*, which is not so, but onely declare what is Canonical, and that, not at pleasure; l. 1. c. 11. but from ancient Testimonies, from similitude of style with Books uncontroversed, and the general Sense and Taste of Christian People. Now the Case here relates to Books not first written to Christians, but among the Jews from whom we receive the Oracles of God committed to them. And if the Jews never believed these Books to contain the Oracles of God in them, how can the Christian Church embrace them for such, unless it assumes a Power to make, and not merely to declare Canonical Books? For he grants we have no Testimony of the Jews for them.

But *Catharinus* himself cannot deny that *S. Jerom* saith, that although the Church reads those Books, yet it doth not receive them for Canonical Scriptures. And he makes a pitiful Answer to it. For he confesses, that the Church, taken for the Body of the Faithful, did not receive them; but, as taken for the Governors, it did. But others grant that they did receive them no more than the People; and as to the other, the cause of Tradition is plainly given us. And in truth he resolves all at last into the opinion of the Popes *Innocentius*, *Gelasius*, and *Eugenius IV.* But we are obliged to him for letting us know the Secret of so much zeal for these Apocryphal Books, viz. that they are of great force against the Hereticks, for Purgatory is no where so expressly mention'd as in the *Maccabees*. If it had not been for this, *S. Jerom* and *Cajetan* might have escaped Censure, and the Jewish Canon had been sufficient.

But to shew, that there hath been no Catholick Tradition about the Tridentine Canon, I shall prove these two things:

1. That there hath been a constant Tradition against it in the Eastern Church.

2. That there never was a constant Tradition for it in the Western Church.

1. That there hath been a constant Tradition against it in the Eastern Church, which received the Jewish Canon, without the Books declared Canonical by the Council of Trent. We have very early Evidence of this, in the Testimony of *Melito* Bishop of Sardis, who lived not long after the middle of the 2d. Century, and made it his business to enquire into this matter, and he delivers but 22 Books of the Old Testament. The same is done by *Origen* in the next, who took infinite Pains, as *Eusebius* saith, in searching after the Copies of the Old Testament. And these Testimonies are preserved by *Eusebius* in the following Century; and himself declares, that there was no sacred Book among the Jews from the time of *Zorobabel*; which cuts off the Books Canonized by the Council of Trent. In the same Age we have the Testimonies of *Athanasius*, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, *Epiphanius*, *S. Basil*, *S. Gregory Nazianzene*, *Amphilochius* and *S. Chrysostom*: It is not to be imagined that a Tradition should be better attested in one

Annot. in Cajetan. l. 1. p. 37.

Jul. Ruger. de libris Canonis, p. 80.

p. 41.

Euseb. l. 4. c. 25. l. 6. c. 25. Philocal. c. 3.

Euseb. Demonstr. l. 8. p. 368. Chronic. Gr. p. 172. Athanas. Ep. 39. Cyril. Catech. 4. Epiph. de mensuris & ponder. Basil. in Origen. Philocal. Greg. Nazianzen. in Carm. Amph. in canon. Ep. apud Balsam. S. Chrysost. in Gen. hom. 4.

Age

Age than this was, by so considerable Men in different Churches, who give in the Testimony of all those Churches they belonged to. And yet besides these we have in that Age a concurrent Testimony of a Council of Bishops at *Laodicea*, from *several Provinces of Asia*; and which is yet more, this Canon of theirs was received into the Code of the *Catholic Church*; and so owned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, which by its first Canon gives Authority to it. And *Justinian* allows the force of Laws to the Canons which were either made or confirmed by the four *General Councils*. But it is the point of *Tradition* I am upon; and therefore *Justinian's Novel* may at last be a strong Evidence of that in the 6th Century. In the 7th *Leontius* gives his own Testimony, and that of *Theodorus*. In the 8th *Damascen* expressly owns the *Hebrew Canon* of 22 Books, and excludes by name some of the Books made Canonical at *Trent*. In the 9th we have the Testimony of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, if he be the Author of the *Laterculus*, at the end of his *Chronography*; but if he be not, he must be an Author of that Age, being translated by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. In the 12th *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* refer to the Council of *Laodicea*, and the *Greek Fathers*. In the 14th *Nicephorus Calisthus* reckons but 22 Books of the *Old Testament*. And in this Age, we have the clear Testimony of *Metrophanes*, (afterwards Patriarch of *Alexandria*) who saith, there are but 22 Canonical Books of the *Old Testament*; but the rest, i. e. *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch* and *Macchabees* are useful, and therefore not wholly to be rejected, but the Church never received them for Canonical and Authentical, as appears by many Testimonies, as, among others of *Gregory the Divine*, *Amphilochius* and *Damascen*: and therefore we never prove matters of Faith out of them.

2. Let us now compare this Tradition with that of the *Western Church* for the *New Canon* of *Trent*. It cannot be denied, that *Innocentius I.* and *Gelasius* did enlarge the Canon, and took in the *Apocryphal Books* (unless we call in question the Writings under their Names;) but granting them genuine, I shall shew that there is no comparison between this Tradition and that of the *Eastern Church*, and therefore there could be no possible Reason for the Council of *Trent* to make a Decree for this Tradition, and to *Anathematize* all who did not submit to it. For,

1. This Tradition was not universally received at that time. *Innocentius* his Epistle is supposed to be written A. D. 405. Was the *Western Church* agreed before or after about this matter? This Epistle was written to *Eruperius*, a *Gallican Bishop*, (to whom *S. Jerom* dedicated his his Commentaries on *Zechariah*;) but now it unluckily falls out, that the Tradition of the *Gallican Church* was contrary to this; as appears by *S. Hilary*, (who could not be ignorant of it, being a famous Bishop of that Church) and he tells us, there were but 22 Canonical Books of the *old Testament*. I confess saith he, some were for adding *Tobit* and *Judith*, but it is very observable that he saith, that the other Account is most agreeable to ancient Tradition, which is a mighty Argument against *Innocentius*, who brings no Tradition to justify his Canon. When *St. Augustin* produced a Place out of the Book of *Wisdom*, the Divines of *Marseilles* rejected it; because the Book was not Canonical: Therefore in that time *Innocent's* Canon was by no means received in the *Gallican Church*; for by it this Book was made Canonical. But *S. Jerom* who had as much learning as *Pope Innocent*, vehemently opposed this *New Canon*, more than once or ten times; and not only speaks of the *Jewish Canon*, but of the Canon of the Church. The Church, saith he, reads the Books of *Tobit*,

Cenc. Laodi-
cea, c. 59.

Novell. 131.

Leont. de
Sectis Añ. 2.
Damascen. de
Fide, l. 4. c.
18.

Niceph. Chro-
nogr. p. 419.
Anastaf. Hist.
p. 189.

Not. in Can.
27. Carthag.
Niceph. in
Epigram.
Metrcph.
Confess. c. 7.
p. 82.
Phil. Cypri
Chronic. Ec.
cles. Græc.
p. 459.

Hilar. Prolog.
in Psalm.

De Predest.
Sanctor. c. 14.

Prolog. Gal.
Prolog. in lib.
Salom. ad
Paul. & Eust.
ad Chromat.

Tobit, Judith and Macchabees, but the Church doth not receive them among Canonical Scriptures. What Church doth he mean? Not the Synagogue certainly. Pope Innocent saith, Those Books are to be received into the Canon; S. Jerom saith, The Church doth not receive them, but that they are to be cast out; Where is the Certainty of Tradition to be found? If Innocent were in the right, S. Jerom was foully mistaken, and in plain terms belied the Church. But how is this consistent with the *Sainthood* of S. Jerom? Or with common Discretion, if the Church did receive those Books for Canonical? For every one could have disproved him. And it required no great Judgment or deep Learning to know what Books were received, and what not. If S. Jerom were so mistaken (which it is very hard to believe) how came Ruffinus not to observe his Errors and Opposition to the Church? Nay, how came Ruffinus himself to fall into the very same prodigious Mistake? For he not only rejects the controverted Books out of the Canon, but saith, he follow'd the ancient Tradition therein. What account can be given of this matter? If Innocent's Tradition were right, these Men were under a gross Delusion; and yet they were learned and knowing Persons, and more than ordinarily conversant in the Doctrines and Tradition of the Church.

Ruffin. in
Symbol. p.
188, 189.

2. This Opinion was not received as a Tradition of the Church afterwards. For, if it had been, how could Gregory I. reject the Book of Macchabees out of the Canon, when two of his Predecessors took it in? It is somewhat hard, to suppose one Pope to contradict two of his Predecessors about the Canon of Scripture; yet I see not how to avoid it; nor how it is consistent with the Constancy of Tradition, much less with the pretence to Infallibility. He did not merely doubt, as Canus would have it thought, but he plainly excludes them out of the Canon. Catharinus thinks he followed S. Jerom. What then? Doth this exclude his contradicting his Predecessors? Or was S. Jerom's Judgment above the Pope's? But it was not S. Gregory alone who contradicted the former Pope's Canon; for it was not received either in Italy, Spain, France, Germany or England; and yet no doubt it was a very Catholick Tradition.

Greg. Moral.
in Job. l. 19.
c. 17.

Can. Loc. Theol.
ol. l. 2. c. 11.
ad 4.
Cath. de Canonis Scrip.
in Opuscul.
p. 302.

Not in Italy; for there Cassiodore, a learned devout Man in the next Century to them, gives an account of the Canon of Scripture, and he takes not any notice either of Innocent or Gelasius. He first sets down the Order of Scripture according to S. Jerom; and then according to S. Augustin; and in the last place, according to the old Translation and the LXX. and where himself speaks of the Apocryphal Books before, he follows S. Jerom's Opinion, that they were written rather for manners than Doctrine. He confesses there was a difference about the Canon; but he goes about to excuse it. But what need that, if there were a Catholick Tradition then in the Church concerning it, and that enforced by two Popes?

Cassiodor.
de Instit. Div.
vin. liter. c.
12, 13, 14.
c. 6.

But it may yet seem strange, that even in Italy, one canonized for a Saint by Clemens VII. should follow S. Jerom's Opinion in this matter, viz. S. Antonius, Bishop of Florence. Who speaking of Ecclesiasticus received into the Canon of the two Popes, he saith, it is only received by the Church to be read, and is not authentick to prove any thing in matters of Faith. He that writes Notes upon him, saith, that he follows S. Jerom, and must be understood of the Eastern Church; for the Western Church always received these Books into the Canon. But he speaks not one word of the Eastern Church; and by the Church he could understand nothing but

S. Antonin.
Sum. Hist.
P. 1. Tit. 3.
c. 4.

Can. Loc. The-
ol. l. 2. c. 11.

Part. 3. Tit.
18. c. 6 Sect.
2, & 3.

Bur. in Addit.
ad Lyræ ad
c. 1. Ester.

& 7.
Tostat. in
Matt. Pref.
q. 1, 2.
Xim. Pref.
ad Bib. Comp.

what he accounted the Catholick Church. *Canus* allows *Antonius* to have rejected these Books; but he thinks the matter not so clear, but then they might doubt concerning it. Then there was no such Evidence of Tradition to convince Men. But *Antonius* hath preserved the Judgment of a great Man concerning these Books, even *Thomas Aquinas*, who in 2. 2da. he saith, denied these Books to have such authority as to prove any matter of Faith by them: which is directly contrary to the Council of Trent. If this passage be not now to be found in him, we know whom to blame for it. If *Antonius* saw it there, we hope his word may be taken for it.

In Spain, we have, for the Hebrew Canon, the Testimonies of *Paulus Burgensis*, *Tostatus*, and Cardinal *Ximenes*.

In France of *Victorinus*, *Agobardus*, *Radulphus Flaviacensis*, *Petrus Cluniacensis*, *Hugo de S. Victore*, and *Richard de S. Victore*, *Lyra*, &c.

In Germany, of *Rabanus Maurus*, *Strabus*, *Rupertus*, *Hermannus Contractus*, and others.

In England of *Bede*, *Alcvin*, *Sarisburyensis*, *Ockam*, *Waldensis*, and others. Whom I barely mention, because their Testimonies are at large in Bishop *Cosins* his *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*, and no Man hath yet had the hardiness to undertake that Book.

These I think are sufficient to shew there was no Catholick Tradition for the Decree of the Council of Trent about the Canon of Scripture.

I now proceed to shew on what pretences and colours it came in, and by what degrees and steps it advanced.

1. The first step was, the Esteem which some of the Fathers expressed of these Books in quoting of passages out of them. We do not deny that the Fathers did frequently cite them; even those who expressly rejected them from being Canonical, and not as ordinary Books, but as such as were useful to the Church, wherein many wise Sayings and good Actions are recorded. But the many Quotations the Fathers do make out of them is the onely plausible pretence which those of the Church of Rome have to defend the putting them into the Canon, as appears by *Bellarmino* and others. The Book of *Tobit*, they tell us, is mentioned by *S. Cyprian*, *S. Ambrose*, *St. Basil*, and *St. Augustin*. Of *Judith*, by *St. Jerom*, who mentions a Tradition that it was allowed in the Council of Nice; but certainly *S. Jerom* never believed it, when he declares it to be Apocryphal, and not sufficient to prove any matter of Faith. The Book of *Wisdom*, by *S. Cyprian*, *S. Cyril* and *S. Augustin*. *Ecclesiasticus*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *S. Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Augustin*. But all these Testimonies only prove that they thought something in those Books worth alledging, but not that they judged the Books themselves Canonical. And better arguments from their Citations might be brought for the Books of the *Sibylls*, than for any of these. We are not then to judge of their Opinion of Canonical Books by bare Citations, but by their declared Judgments about them.

2. The next step was, when they came to be read in Churches; but about this there was no certain Rule. For the Councils of *Laodicea* and *Garthage* dissented chiefly upon this Point. The former decreed, That none but Canonical Scripture should be read under the Name of Holy Writings; and set down the names of the Canonical Books then to be read, (and so leaves out the *Apocalypse*.) The latter, from their being read, infer'd their being Canonical; for it agrees with the other, that none but Canonical should be read, and because these were read, it reckons them up with the Canonical Books; for so the Canon concludes, We have received from our Fathers that these Books are to be read in Churches. But

But the Council of Carthage was not peremptory in this matter; but desired it might be referred to Boniface and other Bishops beyond the Seas: Which shews that here was no Decree absolutely made, nor any Certainty of Tradition; for then to what purpose should they send to other Churches to advise about it?

3. When they came to be distinguished from *Apocryphal Writings*. Whence those who do not consider the Reason of it, conclude them to have been *Canonical*. But sometimes *Apocryphal* signified such Books as were not in the *Canon of Faith*, as in the Authors before mentioned; sometimes such Books which were not allowed to be used among Christians. This distinction we have in *Ruffinus*, who saith there are three sorts of Books; *Canonical*, as the 22 of the Old Testament; *Ecclesiastical*, of which sort he reckons *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith* and *Macchabees*, and these he saith were permitted to be read in Churches, but no Argument could be brought out of them for matter of Faith; *Apocryphal* are such which by no means were permitted to be read. And thus *Innocentius* his words may well be understood: For he concludes with saying, that other Writings were not only to be rejected, but to be condemned. And so his meaning is to distinguish them from such counterfeit Divine Writings as were then abroad. For these were not to be wholly rejected, and in that large sense he admits them into the *Canon* taking *Ecclesiastical Writings* which were read in Churches into that number. And in this sense *S. Augustin* used the Word *Apocryphal*, when the Book of *Enoch* is so called by him, and such other counterfeit Writings under the Names of the Prophets and Apostles; but elsewhere he distinguishes between the *Canonical Books* of Solomon, and those which bear his Name; which he saith the more learned know not to be his, but the Western Church had of old owned their Authority. But in the case of the Book of *Enoch*, he appeals to the *Canon*, which was kept in the Jewish Temple; and so falls in with *S. Jerom*; and he confesses it is hard to justify the Authority of those which are not in the Hebrew Canon. Of the *Macchabees* he saith, It is distinguished from the Writings called *Canonical*; but it is received by the Church as such. What! to confirm matters of faith? No, But for the glorious sufferings therein recorded; and elsewhere he saith, it is useful, if it be soberly read. *S. Augustin* knew very well that all Books were not received alike; and that many were received in some parts of the Western Church from the old Translation out of the *LXX*, which were not received in the Eastern; and therefore in his Books of *Christian Doctrine* he gives Rules in judging of *Canonical Books*; to follow the Authority of the greatest Number of Catholick Churches, especially the *Apostolical*; and that those which were received by all, should be preferred before those which were only received by some. But he very well knew, that the Hebrew Canon was universally received, and that the controverted Books were not; and therefore, according to his Rule, these could never be of Equal Authority with the other.

4. When the Roman Church declared that it received the controverted Books into the *Canon*. This is said to have been done by *Gelasius*, with his *Synod of LXX Bishops*, (and yet it is hard to understand how *Gregory* so soon after should contradict it.) This Title of it in the old MS. produced by *Chiffletius*, and by him attributed to *Hormisdas*, is *The Order of the Old Testament which the Holy Catholick Roman Church receives and honours is this*. But whether by *Gelasius*, or *Hormisdas*, I cannot understand, why such a Decree as this should not be put into the

Aug. de Civ.
Dei. l. 13.
c. 23.
l. 17. c. 20

Aug. de Civ.
Dei. l. 18.
c. 36.

C. Gaudent.
c. 29.

De Doctr. l. 3:
c. 8.

Not. in Vigil.
Tapf. p. 1502

old *Roman Code of Canons*, if it had been then made. That there was such a one appears by the Copies of it in the *Vatican*, mention'd by the *Roman Correctors of Gratian*, and by mention of it by the Canon of *Si Romanorum*. *Dist. 19.* and *De Libellis Dist. 20.* and by the latter we understand what Canons of Councils, and Decrees of Popes are in it, among whom are both *Gelasius* and *Hormisdas*. This they agree to be the same with that publish'd by *Wendelstin* at *Mentz*, 1525. The Epistle of *Innocentius* to *Exuperius*, with the Canon, is there publish'd, but not the other; and so is the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*; but that of *Laodicea* is cut off; and so they are in that publish'd by *Dionysius Exiguus* and *Quesnell*, (*Justellus* his ancient Copy was imperfect there,) but both these Canons being in the *Roman Code*, are an Argument to me, that the controverted Books were receiv'd by the *Roman Church* at that time; but in such a manner, that *S. Jerom's* Prologues still stood in the *vulgar Latin Bible*, with the Commentaries of *Lyra*, and Additions of *Bargensis*, which were stiff for the *Hebrew Canon*; and *S. Jerom's* Authority prevailed more than the Pope's, as appears fully by what hath been already produced.

Hist. Concil.
Trident. l. 8.
c. 11. n. 12.

5. To advance the Authority of these Books one step higher, *Eugenius IV.* declar'd them to be Part of the Canon in the Instruction given to the *Armenians*. Which the *Roman Writers* pretend to have been done in the Council of *Florence*: But *Naclantus* Bishop of *Chioza*, in the Council of *Trent*, as *Pallavicini* saith, deny'd that any such Decree was made by the Council of *Florence*; because the last Session of it ended 1439. and that Decree was signed Feb. 4. 1441. To this the Legat reply'd, That this was a Mistake occasion'd by *Abraham Cretensis*, who publish'd the *Latin Version* of it, only till the *Greeks Departure*; but the Council continu'd three Years longer, as appear'd by the Extracts of *Augustinus Patritius*, since publish'd in the *Tomes* of the Councils. But he never mentions the Canon of *Scripture*; however, because *Cervinus* affirms, That he saw the Original signed by the Pope and Cardinals, we have no reason to dispute it. But then it appears how very little it signified, when *Antonius* the Bishop of *Florence* opposed it, and Cardinal *Ximenes*, and Cardinal *Cajetan* slighted it, and all who embraced the Council of *Basil* looked on *Eugenius* his Decree as void; and after all, that very Decree only joins the *Apocryphal Books* in the same Canon, as the Council of *Carthage* had done; but it was reserv'd as the peculiar Honour of the Council of *Trent* to declare, that Matters of Faith might be proved out of them, as well as out of any Canonical Scriptures.

III. About the Free Use of the Scripture in the vulgar Language, prohibited by the Council of Trent.

To understand the Sense of the Council of *Trent* in this matter, we must consider,

1. That it declares the *vulgar Latin* to be Authentick; i. e. that no Man under any Pretence shall dare to presume to reject it. Suppose the Pretence be, that it differs from the Original; no matter for that, he must not reject that which the Council hath declared Authentick, i. e. among the *Latin Editions*. But suppose a Man find other *Latin Translations* truer in some Parts, because they agree more with the Original Text, may he therein reject the *vulgar Latin*? By no means, if he thinks himself bound to adhere to the Council of *Trent*. But the Council supposes it to agree

agree with the Original. And we must believe the Council therein. This is indeed the meaning of the Council, as far as I can judge. But what Catholick Tradition was there for this? Yes, for a thousand Years after Gregory's Time. But this is not Antiquity enough to found a Catholick Tradition upon. If there were no more than a Thousand from Gregory, there were Six Hundred past before him; so that there must be a more ancient Tradition in the Church, wherein this Version was not Authentick; and how came it then to be Authentick by virtue of Tradition? Here then Tradition must be given up; and the Council of Trent must have some other Ground to go upon. For I think the Traditionary Men will not maintain the vulgar Latin to have been always Authentick.

2. That it referred the making the Index of prohibited Books to the Pope; and in the 4th Rule of that Index, All Persons are forbidden the Use of the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue, without a particular License, and who-soever presumes to do it without a Faculty, unless he first gives up his Bible, he is not to receive Absolution.

My Business is now to enquire what Catholick Tradition the Pope and Council went upon in this Prohibition. But as to the Testimony of Fathers, I am prevented by some late Discourses on this Subject. Instead thereof therefore I shall,

1. Shew, from their own Writers, that there could be no Catholick Tradition for such a Prohibition.

2. Prove the General Consent of the Catholick Church from publick Acts, as to the free Use of the Scripture.

Thomas Aquinas grants, that the Scripture was proposed to all, and in such a manner, that the most Rude might understand it. Therefore there was no Prohibition of such Persons reading it. Sum. q. 1. a. 9.

Cajetan there uses two Arguments for the Scriptures using Metaphors and Similitudes. 1. Because God provides for all; 2. Because the Scripture is tendred to all. And the Common People are not capable of understanding Spiritual Things without such Helps. If the Scriptures were intended for all, how comes a Prohibition of the Use of it?

Sixtus Senensis grants, That in former Times the Scripture was translated into the vulgar Languages, and the People did commonly read it, to their great Benefit. Then a Prohibition of it must alter the Churches practical Tradition. Sixt. Senens. Biliorb. l. 6. n. 132.

Alphonfus à Castro yields to Erasmus, that the Scriptures were of old Translated into the vulgar Tongues, and that the Fathers, such as S. Chrysostom, and S. Jerom, persuaded People to the reading them; but the Case is altered now, when such Mischief comes by the Reading the Scriptures. And yet the Tradition of the Church continues the same, and is impossible to be changed. Alphonf. à Castro, l. 1. c. 13.

Azorius puts the Case fairly; he grants that the Scriptures were at first written and publish'd in the Common Language; that S. Chrysostom admits all to read the Scriptures; and that the People did so then, but they do not now. But he saith the People then understood Greek and Latin, and now they do not. If it were their own Language they might well understand it, but why should not the Scripture now be in a Language they may understand? For Greek and Latin did not make the common People one jot wiser or better; and this Man calls it a Heresie now to say the Scriptures ought to be translated into our vulgar Languages. How much is the Faith of the Church changed? Azor. Instit. Moral. l. 3. c. 26.

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2. I am now to prove the General Consent of the Catholick Church in this Matter from *Publick Acts*, i. e. that all Parts of it have agreed in *Translations of Scripture into vulgar Languages* without any such *Prohibition*.

Aug. de Doctr.
Christian. l. 2.
c. 11.
Hier. Pref.
in Josuam.

If there had been any such thing in the Primitive Church, it would have held against the *Latin Translation* it self. For I hope none will say it was the *Original*, however *Authentick* it be made by the Council of *Trent*. How then came the *Originals* to be turned into the common Language? (as I suppose *Latin* will be allow'd to have been the common Language of the Roman Empire.) There is no Objection can now be made against any modern Translations, but would have held against the first *Latin Version*. Who the Author of it was is utterly unknown; and both *S. Augustin* and *S. Jerom* say, *There was a great Variety among the old Translations, and every one Translated as he thought fit*. So that there was no Restraint laid upon Translating into the common Language. And unless *Latin* were an infallible Guide to those that understood it, the People were as liable to be deceived in it, as either in *English* or *French*.

Socr. l. 4.
c. 33.
Soz. l. 6. c. 37.
Nicep. l. 11.
c. 48.
Ibid. in Chron.
Gothorum.
Walaf. Strab.
de Reb. Eccl.
n. 7.

But it was not only thus in the *Roman Empire*, but where-ever a People were converted to Christianity in all the elder Times, the Scripture was turned into their Language. The Ecclesiastical Historians mention the *Conversion* of the *Goths*, and upon that, the *Translation of the Bible into their Language* by *Ulphilas* their Bishop. *Walafridus Strabo* adds to this, *That besides the Bible, they had all Publick Offices of Religion performed in their own Language*.

How soon the Churches in *Persia* were planted, it is impossible for us now to know; but in the *MS. Ecclesiastical History of Abulpharagius* (in the Hands of *Dr. Moftus*) it is said, *that a Disciple of Thaddæus preached the Gospel in Persia, Assyria, and the Parts thereabouts; and that by another Disciple of his, 360 Churches were settled there in his time; and that he came to Seleucia, the Metropolis of the Persians, and there establish'd a Church, where he continued fifteen Years*. And from him there was a Succession of the Patriarchs of *Seleucia*, which continues still in the East; for upon Destruction thereof by *Almansor*, they removed first to *Bagdad*, and after that to *Moval* over against *Niniveh*, where their Residence hath been since; and this Patriarch had universal Jurisdiction over the *Eastern Churches* as far as the *East Indies*, as appears by *Morinus* his Books of *Ordinations* in the East, and the *Proceedings* with the Christians of *S. Thomas* in the very End of the last Century.

Euseb. de Vit.
Const. l. 4.
c. 8.
c. 13.
Soz. l. 2.
c. 14.
c. 12.
Ammian.
Marcell. l. 23.
Soz. 2. c. 9.

But we are certain from the *Greek Historians*, that in *Constantine's* Time, the Christians in *Persia* were so numerous that he wrote to the King of *Persia* on their Behalf. *Eusebius* saith, that *Constantine* was informed, *that the Churches were much increased there, and great Multitudes were brought into Christ's Flock*; and *Constantine* himself, in his Letter to *Sapores*, saith, *the Christians flourished in the best Parts of Persia; and he hoped that they might continue so to do*. But after *Constantine's* Death, a terrible Persecution befel them, wherein *Sozomen* saith, *the Names of 16000 Martyrs were preserved, besides an innumerable Multitude of unknown Persons*. The sharpest Part of the Persecution fell upon the Bishops and Presbyters, especially in *Adiabene*, which was almost wholly Christian, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, was the same with *Assyria*, wherein were *Niniveh*, *Ecbatane*, *Arbella*, *Gaugamela*, *Babylon* (or *Seleucia*) and *Ctesiphon*, of which *Sozomen* saith, *Symeon* was then Archbishop. And he

names

names above twenty Bishops who suffered besides, and one *Marcabdes* a *Corepiscopus*, with 250 of his Clergy. After the time of *Sapores* several sharp Persecutions fell upon those Churches in the Times of *Vararanes* and *Isdigerdes*, of which the Greek Historians take notice, and one of them, saith *Theodoret*, lasted thirty Years. This I mention to shew what mean Thoughts those have of the Catholick Church, who confine it to the Roman Communion. *Theodoret* and *S. Chrysostom* both affirm, that the Persians had the Scriptures in their own Language; and *Sozomen* saith, that *Symeon Archbishop* of *Seleucia*, and *Ctesiphon* before his own Martyrdom, encouraged the rest to suffer out of the Holy Scriptures. Which supposes them well acquainted with the Language of it, and it is not very likely they should be either with the Hebrew, Greek or Latin; but the other Testimonies make it clear that it was in their own Tongue.

The Anonymus Writer of *S. Chrysostom's* Life affirms, That while he staid in Armenia, he caused the New Testament to be translated into the Armenian Tongue for the Benefit of those Churches. And this Tradition is allow'd by several Learned Men in the Church of Rome. But the Armenians themselves say, the whole Bible was translated into the Armenian Language by *Moses Grammaticus*, *David* and *Mampræus*, three learned Men of their own, in the time of their Patriarch *Isaac* about *S. Chrysostom's* time. *Theodoret*, in the place already cited, mentions the Armenian Translation, as a thing well known; and he was near enough to understand the Truth of it.

Jacobus de Vitriaco, a Roman Cardinal, saith, That the Armenians in his time had the Scriptures read to them in their own Language.

The Syriack Version for the Use of those in the Eastern Parts who understood not Hebrew or Greek, is allow'd by all Learned Men to have been very ancient. I mean, the old simple Version out of the Originals, and not that out of the LXX. of the Old Testament. As to the New, the Tradition of the Eastern People is, that it was done either in the Apostles times, or very near them. *Abraham Ecchellensis* shews, from the Syriack Writers, that the compleat Translation of the Bible was made in the time of *Abgarus*, King of *Edessa*, by the means of *Thaddæus* and the other Apostles; and as to the time of *Thaddæus*, *Gregorius Malatiensis* confirms it.

Postellus quotes an ancient Tradition (which my Adversaries ought to regard) that *S. Mark* himself translated not only his own Gospel, but all the Books of the New Testament into the Vulgar Syriack. It is sufficient to my purpose, to shew that there was such an ancient Translation; which is owned by *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Augustin*, *Diodorus* and *Theodoret*: which makes we wonder at Cardinal *Bellarmin's* affirming with so much Confidence, that none of the Fathers speak of the Syriack Version, when *Theodoret* alone mentions it so often in his Commentaries.

Although the Greeks in Egypt might very well understand the Greek of the Old and New Testament, (especially if that which is called the LXX. were done by the Alexandrian Jews, as some imagine) yet those who knew no other than the old Egyptian Language could not make use of it. And therefore Coptick Translation was made for them; which *Kircher* thinks to have been 1300 Years old. And he withal observes, that their ancient Liturgies were in the Coptick Language.

Theod. l. 4. c. 39.

Theod. de Cur. Græc. affect. Serm. 5. p. 555. Serm. 9. p. 6. 13. Chryl. in Joh. Hom. p. 561.

Vis. Chryl. c. 113.

Conc. Eccl. Armen. cum Rom. c. 7. p. 63.

Hist. Orient. c. 79.

Abr. Ecchell. in Ebed. Jesu.

Greg. Hist. Dynast. 6.

S. Chrysost. hom. 2 in Joh. Ambros. Hex. 1. c. 8. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 13. Diod. ad Gen. 27. 27. Theod. in Psal. 3. 4. in Psal. 103. 26. in Psal. 112. 1. in Psal. 115. De Verb. Dei, l. 2. c. 4.

Prodr. Copt. c. 8.

That

That it might not be suspected that Kircher imposed upon the World, he gives a particular Account of the Books he had seen in the Vatican Library and elsewhere in the Coptick Tongue. The Pentateuch in three Tomes, distinguished into Paragraphs by Lines. The four Gospels by themselves. S. Paul's Epistles and three Canonical Epistles, with the Acts in another Volume. The Apocalypse by it self, and the Psalter. The Liturgy of S. Mark, with other daily Prayers. The Liturgy of S. Gregory, with the Prayers of S. Cyril in the Coptick Language; and a Liturgy of S. Basil, with Gregory and Cyril, with several other Rituals, Missals and Prayers, all in the same Tongue. All these, he saith, are in the Vatican Library. And in that of the Maronites College, he saith, is an old Coptick Martyrology about 1300 Years standing, by which he finds, that the chief Employment of the old Egyptian Monks was to translate the Bible out of Hebrew, Caldee and Greek into the Coptick Tongue.

Dissert. Epist.
13.

Epist. 14.

Hottinger.
Methurgem.
p. 189.

De Ordin.
sacris, p. 594.
Catal. MSS.
p. 31.
Ludolph.
Hist. Æthiop.
l. 3. c. 4.

Gabr. Sionita
de Arab.
c. 12.

Polyb. l. 3.

Morinus saith, that in the Oratorian Library at Paris, they had the Coptick Gospels brought from Constantinople by Monsr. de Sancy.

Petrus à Valle, a Noble Man of Rome, and a great Traveller, saith, He had several parts of Scripture in the Coptick Language, which were turn'd into Arabick, when the old Coptick grew into disuse.

Petrus had in the Eastern Parts a Coptick Psalter, with an Arabick Version, which he design'd to publish.

The Congregation de propaganda Fide at Rome had several Coptick MS. sent to them out of Egypt, among the rest, the Coptick Book of Ordination, Translated and Printed by Kircher, and since Reprinted by Morinus.

Seguier the late Chancellour of France, had in his Library, the Confession of a Patriarch in Coptick and Arabick, and several Translations of the Bible, and Prayers in both Languages.

The Æthiopic Translation bears date with the Conversion of the Nation, according to their own Tradition, which some make to be in the Apostolical Times, and others in the time of Constantine; and their Publick Offices are perform'd in their own Tongue. The Chancellour Seguier had not only many parts of the Bible, but Prayers and Offices in the Æthiopic Tongue.

I shall add but one thing more to this purpose, which is taken from the want of Antiquity in the Arabick Versions; which is confessed by the learned Criticks on all sides. And even this tends to prove my Design. For when the Saracen Empire prevailed, the People grew more acquainted with the Arabick than with the Syriack or Coptick; and therefore the Scripture was then translated into Arabick; (as Vassæus saith it was done in Spain, after the Moors came thither by a Bishop of Sevil) and this was the true Reason why the Arabick Versions have no greater Antiquity. For Gabriel Sionita observes, that the Arabick is become the most vulgar Language in the Eastern Parts. And because it was so in Syria as well as Egypt, therefore there are different Arabick Versions; the one called Codex Antiochenus, and the other Alexandrinus.

Thus I have proved that there was a Catholick Tradition directly contrary to that established by order of the Council of Trent.

And now I proceed to give an Account of the Methods and Steps by which this Decree came to its Ripeness.

1. The first Step was the Declension and Corruption of the Latin Tongue in the Western Church. It is observed by Polybius, that from the time of the first League between the Romans and Carthaginians, the Latin Tongue was

was so much changed, even in Rome it self, that very few could understand the Words of it. And Festus in Latinè loqui saith, that the Language was so alter'd, that scarce any part of it remain'd entire. Scaliger thinks these words were added to Festus by Paulus Diaconus; which seems much more probable since he lived in the time of Charlemagn. At which time we may easily suppose the Latin Tongue to have been very much corrupted by the Writers, and not so easie to be understood any where by the common People in sudden Discourse, as it had been before. Which appears evident by the Latin Sermons made to the People in the several Provinces of the Roman Empire; as in Africa by S. Augustin and Fulgentius; in Italy, by Petrus Chrysologus, Laurentius Novariensis, Gaudentius Brixienfis, Ennodius Ticinensis: In Spain, by Isidore, Ildephonsus and others: In Gaul, by Casarius, Eucherius, Eligius, and several others, whose Latin Sermons to the People, are still extant. In the Council of Tours, in the time of Charlemagn, particular Care is taken that the Homilies should be translated by their Bishops either into the Rustick Roman, or the German, that the People might the easier understand them. These Homilies were either those which Charlemagn caused to be taken out of the Fathers, and apply'd to the several Lessons through the Year, as Sigebert observes, or of their own composing; however, they were to be turned by the Bishops either into Rustick Roman, or German, as served best to the Capacities of the People. For the Franks then either retained the Original German, or used the Rustick Roman; but this latter so much prevailed over the other, that in the Solemn Oaths between Lewis and Charles upon parting the Dominions of France and Germany, set down in Nithardus, the Rustick Roman was become the vulgar Language of France, and these were but the Grandchildren of Charlemagn. Marquardus Freherus thinks, that only the Princes and Great Men retained the German, but the generality then spake the Rustick Roman; as appears by the Oath of the People; which begins thus,

Si Lodwigs Sacrament que Son Fradre Carlo jarat conservat, & Carolus meo Serdra de suo part uon los tanit, si jo returnar non licit pois, ne jo, ne neuls cui eo returnar nil pois; in nulla adjudha contra Lodwig nan li iver.

By which we may see what a mixture of Latin there was in the vulgar Language then used by the Franks, and how easie it was for the People then to understand the publick Offices being constant; but ther Sermons not being so, there was greater Necessity to turn them into that corrupt or Rustick Roman, which was thoroughly understood by them. In Spain the Latin was less corrupted, before the Gothick and Arabick, or Moorish Words were taken into it. Lucius Marineus saith, that had it not been for the Mixture of those words, the Spaniards had spoke as good Latin as the Romans did in the time of Tully; and he saith, that to his time, he had seen Epistles written in Spanish, wherein all the Nouns and Verbs were good Latin. In Italy, the Affinity of the vulgar prevailing Language and Latin continued so great, that the Difference seemed for some Hundred Years, no more than of the learned and common Greek, or of the English and Scotch; and so no Necessity was then apprehended of translating the correct Tongue into a corrupt Dialect of it.

But where there was a plain Difference of Language there was some Care even then taken, that the People might understand what they heard, as appears by these things,

1. Alcuinus gives an Account why one Day was called Sabbatum in Alcuin. de
2. Lectionibus, when there were but six Lessons; and he saith, it was because it was divin. Offic. 29.

Conc. Turon.
3. c. 17.

Sigeb. ad An.
807.

Nithard. l. 3.

Freher. in
Exposit. Fa-
deris inter
Lud. & Car.
V. Capitul.
Caroli Calvi.
Tit. 8.

Marineus Si-
cul. de Rebus
Hispan. l. 3.
c. 4.

because they were read both in Greek and Latin, they not understanding each others Languages. Not because the Greek was a holy Tongue, but *quia aderant Græci, quibus Ignota erat Lingua Latina*; which shews, that the Church then thought it a reasonable Cause to have the Scripture in such a Language, which might be understood by the People. The same Reason is given by *Amalaricus*.

*Amalar. de
Offic. l. 2.
c. 1.*

*Rhenan. Rer.
German.
p. 112.*

*Rev. Alem.
To. 1. p. 120.
To. 2. p. 119.
Hist. Franc.
To. 2. p. 326.*

2. In the German Churches there were ancient Translations of Scripture into their own Language. B. *Rhenanus* attributes a Translation of the Gospels to *Waldo* Bishop of *Freising*, as soon as the Franks received Christianity; and he saith; It was the immortal Honour of the Franks, to have the Scripture so soon translated into their own Language; which, saith he, is of late opposed by some Divines: So little did he know of an universal Tradition against it. *Goldastus* mentions the Translation in Rhime by *Ottfridus Wissenburgensis*, publish'd by *Achilles Gassar*, the Psalter of *Notkerus*, *Rudolphus ab Eems* his Paraphrase of the Old Testament. *Andreas du Chesne* hath publish'd a Preface before an old Saxon Book, wherein it is said, that *Ludovicus Pius* did take care that all the People should read the Scripture in their own Tongue, and gave it in charge to a Saxon to translate both Old and New Testament into the German Language; which, saith he, was perform'd very elegantly.

*Bed. Epist.
ad Egbert,
p. 65.*

*Saxon Trans-
lation of the Old
and New Testa-
ment.*

3. In the Saxon Churches here, it was not to be expected that the Scripture should be translated, till there were Persons learned both in the Saxon and the other Languages. *Bede*, in his Epistle to *Egbert*, puts him upon instructing the common People in their own Language, especially in the Creed and Lord's Prayer; and to further so good a Work, *Bede* himself translated the Gospel of *S. John* into the Saxon Tongue, as *Cuthbert* saith in the Epistle about his Death, in the Life of *Bede*, before his Saxon History. It appears by the old Canons of Churches, and the Epistles of *Ælfric*, saith *Mr. Lisle*, that there was an old Saxon Canon for the Priest to say unto the People, the Sense of the Gospel in English; and *Ælfric* saith of himself, that he had translated the Pentateuch, and some of the Historical Books. The New Testament was translated by several Hands; and an ancient Saxon Translation hath been lately publish'd with the Gothick Gospels. And there were old Saxon Glosses upon the Gospels of *Aldred*, *Fermen* and *Owen*. The last Work of *K. Alfred* was the Translating the Psalter; and if the MS. History of *Ely* deserves credit, he translated both the Old and New Testament.

*Bell. de Ver-
bo Dei, l. 2.
Bar. ad An.
880. n. 16.*

4. It is not denied either by *Bellarmin* or *Baronius*, that the Slavonians, in the 9th Century, had a Permission, upon their Conversion to Christianity, to enjoy the Bible, and to have publick Offices perform'd in their own Language. But they tell us, it was because they were then Children in the Faith, and to be indulged; (but methinks Children were most in danger to be seduc'd;) or there were not Priests enough to officiate in Latin at first: But this was no Reason then given, as appears by the Pope's own Letter publish'd by *Baronius*, wherein he gives God Thanks for the Invention of Letters among them by *Constantine a Philosopher*; and he expressly saith, that God had not confined his Honour to three Languages, but all People and Languages were to praise him; and he saith, God himself in Scripture had so commanded; and he quotes *S. Paul's* Words for it. One would wonder those great Men should no better consider the Pope's own Reasons, but give others for him, which he never thought of. It is true, he adds, that he would have the Gospel read first in Latin,

and

and then in Slavonian, and if they pleased, he would have the Mass said in Latin; but the Slavonians continu'd their Custom, and the Pope was willing enough to let them enjoy it, for his own Convenience as well as theirs. For there was a Secret in this Matter, which is not fully understood.

Aventinus saith, That Methodius invented their Letters, and translated the Scriptures into the Slavonian Tongue, and perswaded the People to reject the Latin Service; but this I see no ground for. But the Truth of the matter was, the Slavonians were converted by the Means of Methodius and Cyril, (otherwise called Constantine) two Greek Bishops, and the Christian Religion was settled among them by their Means, and they translated the Scriptures and Offices of Worship into their own Language. The Pope had not forgotten the Business of the Bulgarians, and he could not tell but this might end in subjection to another Patriarchal See; and therefore he endeavours to get Methodius and Cyril to Rome, and having gain'd them, he sends a sweetning Letter to the Prince, and makes the Concession beforemention'd. For he could not but remember how very lately the Greeks had gain'd the Bulgarians from him; and lest the Slavonians should follow them, he was content to let them have what they desir'd, and had already establish'd among themselves without his Permission. All this appears from the Account of this Matter given by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, compared with Diocleas his *Regnum Sclavorum*, and Lucius his *Dalmatian History*.

Aventin. Ann.
nal. l. 4.
p. 434.

Bar. An. 869.
n. 80.

It is sufficient for my Purpose, that Diocleas owns that Constantine (to whom Andreas Dandalus, D. of Venice, in his MS. History cited by Lucius, saith, The Pope gave the Name of Cyril) did translate the Bible into the Slavonian Tongue, for the Benefit of the People, and the publick Offices out of Greek, according to their Custom. And the Chancellour Seguier had in his Library both the New Testament and Liturgies in the Slavonian Language, and in Cyril's Character; and many of the Greek Fathers Commentaries on Scripture in that Tongue, but not one of the Latin.

Luci. de Reg.
no Dalmatiae
l. 2. c. 3.

Catal. MSS.
p. 33, 34.

2. The next Step was, when Gregory VII. prohibited the Translation of the Latin Offices in the Slavonian Tongue. And this he did to the King of Bohemia himself, after a peremptory manner; but he saith, It was the Request of the Nobility, that they might have divine Offices in the Slavonian Tongue, which he could by no means yield to. What was the matter? How comes the Case to be so much alter'd from what it was in his Predecessor's time? The true Reason was, the Bohemian Churches were then brought into greater Subjection to the Roman See, after the Consecration of Dithmarus Saxo to be their Archbishop; and now they must own their Subjection, as the Roman Provinces were wont to do, by receiving the Language. But as his Predecessor had found Scripture for it, so Gregory pretends he had found Reason against it, viz. The Scripture was obscure, and apt to be misunderstood and despised. What! more than in the time of Methodius and Cyril? If they plead Primitive Practice, he plainly answers, That the Church is grown wiser, and hath corrected many things that were then allow'd. This is indeed to the purpose, and therefore by the Authority of S. Peter, he forbids him to suffer any such thing, and charges him to oppose it with all his might.

Greg. Regist.
l. 7. Ep. 11.

Cum primitiva Ecclesia multa dissimulaverit quae à sanctis Patribus postmodum firmata Christianitate, & Religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctae sunt.

But after all, it is entred in the Canon Law *De Officio Jud. Ord. l. 1.*

U u u 2

Tit. 31.

Tit. 31. c. *Quoniam*. as a Decree of Innocent. III. in the Lateran Council, that where there were People of different Languages, the Bishop was to provide Persons fit to officiate in those several Languages. Why so? If there were a Prohibition of using any but the Latin Tongue. But this was for the Greeks, and theirs was an holy Tongue. That is not said; nor if it were, wou'd it signifie any thing; for doth any imaginary Holiness of the Tongue sanctifie ignorant Devotion? But the Canon supposes them to have the same Faith.

Then the meaning is, that no Man must examine his Religion by the Scripture, but if he resolves before-hand to believe as the Church believes, then he may have the Scriptures or Prayers in what Language he pleases. But even this is not permitted in the Roman Church. For,

3. After the Inquisition was set up by the Authority of Innocent III. in the Lateran Council, no Lay Persons were permitted to have the Books of the Old and New Testament; but the Psalter, or Breviary, or Hours, they might have; but by no means in the vulgar Language. This is called by D'achery and Labbe, the Council of Tholouse, but in truth it was nothing else but an Order of the Inquisition, as will appear to any one that reads it. And the Inquisition ought to have the Honour of it, both in France and Spain. Which Prohibition hath been

Cochl. c. Alex. Alefium, A. D. 1533.

Andrad. Defens. Concil. Trident. l. 4.

Ledesma de Div. Script. quavis lingua non leg. p. 155.

Pet. Sutor de Translatione Bibliæ, p. 99. p. 96.

so grateful to some Divines of the Church of Rome, that Cochlaus calls it pious, just, reasonable, wholesome and Necessary; Andradius thinks the taking of it away would be destructive to Faith: Ledesma saith, The true Catholicks do not desire it, and bad ought not to be gratified with it. Petrus Sutor, a Carthusian Doctor, calls the Translating Scripture into the vulgar Languages, a rash, useless and dangerous thing; and he gives the true Reason of it, viz.

That the People will be apt to murmur when they see things required as from the Apostles, which they cannot find a word of in Scripture. And when all is said on this Subject that can be, by Men of more Art, this is the plainest and honestest Reason for such a Prohibition; but I hope I have made it appear it is not built on any Catholick Tradition. D

IV. Of the Merit of good Works. 200. 2. B.

The Council of Trent, Sess. 6. c. 16. declares, That the good Works of justified Persons do truly deserve Eternal Life; and Can. 32. an Anathema is denounced against him that that denies them to be meritorious, or that a justified Person by them doth not truly merit Increase of Grace, and Happiness, and Eternal Life.

The Council hath not thought fit to declare what it means by truly meriting; but certainly it must be opposed to an improper kind of Meriting, and what that is we must learn from the Divines of the Church of Rome.

1. Some say, that some of the Fathers speak of an improper kind of Merit, which is no more than the due Means for attaining of Happiness as the End. So Vega confesses they often use the word Merit, where there is no Reason for Merit, either by way of Congruity or Condignity. Therefore where there is true Merit, there must be a proper Reason for it. And the Council of Trent being designed to condemn some prevailing Opinions at that time, among those they called Hereticks, this Assertion of true Merit must be levell'd against some Do-

ctrine

Vega de Justif. l. 8. c. 8.

ctrine of theirs; but they held good Works to be necessary as Means to an end, and therefore this could not be the Meaning of the Council.

Suarez saith, The Words of the Council ought to be specially observ'd; which are, that there is nothing wanting in the good Works of justified Persons, ut *verè promeruisse censeantur*; and therefore no Metaphorical or improper, but that which by the Sense of the Church of Rome was accounted true Merit, in opposition to what was said by those accounted Hereticks must be understood thereby.

2. Others say, that a mere Congruity arising from the Promise and Favour of God in rewarding the Acts of his Grace in justified Persons, cannot be the proper Merit intended by the Council. And that for these Reasons;

1. Suarez observes, that altho' the Council avoids the Terms *ex condigno*, yet because it still uses the words *verè mereri*, it implies something more than mere Congruity; and because it speaks of *meriting the Increase of Grace, and not the first Grace*; now a Congruity is allow'd for the first Grace, which it excludes by mentioning the Increase. And withal, it brings places to prove, that the giving the Reward must be a Retribution of Justice, and if so, the Merit must be more than that of Congruity.

2. Because God's Promise doth not give any Intrinsic Value to the Nature of the Act, no more than his Threatning doth increase the Nature of Guilt. If the King of Persia had promised a Province to him that gave him a Draught of Water, the Act it self had been no more meritorious; but it only shewed the Munificence of the Prince; no more do God's Promises of Eternal Life add any Merit to the Acts of Grace, but only set forth the infinite Bounty of the Promiser.

3. In the Conference at Ratisbon (the Year this Decree passed by the Emperour's Order) the Protestant Party did yield, that by virtue of God's Promise, the Reward of Eternal Life was due to justified Persons; as a Father promising a great Reward to his Son for his Pains in studying, makes it become due to him, altho' there be no proportion between them. And if no more were meant by Merit of Congruity, than that it was very agreeable to the Divine Nature to reward the Acts of his own Grace with an infinite Reward, they would yield this too.

4. Cardinal Pallavicini gives us the plain and true Meaning of the Council, viz. That a Merit *de congruo* was allow'd for Works before Justification; but for Works after, they all agreed, he saith, that there was a Merit *de condigno* in them, both for Increase of Grace and Eternal Glory. By Merit *de condigno* is meant such an Intrinsic Value in the Nature of the Act, as makes the Reward in Justice to be due to it.

Some call one of these, *Meritum secundum quid*; which is the same with *de congruo*; which really deserves no Reward, but receives it only from the Liberality of the Giver; and this hath not truly, say they, the Notion of Merit; but that which makes the Reward due, is simple and true Merit, when it doth not come merely from the Kindness of the Giver, but from Respect to the Worthiness of the Action and the Doer, and this is *de condigno*.

Let us now see what Catholick Tradition there was for this Doctrine, and whether this were taught them by their Fathers in a continued Succession down from the Apostle's times.

But

But that there was a Change, as to the Sense of the Church in this Matter, I shall prove in the first place from an Office which was allow'd in the Church before, and forbidden after. It was an Office, with respect to dying Persons, wherein are these Questions:

Credis non propriis meritis, sed passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi virtute & merito ad gloriam pervenire?

Credo.

Credis quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro Salute nostra mortuus sit; & quod ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo nullus possit salvari nisi in merito passionis ejus?

Credo.

Q. Dost thou believe that thou shalt come to Heaven, not by thy own Merits, but by the Virtue and Merit of Christ's Passion?

A. I do believe it.

Q. Dost thou believe that Christ died for our Salvation, and that none can be saved by their own Merits, or any other way but by the Merits of his Passion?

A. I do believe it.

Now when the *Indices Expurgatorii* were made, in pursuance to the Order of the Council of Trent, this Passage was no longer endured. For, in the *Roman Index*, the *Ordo Baptizandi*, wherein this Question was, is forbidden till it were corrected. But the *Spanish Indices* explain the Mystery; that of Cardinal Quiroga saith expressly, *those Questions and Answers must be blotted out*; and the like we find in the *Index* of Soto major and Sandoval. What now is the Reason, that such Questions and Answers were no longer permitted, if the Churches Tradition continued still the same? Was not this a way to know the Tradition of the Church by the Offices used in it? This was no Primitive Office then first used, but altho' the Prohibition mentions one Impression at Venice (as tho' there had been no more) I have one before me, printed by Gryphius at Venice two Years before that; and long before with the *Præceptorium* of Lyra, Anno Dom. 1495. where the Question to the dying Person is in these words, *Si credit se Merito Passionis Christi & non propriis ad gloriam pervenire? Et respondeat Credo.* And the same Questions and Answers I have in a *Sacerdotale Romanum*, Printed by Nicolinus at Venice 1585. Cardinal Hosius says, That he had seen those Questions and Answers in the *Sacerdotale Romanum*, and in the *Hortulus Anima*; and that they were believed to be first prescribed by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. On what Account now, come these things to be prohibited and expunged, if the Churches Doctrine and Tradition about this matter, be still the very same? No doubt it was believed, that the Council of Trent had now so far declared the Sense of the Church another way, that such Questions and Answers were no longer to be endured.

Antididagma
Colon. f.
16. 2.

But before the Council of Trent, the Canons of Colen against *Hermanus* their Bishop, when he publish'd his Reformation, declare, that God's giving Eternal Life upon good Works, is, *ex gratuita dignatione suæ clementiæ*, from the Favour which God vouchsafes to them. Which, to my Apprehension, is inconsistent with the Notion of true Merit in the Works themselves; for if there be any *Condignity* in them, it cannot be mere Grace and Favour in God to reward them.

Enchirid.
Colon. f.
176. 2.

The same Canons in their *Enchiridion* some Years before, when they joyned with their Bishop, call it *Stupidity*, to think that good Works are rewarded with Eternal Life for any Dignity in the Works themselves. And if there be no Dignity in them, there can be no true Merit; as the Council of Trent determines with an *Anathema*.

Adrian de
Sac. Euchar.
f. 61.

Pope Adrian VII. gives such an Account of the Merit of our Works, that he could never imagine any Condignity in them to Eternal Life. For, saith he, *our Merits are a broken Reed, which pierce the Hand of him that*

that leans upon them; they are a menstruous Cloth, and our best Actions mixt with Impurities; and when we have done all that we can, we are unprofitable Servants.

Petrus de Alliaco Cardinal of Cambray, attributes no other Effect to good Works than of a *Causa sine qua non*; and saith, That the Reward is not to be attributed to any Virtue in them, but to the Will of the Giver. Which I think overthrows any true Merit.

Gabriel Biel attributes the Merit of Good Works not to any *intrinsic* Goodness in them, but to God's Acceptation. Which is in words to assert Merit, and in truth to deny it; for, how can there be true Merit in the Works, if all their Value depends upon Divine Acceptance?

Thomas Walden charges Wickliff with asserting the Doctrine of Merit, and encouraging Men to trust in their own Righteousness; and he quotes Scripture and Fathers against it; and he blames the Use of the Term of Merit, either *ex congruo*, or *ex condigno*: Which he saith, was an Invention of some late Schoolmen, and was contrary to the ancient Doctrine of the Church. As he proves not only from Scripture and Fathers, but from the ancient Offices too; as in the Canon of the Mass, *Non estimator meriti, sed venia quasumus largitor*, &c. Feri 4. Pass. *Ut qui de meritorum qualitate diffidimus, non iudicium tuum sed misericordiam consequamur*. Dom. 2. Adv. *Ubi nulla suppetunt suffragia meritorum, tua nobis indulgentia succurre præsidiis*. How comes the Doctrine condemn'd in Wickliff to be establish'd in the Council of Trent? For he was blamed for asserting true Merit, and the Council asserts it with an *Anathema* to those that deny it. And yet we must believe the very same Tradition to have been in the Church all this while.

Vega saith, That Walden speaks against Merits without Grace; but any one that reads him, will find it otherwise. For he produces those Passages out of the Fathers against Merits which do suppose Divine Grace, as it were easie to shew; but Friar Walden thought the Notion of Merit inconsistent with the Power and Influence of Divine Grace necessary to our best Actions. God, saith he, doth not regard Merit, either as to Congruity or Condignity, but his own Grace, and Will, and Mercy.

Marsilius de Ingen, who liv'd before Walden, reckons up three Opinions about Merit; the first of those who denied it, and of this, saith he, Durandus seems to be, and one Joh. de Everbacho. The second of those who said, that our Works have no merit of themselves, but as informed by Divine Grace, and from the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, so they do truly merit Eternal Life. And of this Opinion, he saith, was Thomas de Argentina. The third was, of those who granted that true Merit doth imply an Equality, but then they distinguish Equality, as to Quantity, and as to Proportion, and as to this latter Sense, they asserted an Equality. And of this Opinion, he saith, was Petrus de Tarantasia. But he delivers his own Judgment in these Conclusions.

1. That our Works are either consider'd in themselves, or with Divine Grace, are not meritorious of Eternal Life *ex condigno*, which he proves both from Scripture and Reason, viz. Because, 1. No Man can make God a Debtor to him; for the more Grace he hath, the more he is a Debtor to God. And 2. He cannot merit of another by what he receives from him. And 3. No Man can pay what he owes to God, and therefore can never merit at his Hands. 4. No Man can merit here so much Grace as to keep him from falling away from Grace; much less then Eternal Life.

2. These

2. These Works may be said to be meritorious of Eternal Life *ex condigno* by Divine Acceptation originally proceeding from the Merit of Christ's Passion, because that makes them worthy. But this is Christ's Merit, and not the true Merit of our Works.

3. Works done by Grace do merit Eternal Life *de congruo*, from God's liberal Disposition, whereby he hath appointed so to reward them. It being agreeable to him to give Glory to them that love him. But this is an improper kind of Merit, and can by no means support the Tradition of true Merit.

Durand. in
sent. l. 2. dist.
27. q. 2.

n. 14.

Durandus utterly denies any true Merit of Man towards God; he doth not deny it in a large improper Sense for such a *Condignity* in our Actions as God hath appointed in order to a Reward; which is by the Grace of God in us; but as it is taken for a free Action, to which a Reward is in Justice due; because whatever we do is more owing to the Grace of God than to our selves; but to make a Debtor to us, we must not only pay an Equivalent to what we owe, but we must go beyond it; but to God and our Parents we can never pay an Equivalent, much less exceed it. And we can never merit by what God gives us, because the Gift lays a greater Obligation upon us. And he saith, the holding the contrary is temerarious and blasphemous.

The two Grounds of holding Merit were, the supposing a Proportion between Grace and Glory, and an Equality between Divine Grace and Glory in Virtue, Grace being as the Seed of Glory; and to both these he answers.

To the first, That the giving a Reward upon Merit is no part of distributive, but commutative Justice, because it respects the Relation of one thing to another, and not the mere Quality of the Person.

To the second, That the Value of an Act is not considered with Respect to the first Mover, but to the immediate Agent: And as to Grace being the Seed of Glory, it is but a metaphorical Expression, and nothing can be drawn from it. So that Durandus concludes true Merit, with respect to God, to be temerarious, blasphemous and impossible.

Ockam in 4.
sent. q. 3. ad
secundum.
in l. 1. dist.
17. q. 1.
in l. 1. dist.
17. q. 2.
Greg. Arim.
in l. 1. sent.
dist. 17.
art. 2.

Ockam declares, That after all our good Works, God may, without Injustice, deny Eternal Life to them who do them; because, God can be Debtor to none, and therefore whatever he doth to us, it is out of mere Grace. And that there can be nothing meritorious in any Act of ours, but from the Grace of God freely accepting it. And therefore he must deny any true Merit.

Gregorious Ariminensis saith, That no Act of ours, tho' coming from Grace to never so great a degree, is meritorious with God *ex condigno* of any Reward either Temporal or Eternal; because every such Act is a Gift of God; and if it were at all meritorious, yet not as to Eternal Life, because there is no Equivalency between them, and therefore it cannot in Justice be due to it; and consequently if God gives it, he must do it freely. But, saith he, God is said to be just when he gives *bona pro bonis*, and merciful when he gives *bona pro malis*; not but that he is merciful in both, but because his Mercy appears more in the latter, and in the other, it seems like Justice in a general Sense from the Conformity of the Merit and the Reward; but in this particular Retribution it is mere Mercy.

Scot. in. l. 1.
sent. dist. 17.
q. 3. n. 24.

Scotus affirms, That all the Meritoriousness of our Acts depends on Divine Acceptation in order to a Reward; and if it depend on the intrinsic Worth of the Acts, God could not in Justice deny the Reward; which is false, and therefore it wholly depends on the good Will and Favour of God.

Bellarmin
de Just.
l. 5. c. 17.

Bellarmin is aware of this, and he confesses this to be the Opinion of Scotus, and of other old Schoolmen. But how then do they hold the Doctrine

Doctrine and Tradition of *true Merit*? He holds, that good Works are properly and truly good. So do we, and yet deny *Merit*. But he grants, that he denies that they bear any proportion to *Eternal Life*; and therefore they cannot be truly meritorious of it. Bellarmine himself asserts, that without the *Divine Promise*, good Works have a proportion to *Eternal Life*; and this he saw necessary to defend the Doctrine of the Council of Trent: but then he adds, That there is no Obligation on God's Part, to reward in such a manner without a Promise. Now here are two hard Points, 1. To make it appear that there is such a Meritoriousness in good Works without a *Divine Promise*. 2. That if there were so, there is no Obligation on God to reward such Acts in point of Justice. The former is so much harder to do from what he had proved before, c. 14. viz. that they are not meritorious without a Promise; and here he proves, that they have no proportion to the Reward, from Scripture, Fathers and Reason; because there is no Obligation on God to do it, either from commutative or distributive Justice, and because we are God's Servants. These are good Arguments against himself; for how can such Acts then become Meritorious without a Promise? If there be no Proportion or Equality on Man's Part, no Justice on God's part to reward, how can they possibly be Meritorious? But this is too deep for me to comprehend. My Business is Tradition, and I have evidently prov'd that there was no Tradition, even in the Church of Rome, for the *true Merit* defined by the Council of Trent. It were easie to carry this Point higher, by shewing that the Fathers knew nothing of this Doctrine, but that hath been done by many already, and it is needless in so plain a Case.

But I am now to give an Account by what Steps and Occasions this Doctrine came to be establish'd.

1. From the common Use of the Word *Merit* with the Fathers and others, in another Sense than it signified at first. The original Signification of it is, *Wages* paid in consideration of *Service*; and from thence Soldiers were said *merere* (as Budæus observes, and thence came the word *merces*) who truly deserved their Pay by their Labour and Hazard; but by degrees it came no signifie to more than merely to attain a thing; which is sometimes used by good Authors; but in the Declension of the Latin Tongue, no Sense of this word was more common than this, especially among Ecclesiastical Writers. Who frequently used it in a Sense wherein it was impossible to understand it in its original Signification; and it cannot imply so much as *dignè consequi*, as in the Instance brought by Cassander; when S. Gyprian renders those Words of S. Paul, *Misericordiam merui*, which we render, *I obtain'd Mercy*; but the Council of Trent allows, there could be no *true Merit* here. And S. Augustin saith of those who murder'd the Son of God, *Illi veniam meruerunt qui Christum occiderunt*. And so the vulgar Latin often uses it, Gen. 4. 13. *major est iniquitas mea quam ut veniam merear*. Jos. 11. 20. *& non mererentur ullam Clementiam*. And in that Sense it hath been used in the Hymns and other Offices of the Church, as in that Expression, *O felix culpa que talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem*! Where it cannot be deny'd that the word is used in an improper Sense.

Jos. Scalig.
in Varr. de
L. L. p. 172.
Bud. in Pan-
dect. p. 362.
Plin. Ep. l.
1. 8.

Cassand. in
Hymn. Eccl.
p. 179.

Aug. in Joh.
Tr. 31. n. 9.

2. When the School Divines set themselves to explain the Mysteries of Theology, this plain and easie, but improper Sense of *Merit*, would not go down with some of them; but they endeavour'd to make out the Notion of *Merit*, with respect to God, in its proper and original sense. The last considerable Writer, before the Scholastick Age, was,

X x x

S. Bernard,

Neque enim talia sunt hominum merita, ut propter ea vita aeterna deberetur ex jure, aut Deus injuriam aliquam faceret, nisi eam donaret. Nam ut taceam quod merita omnia Dona Dei sunt. Et ita homo magis propter ipsa Deo debitor est, quam Deus homini, quid sunt merita omnia ad tantam gloriam? Bernard. Serm. 1. de Annun. Bellarm. de Justif. l. 5. c. 6.

S. Bernard, and he pretended not to find out any such Proportion between the best Works and Eternal Life, that God should be bound in Justice to bestow it as a Recompence for them; and the Reason he gives is plain and strong, because those things Men pretend to merit by, are themselves the Gifts of God's Grace, and so by them they are more bound to God than God to them; but besides, What are all Mens Merits to Eternal Glory? S. Bernard doth not speak of Merits without Grace, but with the Supposition of it; and Bellarmine wisely left out the latter Part, that he might seem to answer the former.

Hugo de S. Vict. Annot. Elucidator. in Rom.

Hugo de Sancto Victore lived in the same Age, who first shewed the way to School Divinity, and upon the same place which S. Bernard speaks of, *Non sunt condigna, &c.* he puts the Question, *How any Temporal Acts can merit that which is Eternal?* And he denies any Condignity, because, *there is more in the Reward than there was in the Merit*; but then he adds, *that there may be a threefold Comparison of things; either as to themselves, as a Horse for a Horse, Money for Money; or according to Equity, either in Punishments or Rewards; or by Pact or Agreement, as when a good Sum is promised for a little Work; and this, saith he, God hath made known to Mankind, as to future Rewards and Punishments.* Which plainly shews, he understood nothing of the Proportion between Acts of Grace and an Eternal Happiness, but resolved all into the Favour and Mercy of God.

Lomb. Sent. l. 2. dist. 27.

Peter Lombard, call'd the Master of the Sentences, saith nothing of any Condignity or Proportion in our Works to the Reward; but, he saith, *they are themselves God's Gifts, and that the Reward it self is from the Grace of God*; and quotes the noted Saying of S. Augustin, *Cum coronat Deus merita nostra, nihil aliud coronat quam dona sua.* But still this is nothing but Grace and Favour in God, first in enabling us to do good Works, and then in rewarding them.

Genebrard. de Trinit. l. 3. p. 312.

Baudinus wrote a Book of the Sentences much about the time P. Lombard did, with so much Agreement of Method and Expressions, that it is not known which took from the other. Genebrard hath produced this Passage out of him, *Debet, inciviliter de Deo dicitur quia nihil omnino nobis debet, nisi ex promisso.* If it be so rude to say, *God owes any thing to his Creatures but by Promise*, he could not imagine any Condignity in good Works, to which a Reward is due in Justice. And Genebrard thinks he had reason to deny, *that God can be made a Debtor to us by any of our Works.*

Pull. Sentent. Part. 1. c. 13.

Robertus Pullus, who wrote another Book of the Sentences about the same time, mentioning that place, *Non sunt condigne, &c.* he saith, *because our Works are not sufficient, being small and temporal, God by his Mercy makes it up*; which not only shews, that God doth reward beyond our Merit, but that there is no Proportion between the best Works and Eternal Glory.

Guliel. Antif. l. 3. rr. 12. q. 2. de merito virt.

But by the time of Gulielmus Antissiodorensis, there were two Parties in the Church about this Point; some, he saith, *denied any Merit of Eternal Life, ex condigno*, and others asserted it; and after laying down the Arguments on both sides, he concludes for the Affirmative; but in Answer to the Place, *Non sunt condigne, &c.* he saith they are not *ad proportionaliter merendum*, but they are *ad simpliciter merendum*, so that still he denied any Proportion, tho' he held simple Merit.

But

But *Thomas Aquinas* coming after him, denies that there can be any simple Merit with respect to God, because that cannot be where there is so great Inequality; and so there can be no equal Justice between them, but according to a Proportion; which he afterwards explains, viz. as to the Substance and Freedom of our good Works, there is only a Congruity; but as they proceed from Divine Grace, so they are meritorious of Eternal Life, ex condigno.

1. 2. q. 114. art. 1.

Art. 3.

This Doctrine had some Followers in the Schools, but not many in comparison of those who opposed it, as appears by what is said already.

Richardus de Mediavilla, tho' a *Franciscan*, follows herein the Doctrine of *Aquinas*, and asserts, That by Acts of Free Will, informed by Grace, a Man may merit Eternal Life, ex condigno; and he adds somewhat more, *potest certissime*; and he uses the same Answers to the Objections which the other did.

Richard. in Sent. l. 2. dist. 27. art. 2. Q. 3.

And *Nic. de Orbillis* follows *Richardus*, so that *Aquinas* his Doctrine had prevailed beyond his own School.

Nich. d'Orb. in Sent. l. 2. dist. 27. Hof. Confess. Petrico. c. 73. p. 141.

But it was as vehemently opposed by others of that Fraternity, among whom Cardinal *Hofius* mentions *Stephanus Brulifer*, who maintained, that no Act of Grace, how good soever, was worthy of Eternal Life.

Paulus Burgensis, tho' he is said to have been converted from being a Jew, by reading *Aquinas*, yet utterly dissented from him in this matter: For, saith he, that no Man can, by the ordinary Assistance of Grace, merit Eternal Life ex condigno, and therefore the Mercy of God is most seen in Heaven.

P. Burg. addit. ad Lyram in Pl. 35.

However, the Reputation of *Aquinas* might gain upon some, yet this was very far from being a Catholick Tradition.

But no Council ever interposed its Authority in this matter, till the Council of *Trent*, which resolved to carry the Points in difference to the Height, and to establish every thing that was question'd. Nothing had been more easie than to have given Satisfaction in this matter, considering what *Pighius* and *Contarenus*, and even *Genebrard*, had yielded in it; but there the Rule was, that every thing that was disputed, must be determin'd first, and then defended.

And so it happened with this Decree, which left we should think the Matter capable of softening, hath been since asserted in the highest manner. *Bellarmino* asserts good Works of themselves, and not merely by compact, to be meritorious of Eternal Life, so that in them there is a certain Proportion and Equality to Eternal Life.

Bell. de justif. l. 5. c. 17.

Costerus saith, That in Works of Grace, there is an Equality between the Work and the Reward.

Coster. Enchirid. p. 294.

Suarez, That they have an intrinsic Dignity, whereby they become worthy of Eternal Life.

Suarez. de Grat. l. 12. c. 1. n. 18.

Vasquez, That there is an Equality of Dignity between Good Works and Eternal Life, without which a Promise could not make true Merit.

Vasquez in 1. 2. Disp. 213. c. 5.

The *Remists* say, That good Works are truly and properly meritorious, and justly worthy of Everlasting Life; and that thereupon, Heaven is the just Due, and just Stipend, Crown or Recompence. which God by his Justice oweth to the Persons so done by his Grace.

Remists on 2 Tim. 4. 8.

And again, That good Works are meritorious, and the very Cause of Salvation, so far that God should be unjust, if he rendered not Heaven for the same.

On Heb. 6. 8.

Gamech. in 1. 2. Th. Qu.
114. c. 2. Concil. 2. Omnes
Catholici fatentur justos suis
bonis operibus mereri gloriam
de Condigno.

Phil. Gamacheus, a late Professor of Divinity in the Sorbon, speaks it roundly, That the Council of Trent did plainly mean to establish Merit *ex Condigno*, and that all Catholics are agreed in it.

The last Defender of the Council of Trent within these few Years, saith, That there is an *intrinsical* Condignity in good Works, whereby they bear a Proportion commensurate with the Glory of Heaven. And without such Doctrine as this, he doth not think the Council of Trent can be defended in this matter.

Aug. Rēding
Defens. Conc.
Trident. Tr.
4. Sess. 2. ad
Sess. 6. c. 1.

If after all it be said, That this is a mere Subtlety concerning the Proportion an Act of Grace bears to the State of Glory. I answer, The more to blame they, who have made and imposed it as a matter of Faith, as the Council of Trent hath done with an *Anathema*, and that without any Pretence from *Catholick Tradition*.

But what made the Council of Trent so much concerned for a Scholastick Subtlety? There was a deep Mystery lay in this, They were wise enough to frame the Decree so, as to avoid Offence, and to make it appear plausible, but, it was enough to the People to understand that the Merit of good Works was allow'd, and they were to believe the Priests, both as to the good Works they were to do, and as to the putting them into a State of Grace, to make them capable of meriting. And this was the true Reason of the *Anathema*, against those who should deny the true Merit of good Works.

V. Of the Number of Sacraments.

84:2A.

Sess. 7.
Can. 1.

The Council of Trent pronounces an *Anathema* in these words, If any one saith that Sacraments of the new Law were not all appointed by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they were more or fewer than Seven, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony, or that any one of these is not truly and properly a Sacrament, let him be *Anathema*.

But what is it to be truly and properly a Sacrament?

Catech. Tri-
dent. Part. 2.
n. 10.

It had been very reasonable to have defined a Sacrament, first, truly and properly, before such an *Anathema* passed. But that Defect may be said to be supplied by the *Roman Catechism*, Publish'd by Authority of the Council; and there we are told, That a Sacrament is a sensible thing, which by Divine Institution hath a Power of causing, as well as signifying Holiness and Righteousness. So that to a true and proper Sacrament two things are necessary,

1. That it be of Divine Institution.
2. That it confer Grace on those who partake of it.

And by these we must examine the *Catholick Tradition* about the Number of Sacraments.

Bell. de Sa-
cram. l. 2.
c. 25.

Bellarmino saith, That all their Divines, and the whole Church for 500 Years, viz. from the time of the Master of the Sentences, have agreed in the Number of the seven Sacraments.

Here we see is a bold Appeal to Tradition for 500 Years; but altho', if it were proved, it cannot be sufficient to prove an *Apostolical Tradition*; for the Fathers might for 1000 Years have held the contrary; and I do not think one clear Testimony can be produced out of Antiquity for that Number of Sacraments, truly so called; yet I shall at present wholly wave the Debate of the former times, and confine my self

self to Bellarmine's 500 Years; and I hope to make it appear, there was no Universal Tradition for it within his own time.

For Alexander Hales (who wrote, *faith Possessin*, his *Sum of Divinity*, by Order of Innocent IV, and it was approv'd by Alexander IV, with Seventy Divines) affirms, There were but Four proper Sacraments; now if this were the Catholick Tradition then, That there were Seven proper Sacraments, how could this Doctrine pass, and be so highly approved? He saith farther, That Christ himself only appointed two, viz. Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and for the rest, he saith, it may be presum'd the Apostles

In quatuor qua sunt proprie dicta Sacramenta nova legis est forma instituta à Domino vel ab Ecclesia. Alex. Halens. Part. 4. q. 5. M. 3. a. 2.

did appoint them by Christ's Direction, or by Divine Inspiration. But how can that be, when he saith, The Form even of those he calls proper Sacraments, was either appointed by our Lord or by the Church? How can such Sacraments be of Divine Institution, whose very Form is appointed by the Church? He puts the Question himself, Why Christ appointed the Form only of Two Sacraments, when all the Grace of the Sacraments comes from him? He answers, because these are the principal Sacraments which unite the whole Man in the Body of the Church, by Faith and Charity. But yet this doth not clear the Difficulty, how those can be proper Sacraments, whose Form is not of Divine Institution; as he grants in the Sacrament of Penance and Orders, the Form is of the Church's Appointment.

Memb. 2. a. 1.

And this will not only reach to this great School Divine, but to as many others as hold it in the Church's Power to appoint or alter the Matter and Form of some of those they call Sacraments. For, however they may use the Name, they can never agree with the Council of Trent, in the Nature of the Seven Sacraments, which supposes them to be of Divine Institution, as to Matter and Form. And so the Divines of the Church of Rome have agreed since the Council of Trent.

Memb. 3. a. 2. Sect. 3.

Bellarmino hath a Chapter on purpose to shew, That the Matter and Form of Sacraments are so certain and determinate, that nothing can be changed in them; and this Determination must be by God himself. Which, he saith, is most certain among them; and he proves it by a substantial Reason, viz. Because the Sacraments are the Causes of Grace, and no one can give Grace but God, and therefore none else can appoint the Essentials of Sacraments but He, and therefore he calls it Sacrilege to change even the Matter of Sacraments.

Bell. de Sacram. l. 1. c. 21.

Suarez asserts, That both the Matter and Form of Sacraments are determin'd by Christ's Institution; and as they are determined by him, they are necessary to the making of Sacraments. And this, he saith, absolutely speaking, is de Fide, or an Article of Faith. And he proves it from the Manner of Christ's Instituting Baptism and the Eucharist; and he urges the same Reason, because Christ only can confer Grace by the Sacraments, and therefore he must appoint the Matter and Form of them.

Suarez. in 3. p. Th. To. 3. Disp. 2. Sect. 3.

Cardinal Lugo affirms, That Christ hath appointed both Matter and Form of the Sacraments, which he proves from the Council of Trent. He thinks Christ might have granted a Commission to his Church to appoint Sacraments, which he would make efficacious, but he neither believes that he hath done it, or that it was fitting to be done.

Lugo de Sacram. Disp. 2. Sect. 5.

Petrus à Sancto Joseph, saith, That altho' the Council of Trent doth not expressly affirm the Sacraments to be immediately instituted by Christ, yet it is to be so understood. And altho' the Church may appoint Sacraments, i. e. Rites about the Sacraments, yet Christ himself must appoint the Sacraments themselves; and he concludes, That no Creature can have Authority

Petr. à Sancto Joseph. Idem Theol. Sacram. l. 1. c. 2.

Authority

city to make Sacraments conferring Grace; and therefore he declares that Christ did appoint the Forms of all the Sacraments himself, although we do not read them in Scripture.

If now it appears that some, even of the Church of Rome before the Council of Trent, did think it in the Church's Power to appoint or alter the Matter and Form of some of those they called Sacraments, then it will evidently follow they had not the same Tradition about the Seven Sacraments which is there deliver'd.

90: 2: A.

Of Chrism.

Conc. Trid.
De confirm.
can. 2.
Conc. Florent.
Decret. Uni-
onis.
Marfil. in
seno. l. 4. q.
a. 1.

The Council of Trent declares the matter to be of Confirmation to be Chrism, viz. a composition made of Oil of Olive and Balsam; the one to signify the clearness of Conscience, the other the Odour of a good Fame, saith the Council of Florence. But where was this Chrism appointed by Christ? Marsilius saith from Petrus Aureolus, that there was a Controversie between the Divines and Canonists about this matter; and the latter affirmed that Chrism was not appointed by Christ, but afterwards by the Church; and that the Pope could dispense with it; which he could not do if it were of Christ's Institution.

Aureol. in 4.
d. 7. q. 1.

Petrus Aureolus was himself a great Man in the Church of Rome; and after he had mentioned this difference, and named one Brocardus (or Bernardus) with other Canonists for it; he doth not affirm the contrary to be a Catholick Tradition; but himself asserts the Chrism not to be necessary to the Sacrament of Confirmation; which he must have done if he had believed it of divine institution.

Greg. de Val.
To. 4. Q. 5.
Punct. 2.

Gregory de Valentia on the occasion of this opinion of the Canonists, that Confirmation might be without Chrism, saith two notable things.

Guido Bri-
anson in 4.
sent. q. 5.
Conc. 1.

That they were guilty of Heresie therein: for which he quotes Dominicus Soto. 2. That he thinks there were no Canonists left of that mind. If not, the Change was the greater; since it is certain they were of that opinion before. For Guido Brianston attests, that there was a difference between the Divines and Canonists about this matter; for Bernard the Glosser and others held, that Chrism was not necessary to it, because it was neither appointed by Christ nor his Apostles, but in some ancient Councils.

Gul. Antif.
in l. 4. tract.
9e. ni. 351202

Guil. Antissiodorensis long before mentions the opinion of those who said that Chrism was appointed by the Church after the Apostles times; and that they confirmed only by imposition of hands; but he doth not condemn it; only he thinks it better to hold that the Apostles used Chrism, although we never read that they did it. But he doth not lay that opinion only on the Canonists; for there were Divines of great note of the same. For,

Bonav. in 4.
d. 7. a. 1. q. 2.

Bonaventure saith, that the Apostles made use neither of their Matter nor Form in their Confirmation; and his Resolution is, that they were appointed by the Governours of the Church afterwards; as his Master Alexander of Hale had said before him, who attributes the Institution of both to a Council of Meaux.

Jac. de Vitt.
Hist. Occid.
c. 37.

Cardinal de Vitriaco saith, that Confirmation by Imposition of Hands was from the Apostles; but by Chrism from the Church; for we do not read that the Apostles used it.

Aq. p. 3. q.
72. a. 12. Resp.
ad 1.

Thomas Aquinas confesses there were different Opinions about the institution of this Sacrament; some held that it was not instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but afterwards in a certain Council. But he never blames these for contradicting Catholick Tradition, although he dislikes their Opinion.

Cajetan

Cajetan on Aquinas saith, that Chrism with Balsam was appointed by the Church after the Primitive times; and yet now, this must be believed to be essential to this Sacrament; and by Conink it seems to be heretical to deny it. For he affirms, that it seems to be an Article of Faith that Confirmation must be with Chrism; and no Catholick, he saith, now denies it. Which shews, that he believed the sense of the Church not to have been always the same about it.

Conink de
Sacram. q. 72.
a. 3. dab. 1.

But others speak out, as Gregory de Valentia, Suarez, Fillucius and Tanner, who say absolutely, it is now a matter of Faith to hold Chrism to be essential to Confirmation; and that it is now not only erroneous but heretical to deny it. Their Testimonies are at large produced by Petrus Aurelius, or the famous Abbat of S. Cyran. And even he grants it to be Heresie since the Council of Trent; but he yields that Alensis, Bonaventure and de Vitriaco all held that Opinion, which was made Heresie by it. From whence it follows, that there hath been a Change in the Doctrine of the Roman Church about Confirmation by Chrism. For if it be Heresie now to assert that which was deny'd without any Reproach before, the Tradition cannot be said to continue the same.

Petr. Aurel.
Op. p. 546;
547.
p. 567.

Thus we have seen there was no certain Tradition for the Matter of this Sacrament, and as little is there for the Form of it. Which is, *Consigno te signo Crucis, & confirmo te Chrismate salutis in nomine Patris, &c.* But Sirmondus produces another Form out of S. Ambrose, *Deus Pater omnipotens, qui te regeneravit ex Aqua & Spiritu Sancto, concessitque tibi peccata tua, ipse te ungat in vitam aeternam.* And from thence concludes the present Form not to be ancient; and he confesses, that both Matter and Form of this Sacrament are changed. Which was an ingenious Confession; but his Adversary takes this Advantage from it; That then the Sacrament it self must be changed, if both Matter and Form were; and then the Church must be a very unfaithful Keeper of Tradition, which I think is unanswerable. Suarez proposes the Objection fairly, both as to the Matter and Form of this Sacrament, that we read nothing of them in Scripture, and Tradition is very various about them; but his Answer is very insufficient, viz. That tho' it be not in Scripture, yet they have them by Tradition from the Apostles; now that is the very thing which Sirmondus disproves, and shews that the Church of Rome is clearly gone off from Tradition here, both as to Matter and Form.

Sirmon. Ant.
2. p. 64.

p. 63.

Petr. Aurel.
Op. p. 567.
Suarez. To. 3.
q. 3. p. Th.
Q. 72. Disp.
33. Sect. 3.

4. Of Orders.

I proceed to the Sacrament of Orders. It is impossible for those of the Church of Rome to prove this a true and proper Sacrament, on their own Grounds. For, they assert, that such a one must have Matter and Form appointed by Christ; but that which they account the Matter and Form of Orders, were neither of them of Christ's Institution. The Council of Florence, they say, hath declared both; the matter is that, by the Delivery whereof the Order is confer'd, as that of Priesthood, by the Delivery of the Chalice with the Wine, and the Paten with the Bread; and the Form is, *Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis & mortuis.* Now if neither of these be owned by themselves to have been appointed by Christ, then it necessarily follows, that they cannot hold this to be a true and proper Sacrament. Imposition of Hands, they grant, was used by the Apostles, and still continu'd in the Christian Church; and Bellarmine confesses, That nothing else can be proved by

Decret. Uni-
onis.

Bell. de Sacra
Ordinis, l. 1.
c. 9.

be proved by Scripture to be the external Symbol in this Sacrament. And others are forced to say, That Christ hath not determin'd the Matter and Form of this Sacrament particularly, but hath left a Latitude in it for the Church to determine it. Which in my opinion, is clear giving up the Cause, as to this Sacrament.

Arcud. de
Sacram. l. 6.
c. 4.

It is observed by *Arcudius*, That the Council of *Trent* doth not declare the particular Matter and Form of this Sacrament, but only in general, that is performed by Words and external Signs, *Sess. 23. c. 3.* From whence he infers, that the outward Sign was left to the Church's Determination; and he saith, That Christ did particularly appoint the Matter and Form of some Sacraments, as of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and Extreme Unction, but not of others; and therefore, in the Sacrament of Orders, he saith, Christ determin'd no more but that it should be convey'd by some visible Sign; and so it may be either by the Delivering the Vessels, or by the Imposition of Hands, or both. But we are to consider, that the Council of *Florence* was received by the Council of *Trent*; and that 'tis impossible to reconcile this Doctrine with the general Definition of a Sacrament by the *Roman Catechism*, viz. That it is a sensible thing, which by the Institution of Christ hath a Power of causing, as well as signifying Grace; which implies, that the external Sign which conveys Grace, must be appointed by the Author of the Sacrament itself, or else the Church must have Power to annex Divine Grace to its own Appointments. But, here lies the main Difficulty, the Church of *Rome* hath alter'd both Matter and Form of this Sacrament from the Primitive Institution; and yet it dares not disallow the Ordinations made without them, as is notorious in case of the *Greek Church*; and therefore they have been forc'd to allow this Latitude, as to the Matter and Form of this Sacrament; altho' such an Allowance doth really overthrow its being a true and proper Sacrament on their own Grounds.

Lug. de Sac.
Disp. 2. Sect.
5. n. 85.
n. 92.

Yet this Doctrine hath very much prevail'd of late among their chief Writers. Cardinal *Lugo* confesses, That of old, Priesthood was confer'd by Imposition of Hands, with suitable words; and he saw it himself so done at *Rome*, without delivering the Vessels by *Catholick Greek Bishops*. He saith farther, That the Fathers and Councils are so plain, for the conferring Priesthood by Imposition of Hands, that no one can deny it; but yet he must justify the *Roman Church* in assuming new Matter and Form; which he doth, by asserting, That Christ left the Church at liberty, as to them.

Ysambert. de
Sacram. Or.
dinis, Disp. 3.
Art. 6.

Nichol. Ysambertus debates the Point at large, and his Resolution of it is, That Christ determin'd onely the general Matter, but the particular Sign was left to the Church; and he proves by Induction, that the Church hath appointed the External Sign in this Sacrament; and as to the Order of Priesthood, he proves, that Imposition of Hands was of old an essential part of it, but now it is onely accidental.

Hallier de
Sacris Elect.
& Ordinat.
Sect. 2. c. 2.
Art. 1.

p. 439.

Franciscus Hallier confesses the Matter of this Sacrament to have been different, in different times. In the Apostles Times, and many Ages after, hardly any other can be found but Imposition of Hands, as he proves from Scripture and Fathers. He carries his Proofs down as low as the Synod of *Aken*, in the time of *Ludovicus Pius*, and the Council of *Meaux*, Anno Dom. 845. but afterwards he saith, That by the Council of *Florence*, and the common Opinions of their Divines, the Delivery of the Vessels is the essential Matter of this Sacrament. Here we find a plain Change in the Matter of a Sacrament owned after the Continuance of

above

above 800 Years; and yet we must believe the Tradition of this Church to have been always the same. Which is impossible, by the Confession of their own Writers. He cannot tell just the time when the Change was made, but he concludes, it was before the time of the *Vetus Ordo Romanus*, which mentions the Vessels.

Petrus à Sancto Joseph saith, *That by Christ's Institution, there is a Latitude allow'd in the matter of Orders*; but he shews not where; but he thinks, of it self it consists in the *Delivery of the Vessels*, but by the Pope's Permission, *Imposition of Hands* may be sufficient. Which is a Doctrine which hath neither Scripture, Reason nor Tradition for it.

Petr. à Sanct. Joseph. Idea Theol. Sacr. l. 4. c. 1. p. 396.

Joh. Morinus, shews, that there are five Opinions in the Church of Rome about the Matter of this Sacrament. The first, and most common, that it consists in the *Delivery of the Vessels*. The second, that *Imposition of Hands*, together with that, makes up the matter. The third, that they convey two different Powers. The fourth, that *Unction*, with *Imposition of Hands*, is the Matter. The fifth, that *Imposition of Hands* alone is it; and this, saith he, the whole Church, Greek and Latin, ever owned; but he saith, he can bring two Demonstrations against the first, i. e. against the general Sense of the now Roman Church. 1. From the Practice of the Greek Church, which never used it. 2. From the old Rituals of the Latin Church, which do not mention them; and he names some above 800 Years old; and in none of them he finds either the Matter or Form of this Sacrament, as it is now practis'd in the Church of Rome; nor in *Isidore*, *Alcuinus*, *Amalarius*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Valafrius Strabo*, altho' they wrote purposely about these things. He thinks it was first received into the publick Offices in the tenth Age. Afterwards he saith, he wonders how it came about that any should place the essential Matter of Ordination only in Delivery of the Vessels, and exclude the *Imposition of Hands*, which alone is mention'd by Scripture and Fathers. And again he saith, it strikes him with Astonishment, that there should be such an Alteration, both as to Matter and Form. And at last he saith, *Christ hath determin'd no particular Matter and Form in this Sacrament*.

Morin. de Sacris Ordin. Part. 3. Exercit. 7. c. 1.

c. 3. n. 1.

*n. 6.
c. 6.
n. 2.*

But still the Difficulty returns, how this can be a true and proper Sacrament, whose Matter and Form depend on Divine Institution, when they confess there was no Divine Institution for the Matter and Form in Orders?

Bell. de Sacram. l. 2. c. 24.

Bellarmino (as is proved before) hath a Chapter on purpose to prove that the Matter and Form of Sacraments are so determin'd, that it is not lawful to add, diminish or alter them; and he charges it on *Luther* as a part of his Heresie, that no certain Form of Words was required to Sacraments: and he makes it no less than Sacrilege to change the Matter of them. So that all such who hold the Matter and Form in Orders to be mutable, must either charge the Church of Rome with Sacrilege; or deny Orders to be a true and proper Sacrament.

85: 1. B. Of the Sacrament of Penance.

The next new Sacrament is that of Penance. They are agreed, that Matter and Form are both necessary to a true and proper Sacrament. The Matter is the external or sensible Sign; and what is that in this New Sacrament?

There are two things things necessary to the Matter of a Sacrament:

1. That it be an external and sensible Sign; which *S. Augustin* calls an

Y y y

Element

Aug. in Joh.
Tr. 80.

Element in that known Expression, *Accedat verbum ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum*; which Bellarmine would have understood only of *Baptism* there spoken of; but *S. Augustin's* Meaning goes farther, as appears by his following Discourse, and immediately he calls a Sacrament *verbum visibile*; and therefore cannot be apply'd to words as they are heard, for so they have nothing of a Sacramental Sign in them. How then can *Contrition* make up any part of the Matter of a Sacrament, when it is not *external*? How can *Confession*, when it is no *visible Sign*, nor any permanent thing as an *Element* must be? How can *Satisfaction* be any part of the Sacrament, which may be done, when the Effect of the Sacrament is over in *Absolution*?

S. Aug. Ep.
ad Bonifac.

2. There must be a Resemblance between the *Sign* and the *Thing signified*, which *S. Augustin* is so peremptory in, that he denies there can be any Sacrament where there is no Resemblance. And from hence he saith, The *Signs* take the Name of the *Thing signified*; as after a certain manner, the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ.

Suarez, To.
3. in 3. C.
Q. 60. Disp. 1.
a. 3. Sect. 4.

And this was looked on as so necessary, that *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, and *Peter Lombard*, both put it into the Definition of a Sacrament, as *Suarez* confesses, viz. That it is the *Visible Appearance of Invisible Grace*, which bears the *Similitude*, and is the *Cause* of it. But this is left out of the Definition in the *Roman Catechism*, and *Suarez* thinks it not necessary, for the same Reason; because it is very hard to understand the *Similitude* between words spoken in *Confession*, and the *Grace* supposed to be given by *Absolution*, any more than in the words of *Abrenunciation*, and the *Grace* of *Baptism*. How can the Act of the *Penitent* signify the *Grace* conveyed in *Absolution*? For there is no effect of the Sacrament till *Absolution*, by their own *Confession*; and therefore the Acts of the *Penitent* being antecedent to it, and of a different Nature from it, can have no such Resemblance with it, as to signify or represent it.

Concil Flor.
Decr. Union.
Concil. Trid.
Sess. 14. c. 3.

However, the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent* have declared, that the Acts of the *Penitent*, viz. *Contrition*, *Confession*, and *Satisfaction*, are as the matter in the Sacrament, *Quasi materia*: What is this *quasi materia*? Why not, are the Matter? Is not true Matter necessary to a true Sacrament? If there be none true here, then this can be but *quasi Sacramentum*, as it were a Sacrament, and not truly and properly so. But if it be true Matter, why is it not so declared? But common Sense hindered them, and not the Difference between the Matter here and in other Sacraments. For in the Definition of Sacraments they were to regard the *Truth*, and not the kind of Matter. They are not *solid* and *permanent* Matter, saith *Bellarmino*; not Matter externally apply'd, saith *Soto*; not any Substance, but human Acts, saith *Vasquez*; but none of these clear the Point. For still, if it be true Matter of a Sacrament, why was it not so declar'd? Why such a Term of Diminution added, as all Men must understand it, who compare it with the Expressions about the other Sacraments?

Bell. de penit.
l. 1. c. 16.
Soto in l. 4.
sent. d. 14.
q. 1.
Vasq. in 3.
p. Q. 84. art.
1. c. 9.

Enchirid.
Colon. f.
180.
Bell. de n. vit.
l. 1. c. 16.

But they knew very well there was a considerable Party in the Church of *Rome*, who deny'd the Acts of the *Penitent* to be the Matter or Parts of this Sacrament. The Council of *Coten* (but little before, the Council of *Trent*) excludes the Acts of the *Penitent* from any Share in this Sacrament: which *Bellarmino* denies not, but blames *Gropperus*, the supposed Author of the *Enchiridon*. But *Gropperus* was thought fit to be a Cardinal, as well as *Bellarmino*, and certainly knew the Tradition of the Church, if there had been any such in this Matter. The Council of

of Florence, it is plain, he thought not to be a sufficient Declarer of it. Major in 4. sent. dist. 14. q. 2. No more did Joh. Major, who after it deny'd this Sacrament to consist of Matter and Form, or that the Acts of the Penitent were the Parts of it. So did Gabriel Biel, who refutes the contrary Opinion, and saith, Biel in 4. dist. 14. q. 2. *Contrition can be no part, because it is no sensible Sign; and Satisfaction may be done after it.* So that he cuts off two Parts in three of the Matter of this pretended Sacrament.

Guido Brianfon, who liv'd after the Council of Florence, supposes no certain Tradition in the Church about this Matter; but he sets down both Opinions, with their Reasons, and prefers that which excludes the Acts of the Penitent from being Parts of the Sacrament; although the Florentine Council had declared the contrary. Brianfon in 4. sent. 2. 8. Concl. 3.

Durandus rejects two Parts in three of those declared by the two Councils, and for the same Reasons mentioned by Biel. Durand. in l. 4. Dist. 16. q. 1.

Ockham absolutely denies all three to be Parts of the Sacrament. And so did Scotus before him; whose words are remarkable. *De Pœnitentia Sacramento Dico, quod illa tria nullo modo sunt partes ejus, viz. These three are by no means any part of the Sacrament of Penance*; and yet the Council of Trent not only declares that they are so, but denounces an *Anathema* against him that denies them to be required, as the Matter of the Sacrament of Penance. And let any one by this judge, what Catholic Tradition it proceeded upon; when some of the greatest Divines in the Church of Rome were of another Opinion. Ockham. in 4. sent. q. 8. Scot. in l. 4. sent. dist. 16. q. 1. Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. de Pœnit. Sac. Can. 4.

As to the Form of this Sacrament, the Council of Trent denounces an *Anathema* against those who affirm *Absolution* to be only declarative of the *Remission of Sins*: and yet I shall prove, that this was the more current Doctrine, even in the Church of Rome, up to the Master of the Sentences. Can. 9.

Gabriel Biel, saith, *The ancient Doctors did commonly follow it*; but it was opposed by Scotus, because it seemed to take off from the Efficacy of *Absolution*, and consequently make it no Sacrament, which is a Cause of Grace. But after he hath set down Scotus his Argument, he saith, *That Opinion were very desirable, if it had any Foundation in Scripture or Fathers.* And to his Arguments he answers, *That true Contrition obtains Pardon with God, before Sacerdotal Absolution, but not with the Church; and that Contrition supposes a Desire of Absolution*; which will never hold to make Absolution to confer the Grace of Remission, if the Sin be really forgiven before. For what is the Desire of the Penitent, to the Force of the Sacrament administred by the Priest? And he saith, they all grant, *that by true and sufficient Contrition, the Sin is forgiven without the Sacrament in act, i. e. the actual receiving Absolution.* So that there was an universal Tradition, as to the Power of Contrition, but in the other had different Opinions. Biel. in 4. dist. 14. q. 2. not. 2.

Marsilius saith, *That God forgives Sin upon Contrition authoritatively*; the Priest's Absolution is ministerial in the Court of Conscience, and before the Church. And those Sins which God first absolves from principally and authentically, the Priest afterwards absolves from it in right of the Church, as its Minister. Marfil. in 4. sent. q. 12. Ar. 2.

Toftatus saith, *That the Priest's Absolution follows God's.* Toftat. Defens. part 1. c. 6.

Ockham, *The Priests then bind and loose, when they shew Men to be bound or or loosed*; and for this, he relies on the Master of the Sentences. Ockham. in l. 4. q. 9. a. 4. ad 1.

Thomas de Argentina, *That the Power of the Keys doth extend to the Remission of the Fault which was done before by Contrition*; but it tends to the Increase of Grace in the Person. Thom. de Argent. l. 4. Dist. 18. a. 3.

Gul. Antif.
l. 4. f. 254.

Gulielmus Antistidore, That Contrition takes away the Guilt and Punishment of Sin, as to God and Conscience, but not as to the Church, for a Man is still bound to undergo the Penance which the Church enjoins him.

Bonavent.
l. 4. dist. 18.
q. 1.

Bonaventure, That the Absolution presupposes Grace; for no Priest would absolve any one whom he did not presume God had absolved before.

Alex. Halens.
part 4. q. 21.
memb. 3.

Alexander Hales, That where God doth not begin in Absolution, the Priest cannot make it up.

Pet. Lomb.
l. 4. dist. 18.
part. 1.

But the Master of the Sentences himself, most fully handles this Point; and he shews from the Fathers, That God alone can remit Sin, both as to the Fault and the Punishment due to it. And the Power of the Keys, he saith, is like the Priest's Judgment about Leprosie, in the Levitical Law, God healed the Person, and the Priest declared him healed. Or as our Saviour first raised Lazarus, then gave him to his Disciples to be loosed. He is loosed before God, but not in the Face of the Church, but by the Priest's Judgment. Another way, he saith, Priests bind by enjoining Penance, and they loose by remitting it, or readmitting Persons to Communion upon performing it.

Vasquez. in
3. Q. 84. A.
3. dub. 2. 17.

This Doctrine of Peter Lombard's, is none of those in quibus Magister non tenetur; for we see he had Followers of great Name, almost to the Council of Trent. But it happened, that both *Th. Aquinas* and *Scotus* agreed in opposing this Doctrine; and the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, bearing greatest Sway in the Debates of the Council of Trent, what they agreed in, passed for Catholick Tradition. And *Vasquez* is in the right, when he saith, This Doctrine was condemn'd by the Council of Trent; and so was *Scotus*, when he said, That it did derogate from the Sacrament of Penance; for in truth, it makes it but a hominal Sacrament, since it hath no Power of conferring Grace; which the Council of Trent makes necessary to a true and proper Sacrament.

The main Point in this Debate, is, whether true Contrition be required to Absolution, or not? Which *Scotus* saw well enough, and argues accordingly. For none of them deny, that where there is true Contrition, there is immediately an Absolution before God; and if this be required before the Priest's Absolution, he can have no more to do, but to pronounce, or declare him absolv'd. But if something less than Contrition do qualifie a Man for Absolution, and by that Grace be conveyed, then the Power of Absolution hath a great and real Effect; for it puts a Man into a State of Grace which he had not been in without it. And from hence came the Opinion, that Attrition, with Absolution, was sufficient; and they do not understand the Council of Trent's Doctrine of the Sacrament of Penance, who deny it, as will appear to any one that reads the 4th Chapter of the Sacrament of Penance, and compares it with the 7 and 8 Canons about Sacraments in general. It is true, that Contrition is there said to have the first place in the Acts of the Penitent; but observe what follows: *True Contrition reconciles a Man to God, before he receives this Sacrament*. What hath the Priest then to do, but to declare him reconciled? But it saith not without the Desire of it. Suppose not, yet the thing is done upon the Desire, and therefore the Priest's Power can be no more than declarative. And that such a Desire is so necessary, as without it, Contrition avails not, is more than the Council hath proved, and it is barely supposed, to maintain the Necessity of going to the Priest for Absolution; and so it will be no more than a Precept of the Church, and not a Condition of Remission in the Sacrament of Penance, but afterwards, it declares, *That imperfect Contrition or Attrition doth dispose a Man for the Grace of God in this Sacrament*;

Sacrament; and by the general Canons, the Sacraments do confer Grace where Men are disposed. So that the Council of Trent did rightly comprehend the Force of the Power of Absolution, which it gave to the Priest in this Sacrament of Penance.

But what Catholick Tradition could there be for the Doctrine of the Council of Trent in this matter, when Hadrian VI. so little before it declares, it was a great Difficulty among the Doctors, whether the Keys of Priesthood did extend to the Remission of the Fault? And for the Negative, he produces Pet. Lombard. Alex. Alenf. and Bonaventure; and saith, that Opinion is probable, because the Priests Power of binding and loosing is equal; and as they cannot bind where God doth not, for they cannot retain the Sins of a true Penitent; so neither can they loose where God doth not, i. e. where there is not true Contrition. But because he saith others held the contrary Opinion, and had Probability on their side too, therefore he would determine nothing. Notwithstanding this, in a few years after; the Council of Trent finds no Difficulty, no Probability in the other Opinion; but determines as boldly, as if there had been an Universal Tradition their way; whereas the contrary cannot be denied by any that are conversant in the Doctrine of their Schools. But it was the mighty Privilege of the Council of Trent, to make the Doctrines of Thomas and Scotus, when they agreed, to be Articles of Faith; and to denounce Anathema's against Opposers, although they reached to some of the greatest Divines of their own Church, within Bellarmine's compass of 500 Years.

65:2.B. Of Extreme Unction.

We are now to examin another pretended Sacrament, viz. of Extreme Unction. The Council of Trent declares this to be a true and proper Sacrament, and denounces an Anathema against him that denies it to be instituted by Christ, and published by S. James; or that it confers Grace and Remission of Sins; or that affirms it was appointed for bodily Cures: It farther declares from the place of S. James interpreted by Tradition, that the Matter is Oil consecrated by the Bishop; the Form, that which is now used, Per istam Unctionem, &c. the Effect, the Grace of the Holy Ghost in purging away the remainder of Sin, and strengthening the Soul; and sometimes bodily Cures, when it is expedient for the Health of the Soul. So that the primary Intention of this Sacrament must respect the Soul, otherwise it is granted, it could not be a true and proper Sacrament. So Suarez saith in this Case, If the external Sign be not immediately appointed for a spiritual Effect, it cannot prove a true Sacrament of the New Law; no, not although the bodily Cure were designed for the strengthening of Faith. And from hence he proves, that when the Apostles are said to anoint the sick, and heal them, Mark 6. 13. this cannot relate to the Sacrament of Unction, because their Cures had not of themselves an immediate Respect to the Soul. The same Reason is used by Bellarmine, Sacramenta per se ad animam pertinent, ad corpus per accidens aut certe secundario. The same is affirmed by Maldonat, although he differs from Bellarmine about the Apostles anointing with Oil, which Bellarmine denies to have been Sacramental for this Reason, but Maldonat affirms it; and answers other Arguments of Bellarmine, but not this.

Gregory de Valentia carries it farther, and saith, That if the anointing with Oil were only a Symbol of a miraculous Cure, it could be no Sacrament; for that is a Medium to convey supernatural Grace, and then it would last no longer than the Gift of Miracles.

Hadrian.
Quedlib. q. 3.
3. princip.

Concil. Trid.
Sess. 14. Can.
1, 2.
cap. 1, 2, 3:

Suarez in 3.
part. disp. 39.
Sect. 1. n. 3.

Bell. de Extr.
Unct. c. 2.
Mald. de Sa-
cram. Extr.
Unct. q. 2.

Greg. de Val.
To. 4. Disp. 8.
Q. 1. Punct. 1.

So

So that we have no more to do, but only to prove that by the Tradition of the Church S. James his anointing was to be understood to *bodily Cures* in the first Place.

Cath. Annot.
in Comment.
Cajet. l. 5.
p. 464

We cannot pass over so great a Man as Cajetan, who wrote on that place of S. James, not long before the Council of Trent, and a good while after the Council of Florence, which relies on this place for this Sacrament of *Unction*. But Cajetan saith, it doth not relate to it, because the immediate Effect is the Cure of the Party in S. James; but in this Sacrament the direct and proper Effect is Remission of Sins. All that Catherinus hath to say against this, is, that the bodily Cure is not repugnant to it; but what is this to the Purpose, when the Question is, what is primarily designed in this place?

The School Divines, from Peter Lombard, had generally received this for a Sacrament; but the Canonists denied it, as appears by the Gloss on c. *Vir autem de Secund. Nuptiis Decret. Gregor. Tit. 21.* where it is said, That this *Unction* might be repeated, being no Sacrament, but only Prayer over a Person. The Roman Correctors cry out it is Heresie by the Council of Trent; but the Glosser knew no such thing; and if it were so only by the Council of Trent, then not by any Catholick Tradition before. For, I suppose matter of Heresie must reach to the Canonists, as well as the Divines.

But the plainest Determination of this matter will be by the ancient Offices of the Church; for if they respected *bodily Cures* in the first place, then it is owned there could be no Tradition for any Sacrament in this *Unction*.

In the ancient *Ordo Romanus* it is called *Benedictio Olei ad omnem Languorem quocunque tempore*. I desire to know whether the Oil so consecrated be chiefly designed for the Body or the Soul. And in the Office it self, this place of S. James is mention'd: and then follows, *Te Domine peritissimum Medicum imploramus ut virtutis tue Medicinam in hoc Oleum propitius infundas*. And a little after, *Prosit Pater Misericordiarum, febribus & dysenteria laborantibus, prosit paralyticis, cecis & claudis simulque vexatitiis*, with abundance more; which manifestly shews, that this consecrated Oil was intended primarily for the Cure of Diseases.

In the *Ambrosian Form*, the Prayer is, *Infunde sanctificationem tuam huic Oleo, ut ab his quæ unxerit membra, fugatis insidiis adversaria potestatis, susceptione presentis Olei, Sancti Spiritus Gratia salutaris debilitatem expellet & plenam conferat sospitatem*. Where the Effect relates to the soundness of the Members anointed, and not to the Sins committed by them.

Sacr. Greg.
p. 252.

In the *Gregorian Sacramentary* published by Menardus, there is a Prayer wherein this place of S. James is mentioned; and presently it follows, *Cura quæsumus Redemptor noster Gratia Spiritus Sancti languores istius infirmi, &c.* and immediately before the anointing, *Sana Domine infirmum istum, cujus ossa turbata sunt, &c.* and while he was anointing, the Patient was to say, *Sana me Domine*; and where the Pain was greatest, he was to be so much more anointed, *ubi plus dolor imminet amplius perungatur*, while the rest were anointing, one of the Priests was to pray, *pristinam & immelioratam recipere merearis sanitatem*, what was this but bodily Health? and yet this was *per hanc Sacramenti Olei Unctionem*; After which follows a long Prayer for Recovery from Pains and Diseases.

And

And such there are in the several Offices published by Menardus in his Notes; although the general Strain of them, shews that they were of latter times, when the *Unction* was supposed to expiate the Sins of the several Senses.

Cassander produces many Instances to shew, that the Prayers and Hymns, and the Form of appointing did respect bodily Health. In one he finds this Form, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Ecce sanatatem.* Not the health of the Mind, but the Body.

Cassand. not.
in Hymn.
p. 288.

Maldonat takes notice of Cassander's Offices, and the Expressions used in them; but he gives no Answer to the main design of them. But three things he owns the Church of Rome to have varied from the ancient Tradition in, with respect to this Sacrament. 1. As to the Form;

Maldonat. de
Sacram. extr.
Unct. q. 1.

the Council of Trent owns no other but that now used, *Per istam Unctionem, &c.* but Maldonat confesses it was Indicative, *Ego te unge, &c.* or *Unge te Oleo sancto, &c.* and he runs to that shift, that Christ did not determine any certain Form; whereas the Council of Trent saith, the Church understood by Tradition the other to have been the Form. Here the Council of Trent makes an Appeal to Tradition, and is deserted in it, by

Gámach. de
Extr. Unct.
c. 3.
Suarez. in 3.
part. Disp. 40.
Sect. 3.

one of its most zealous Defenders; and Gamachus affirms this to be an essential Change; and he thinks the Sacrament not to be valid in another Form. Suarez thinks the other Form not sufficient. But Maldonat affirms the other Form was used; and so at that time, there was no

Greg. Sac.
p. 252.
Menard. Not.
p. 337.

Sacrament of extreme Unction because not administered in a valid or sufficient Form. And yet in the Gregorian Office the Form is Indicative, *Inungo te de Oleo sancto, &c.* So in that of Ratoldus, *Unge te Oleo sancto, &c.*

Unctio in nomine Patris, &c. In the Tilian Codex, *Inungo te in nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Oleo sancto atque sacro, &c.* In the Codex Remigii the general Forms are Indicative, *Unge te Oleo sancto, &c.*

but there being variety of Forms set down, among the rest there is one, *Per istam Unctionem Dei, &c.* Which afterwards came to be the

standing Form; and yet the Council of Trent confidently appeals to Tradition in this Matter. Which shew'd how very little the Divines

there met were skilled in the Antiquities of their own Church. Suarez shews his Skill when he saith, the Tradition of the Roman Church is infallible in the Substance of this Sacrament, and that it always used a depre-

cative Form; but Maldonat knew better, and therefore on their own Grounds their Tradition was more than fallible; since the Roman Church hath actually changed the Form of this Sacrament. 2. Maldonat

observes another Change, and that is as to the Season of administering it. For the Council of Trent saith it ought to be in *Exitu vite*, and

therefore it is called *Sacramentum Exeuntium*, the Sacrament of dying Persons; but Maldonat saith, it is an Abuse to give it only to such; for,

in the ancient Church, they did not wait till the Party were near Death; but, he saith, it was given before the Eucharist, and that not once, but for seven

Days together, as is plain, he saith in the ancient MS. Offices; and he quotes Albertus Magnus for it. So that here is another great Change in

the Roman Tradition observed and owned by him. 3. In not giving it now to Children; for in the ancient Writers he saith, there is no Ex-

ception, but it was used to all that were sick; and he quotes Cusanus for saying expressly that it was anciently administered to Infants. But the

Reason of the Change was the Doctrine of the Schoolmen; for with their admirable Congruities they had fitted Sacraments for all sorts of

Sins; as Bellarmine informs us; Baptism against Original Sin, Confir-

Bell. de Sac.
l. 2. c. 26.
c. 2.

mation

mation against Infirmity, Penance against actual Mortal Sin, Eucharist against Malice, Orders against Ignorance, Matrimony against Concupiscence; and what is now left for *Extreme Unction*? Bellarmine saith, they are the *Remainders of sin*; and so saith the Council of Trent. But what *Remainders* are there in Children, who have not actually sinned, and *Original Sin* is done away already? Therefore the Church of Rome did wilfully take away *Extreme Unction* from Children; but therein *Maldonat* confesses it is gone off from Tradition. I know *Algambe* would have *Maldonat* not believed to be the Author of the Books of the Sacraments; but the Preface before his Works, hath cleared this beyond Contradiction from the MS. taken from his Mouth, with the Day and Year; compared with the Copy printed under his Name. But if *Maldonat* may be believed, the Church of Rome hath notoriously gone off from its on Tradition, as to the Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*.

Of Matrimony.

66: 2. C.

The last new Sacrament is that of *Matrimony*; which having its Institution in *Paradise*, one would wonder how it came into Mens Heads to call it a *Sacrament of the New Law, instituted by Christ*; especially, when the Grace given by it supposes Mankind in a fallen Condition. However, the Council of Trent denounces an *Anathema* against him that saith, that *Matrimony is not truly and properly a Sacrament, one of the Seven of the Evangelical Law, instituted by Christ*.

Conc. Trid.
Sess. 24. c. 1.

That which is truly and properly a Sacrament, must be a Cause of Grace, according to the general Decrees about the Nature of Sacraments. So that those who do not hold the latter, must deny the former.

Now that there was no Tradition, even in the *Roman Church*, for this, I prove from the Confession of their own most Learned Divines since the Council of Trent.

Vasq. de Sac.
Matrim. Disp.
2. c. 1.

c. 3.

Vasquez confesses that *Durandus* denies that it confers Grace, and consequently, that it is truly a Sacrament (but he yields it in a large improper Sense) and that the *Canonists* were of his Opinion; and that the Master of the Sentences himself asserted no more than *Durandus*. And which adds more to this, he confesses that *Soto* doth not condemn this Opinion as heretical, because *Thomas, Bonaventure, Scotus*, and other Schoolmen did only look on their own as the more probable Opinion. But, saith he, after the Decree of *Eugenius* and the Council of Trent it is heretical.

Greg. de Val.
To. 4. Disp.
10. Punct. 3.

Gregory de Valentia saith the same thing, only he adds, That the Master of the Sentences contradicts himself. So certain a Deliverer was he of the Churches Tradition; and wonders that *Soto* should not find it plainly enough in the the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*, that a true Sacrament must confer Grace.

Mald. de Sac.
Matrim. q. 1.

Maldonat yields, that *Durandus* and the *Canonists* deny'd Matrimony to be a proper Sacrament, but he calls them, *Catholicks imprudently erring*.

Bell. de Matr.
Sac. l. 1. c. 25.

Bellarmino denies it not, but uses a disingenuous Shift about *Durandus*, and would bring it to a Logical Nicety, whereas the very Arguments he pretends to answer, shew plainly that he deny'd this to be a true and proper Sacrament.

But he offers something considerable about the *Canonists*, if it will hold.

1. That

1. That they were but a few; and for this he quotes *Navar. Man. c. 22. n. 20.* common Opinion was against them; for which he mentions the *Rubric de Spons.* but I can find nothing like it thro' the whole Title; and it is not at all probable that such Men as *Hostiensis*; and the *Glosser*, should be ignorant of, or oppose the common Opinion. *Hostiens. Sum. de Sac. non iter. n. 7.* *Hostiensis* saith plainly, that Grace is not conferr'd by Matrimony, and never once mentions any Opinion among them against it; and the *Glosser* upon *Gratian* affirms in several times, *Caus. 32. q. 2. c. Honorantur, in hoc Sacramento non confertur Gratia Spiritus Sancti sicut in aliis.* The Roman Cor-

rectors could not bear this; and say in the Margin, *immo confert*; this is plain contradicting; but how is it prov'd from the Canon Law? They refer to *Dist. 23. c. his igitur, v. pro beneficiis.* Thither upon their Authority I go, and there I find the very same thing said; and in the same words; and it is given as a Reason, why *Simony* cannot be committed in Matrimony as in other Sacraments, and in both places we are refer'd to *32. q. 2. c. connubia*, and to *1. q. 1. c. quicquid invisibilis*, the former is not very favourable to the Grace of Matrimony, and in the latter, the *Gloss* is yet more plain, if it be possible, *Nota Conjugium non esse de his Sacramentis quae consolationem caelestis gratiae tribuunt.* There the Correctors fairly refer us to the Council of Trent, which hath decreed the contrary. But that is not to our Business, but whether the Canonists owned this or not. And there it follows, that other Sacraments do so signify as to convey, this barely signifies. So that I think *Bellarmino* had as good have given up the Canonists, as to make so lame a Defence of them.

2. He saith, We are not to rely on the Canonists for these things, but on the Divines. But *Durandus* saith, The Canonists could not be ignorant of the Doctrine of the Roman Church; for some of them were Cardinals; and he gives a better Reason, viz. That the Sense of the Roman Church was to be seen in the Decretals. For therefore Marriage was owned to be a Sacrament in the large Sense, because of the Decree of *Lucius III. Extra de haeret. c. ad abolendam*; but the Schoolmen argued from Probabilities and Niceties in this Matter, which could not satisfy a Man's Understanding; as appears by *Durandus* his Arguments, and *Bellarmino*'s Answers to them. *Durand. in sent. l. 4. Dist. 26. q. 3.*

1. Where Sacraments confer Grace there must be a Divine Institution of something above Natural Reason, but there is nothing of that kind in Matrimony, besides the signifying the Union between Christ and his Church; and therefore it is only a Sacrament in a large, and not in a proper Sense.

In answer to this *Bellarmino* saith, That it both signifies and causes such a Love between Man and Wife, as there is between Christ and his Church. *Bell. de Sac. Matr. c. 1. c. 5.*

But *Vasquez* saith, That the Resemblance as to Christ and his Church in Matrimony, doth not at all prove a Promise of Grace made to it. And *Basil. Pontius* approves of what *Vasquez* saith, and confesses that it cannot be inferr'd from hence that it is a true and proper Sacrament. *Vasq. de Sac. Matr. Disp. 2. c. 6. Basil. Pont. de Matr. l. 1. c. 5. n. 10.*

2. Here is nothing external added, besides the mere Contract of the Persons; but the Nature of a Sacrament implies some external and visible Sign.

Bellarmino answers, That it is not necessary there should be in this Sacrament any such extrinsecal Sign; because it lies in a mere Contract. And that I think holds on the other side, that a mere Contract cannot be a Sacrament.

3. *The Marriage of Infidels was good and valid, and their Baptism adds nothing to it; but it was no Sacrament before, and therefore not after.*

Bellarmino answers, That it becomes a Sacrament after. And so there is a Sacrament without either Matter or Form; for there is no new Marriage.

4. *Marriage was instituted in the time of Innocency, and is a natural Dictate of Reason, and therefore no Sacrament.*

Bellarmino answers, That it was no Sacrament then, because there was no need of Sacramental-Grace. And altho' the Marriage of Adam and Eve did represent the Union between Christ and his Church, yet it was no proper Sacrament. But how doth he prove that it is a Sacrament upon any other Account, under the Gospel? And if that doth not imply a Promise of Grace then, how can it now? So that Durandus his Reasons appear much stronger than Bellarmine's Answers.

But Durandus urges one thing more, which Bellarmine takes no notice of, viz. That this Opinion of the Canonists was very well known at that time, and was never condemn'd as contrary to any Determination of the Church. Now if there had been any constant Tradition even of the Church of Rome against it, it is impossible these Canonists should have avoided Censure; their Opinion being so much taken notice of by the Schoolmen afterwards. *Jacobus Almain* saith, It was a Controversie between the Canonists and Divines, whether Matrimony was a Sacrament; not all the Divines neither; for he confesses, Durandus and others seem'd to agree with them. What Universal Tradition then had the Council of Trent to rely upon in this Matter? When all the Canonists, according to *Almain*, and some of the Divines, oppos'd it? He sets down their different Reasons, but never alledges matter of Faith or Tradition against them, but only saith, The Divines hold the other Opinion, because Matrimony is one of the Seven Sacraments. But on what was the Opinion of the Necessity of Seven Sacraments grounded? What Scripture, what Fathers, what Tradition was there before *Peter Lombard*, for just that Number?

Almain in 4. Dist. 26. q. 1.

84. 2. A.

The Sense of the Greek Church about Seven Sacraments.

Bell. de Sacr. l. 2. c. 25. De Matrim. Sacr. l. 1. c. 4.

But before I come to that, it is fit to take notice of what Bellarmine lays great Weight upon, both as to the Number of Sacraments in general, and this in particular; which is, the Consent of both the Greek and Latin Church for at least 500 Years. But I have shew'd there was no such Consent, as is boasted of even in the Latin Church. As to the Greek Church, he saith, It is an Argument of Universal Tradition, when they had the same Tradition even in their Schism.

To this I answer,

1. We do not deny that the later Greeks, after the taking Constantinople by the Latins, did hold Seven Mysteries; which the Latins render Sacraments. For after there were Latin Patriarchs at Constantinople, and abundance of Latin Priests in the Eastern Parts, they had perpetual Disputes about Religion; and the Latins by degrees did gain upon them in some Points; and particularly in this of Seven Sacraments, for the Latins thought it an Advantage to their Church to boast of such a Number of Sacraments; and the Greeks, that they might not seem to come behind them, were willing to embrace the same Number.

The

The first Person among them, who is said to have written about them, was *Simeon* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, whom *Possessin* sets at a greater Distance, that the Tradition might seem so much elder among them; (for he makes them to have liv'd 600 Years before his time;) but *Leo Allatius* hath evidently prov'd, that he liv'd not two Hundred Years before him, (which is a considerable Difference) for *Simeon* dy'd but six Months before the taking of *Thessalonica*, A. D. 1430. as he proves from *Joh. Anagorista*, who was present at the taking of it. From hence it appears how very late this Tradition came into the Greek Church.

Possessin in
Appar.
Leo Allatius de
Concord. l. 2.
c. 18. n. 13.
De Simeon.
Script. p. 183.
80.

After him *Gabriel Severus*, Bishop of *Philadelphia*, wrote about the Seven Sacraments, and he liv'd at *Venice* in *Arcadius* his time, who wrote since *Possessin*; and *Crusius* wrote to this *Gabriel*, Anno Dom. 1580. and he was consecrated by *Jeremias* Anno Dom. 1577. So that neither his Authority, or that of *Jeremias*, can signifie any thing as to the Antiquity of this Tradition among the Greeks.

Crusii Turco
Graec.

Leo Allatius talks of the Old as well as the Modern Greeks, who held Seven Sacraments, but he produces the Testimony only of those who liv'd since the taking of *Constantinople*; as *Joh* the Monk, *Simeon*, *Johannes Palaeologus*, *Jeremias*, *Gabriel*, *Cyrillus Berrhoensis*, *Parthenius*, and such like: But he very craftily saith, He produces these to let us see they have not gone off from the Face of their Ancestours, whereas that is the thing we would have seen, viz. the Testimony of the Greeks before, and not afterwards. As to the ancient Greeks, he confesses they say nothing of the Number. *De numero apud eos altum silentium est*. And how could there be a Tradition in so much Silence? But some speak of some, and others of others, but all speak of all. This is a very odd way to prove a Tradition of a certain Number. For then, some might believe Three, others Four, others Five, but how can this prove that all believed just Seven? However let us see the Proof. But instead of that he presently starts an Objection from the pretended *Dionysius Areopagita*, viz. That where he designs to treat of all the Sacraments he never mentions Penance, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony; and after a great deal of rambling Discourse, he concludes that he did ill to leave them out; and that other's Answers are insufficient. He shews from *Tertullian*, *Ambrose* and *Cyril*, that the necessary Sacraments are mention'd; but where are the rest? And we are now enquiring after them in the ancient Greek Church; but they are not to be found. As one may confidently affirm, when one who professed so much Skill in the Greek Church, as *Leo Allatius*, hath no more to say for the Proof of it.

Leo Allatius de
Concord. l. 3.
c. 16. n. 4.

n. 9.

n. 10.

n. 15.
n. 17.

2. Those Greeks who held Seven Sacraments, did not hold them in the Sense of the Council of *Trent*. And that for two Reasons:

1. They do not hold them all to be of Divine Institution. Which appears by the Patriarch *Jeremias* his Answer to the *Tubing Divines*, who at first seems to write agreeably to the Church of *Rome* in this matter, (except about Extreme Unction;) but being pressed hard by them in their Reply; he holds to the Divine Institution of *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, but gives up the rest, as instituted by the Churches Authority. Which is plain giving up the Cause. How then comes *Bellarmino* to insist so much on the Answer of *Jeremias*? The Reason was, that *Socolovius* had procur'd from *Constantinople* the Patriarch's first Answer, and translated and Printed it; upon which, great Triumph's were made of the Patriarch's Consent with the Church of *Rome*; but when these Divines were hereby provok'd to publish the whole Proceedings,

AR. Theolog.
Wirtemberg.
p. 240.

Metroph.
Confess. Eccl.
Orient. p. 74.
Leo Allat. de
Concord. Eccl.
Occident. &
Orient. l. 3.
c. 17.

those of the Church of Rome were unwilling to be undeceived and so take no Notice of any farther Answer. Since the time of *Jeremias*, the Patriarch of Alexandria, (as he was afterwards, *Metrophanes Critopulus* published an Account of the Faith of the Greek Church; and he saith exprelly of Four of the Seven, that they are Mystical Rites, and univocally called Sacraments. And from hence it appears how little Reason *Leo Allatus* had to be angry with *Caucus*, a Latinized Greek, for affirming that the modern Greeks did not look on these Sacraments as of Divine Institution; but after he hath given him some hard words, he offers to prove his Assertion for him. To which end he not only quotes that passage of the Patriarch *Jeremias* but others of *Job* and *Gregorius*; from whence he infers, that Five of the Sacraments were of Ecclesiastical Institution, and he saith nothing to take it off. So admirably hath he proved the Consent of the Eastern and Western Churches!

2. They do not agree in the Matter or Form, or some essential part of them with the Council of Trent, and therefore can make up no Tradition for the Doctrine of that Council about the Seven Sacraments. This will be made appear by going through them.

1. of Chrism. 90. 2. A.

Arcud. de
Concord. l. 2.
c. 6.

1. As to the Form, *Arcudius* shews, that *Gabriel of Philadelphia*, *Cabasilas* and *Marcus Ephesius*, all place the Form in the Consecration of it; but the Church of Rome makes the Form to lie in the Words spoken in the Use of it.

Concil. Trid.
de Confirm.
Can. 3.

2. As to the Minister of it. Among the Greeks it is commonly performed by the Presbyter, though the Bishop be present; but the Council of Trent denounces an Anathema against him that saith, the Bishop alone is not the Minister of it.

De Sacram.
Can. 9.

3. As to the Character. The Council of Trent declares, That whoever affirms that Confirmation doth not imprint an indelible Character, so as it cannot be repeated, is Anathematized; but *Arcudius* shews at large, that

Arcud. l. 2.
c. 18, 19, 20,
&c.

the modern Greeks make no scruple of reiterating Confirmation. But *Catumfyrus*, another Latinized Greek, opposes *Arcudius* herein; and saith, that the Use of Chrism among the Greeks, doth not relate to the Sacrament

Catumfyr.
Vera utriusq;
Eccl. Concord.
Proleg. p. 114.

of Confirmation, but was a Symbolical Ceremony relating to Baptism; and for this he quotes one *Corydaleus* a Man of great Note in the Patriarchal Church at Constantinople. Therefore *Caucus* had Reason to deny that the Greeks receive that which the Latins call the Sacrament of Confirmation. And if this hold, then the Tradition of the Seven Sacraments must fail in the Greek Church. For they deny that they have any such thing as a Sacrament of Confirmation distinct from Baptism.

2. Of the Sacrament of Penance. 95. 1. B.

Concil. Trid.
de Penit.
c. 6. can. 9.

1. The Council of Trent declares Absolution of the Penance to be a judicial Act, denounces an Anathema against him that denies it; but the Greek Church uses a deprecativ Form, (as they call it,) not pronouncing Absolution by way of Sentence, but by way of Prayer to God.

Aq. 3. p. 9. 84.
a. 3. ad. 1.

Which, as *Aquinas* observes, rather shews a Person to be absolved by God than by the Priest, and are rather a Prayer that it may be done, than a signification that it is done; and therefore he looks on such Forms as insufficient

cient. And if it be a *judicial Sentence*, as the Council of Trent determines it can hardly be reconciled to such a *Form*, wherein no kind of *judicial Sentence* was ever pronounced; as *Arcudius* grants; and in *Extreme Unction* where such a *Form* is allowed, there is, as he observes, no *judicial Act*. But he hopes at last to bring the *Greeks* off by a Phrase used in some of their *Forms*, *I have you absolved*; but he confesses it is not in their *Publick Offices*; and their *Priests* for the most part use it not. Which shews it to be an *Innovation* among the *Latinizing Greeks*, if it be so observed, which *Catumfyrus* denies, and saith, he proves it only from some *Forms* granted by *Patents*, which are not *Sacramental*; and supposing it otherwise, he saith, it is foolish, false and erroneous to suppose such a *Form* to be valid; because it is no *judicial Act*.

Arcud. de
Concord. 4. l.
c. 3. p. 360.

p. 370.

Catumfyr.
de vera Conc.
Proleg. p. 153.

2. The Council of Trent makes *Confession* of all mortal Sins, how secret soever, to be necessary in order to the Benefit of *Priestly Absolution* in this *Sacrament*, and denounces an *Anathema* against those that deny it; but the *Greek Church* grants *Absolution* upon Supposition that they have not confessed all mortal Sins: As appears by the *Form* of the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, produced by *Arcudius*, and another *Form* of the *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, in *Jeremias* his Answer. *Arcudius* is hard put to it, when to excuse this he saith, they only pray to God to forgive them; for this is to own that a *deprecativ Form* is insufficient; and so that there is no *Sacrament* of *Penance* in the *Greek Church*.

Council. Trid.
de Penit. c. 5.

Can. 7.

Arcud. p. 373.

§6. 1. A. 3. Of Orders.

The *Greek* and *Latin Churches* differ, both as to *Matter* and *Form*. The Council of Trent *Anathematizes* those who deny a *visible and external Priesthood* in the *New Testament*; or a *Power of Consecrating* and offering the true *Body and Blood of Christ*, and of *remitting and retaining* of Sins. And this twofold *Power* the *Church of Rome* expresses by a double *Form*, one of *delivering the Vessels* with *Accipe potestatem*, &c. the other of *Imposition of Hands*, with *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*.

Sess. 23. de
Sac. Ordin.
Can. 1.

But the *Greek Church* wholly omits the former, on which the greatest weight is laid in the *Latin Church*, and many think the *Essential Form* lies in it. When the *Office of Ordination* is over, the *Book* of the *Liturgy*, called *Kovtákov*, is delivered to the *Presbyter*, but without any words; and there is no mention of it in their *Rituals*, either *Printed* or *MSS*. So likewise a parcel of consecrated *Bread* is delivered by the *Bishop* to him afterwards. And all the *Form* is, *The Divine Grace advances such a one to the Office of a Presbyter*.

If we compare this with the *Form* in the Council of *Florence*, we shall find no Agreement either as to *Matter* or *Form*, in this *Sacrament*, between the *Greek* and *Latin Churches*. For there the *Matter* is said to be that by which the *Order* is conferred. viz. the *delivery of the Chalice with Wine*, and the *Paten with the Bread*; and the *Form*, *Receive the Power of offering Sacrifice for the living and the dead*. And it is hardly possible to suppose these two Churches should go upon the same *Tradition*. To know what pains *Arcudius* hath taken to reconcile them, but as long as the Decree of *Eugenius* stands, and is received in the *Church of Rome*, it is impossible. And *Catumfyrus* labours hard to prove, that he hath endeavoured thereby to overthrow the whole *Order of Priesthood* in the *Roman Church*.

4. Of Extreme Unction.

63. 2. A.

Bell. de Extr.
Unct. l. 1. c. 4.

Bellarmino particularly appeals to the *Greek Church* for its Consent as to this *Sacrament*; but if he means in the modern sense as it is deliver'd by the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*, he is extremely mistaken.

Arcud. de
Concord. l. 5.
c. 4.

1. For the former faith, *It is not to be given but to such, of whose death they are afraid*; and the Council of *Trent* calls it the *Sacrament of dying Persons*. But the *Greeks* administer their *Sacrament of Unction* to *Persons in health* as well as sickness, and once a year to all the *People* that will; which *Arcudius* saith, *is not only done by the illiterate Priests, but by their Patriarchs and Metropolitans, &c.* and they look on it then as a *Supplement to the ancient Penance of the Church*; for they think the partaking of the *holy Oil* makes amends for that: But this *Arcudius* condemns as an *Abuse and Innovation* among them. But the original *Intention and Design* of it was for the *Cure and Recovery of sick Persons*; as *Arcudius* confesses the whole scope of the *Office* shews; and in the next Chapter he produces the *Prayers* to that end. And the *Greeks* charge the *Latins* with *Innovation* in giving this *sacrament* to those *Persons* of whose *Recovery* they have no hope.

p. 389.

c. 5.

c. 7. p. 403.

Conc. Trid.
de Extr. Unct.
c. 1.
Catumsyr.
Vera Concord.
Ty. 1. p. 156.
Arcud. l. 5.
c. 2.

2. the Council of *Trent* requires that the *Oil of Extreme Unction* be consecrated by a *Bishop*; and this the *Doctors* of the *Roman Church*, saith *Catumsyrus*, make *essential to the Sacrament*. But in the *Greek Church* the *Presbyters* commonly do it, as *Arcudius* shews at large.

5. Of Matrimony.

66. 2. C

Conc. Trid.
Sess. 24.
Can. 7.

Bell. de Matr.
l. 1. c. 16.

The Council of *Trent* from making this a *Sacrament* denounces an *Anathema* against those who do not hold the *Bond indissoluble* even in the *Case of Adultery*. And *Bellarmino* urges this as his first Reason, *because it is a Sign of the Conjunction of Christ with his Church*. But the *Greek Church* held the contrary; and continues so to do, as both *Bellarmino* and *Arcudius* confess.

So that though there be allow'd a Consent in the *Number of Sacraments* among the modern *Greeks*; yet they have not an entire Consent with the *Roman Church* in any one of them.

The Sense of the Eastern Churches about the Seven Sacraments.

But to shew how late this Tradition of *Seven Sacraments* came into the *Greek Church*, and how far it is from being an *Universal Tradition*, I shall now make it appear, that this *Number of Sacraments* was never received in the other *Christian Churches*, although some of them were originally descended from the ancient *Greek Church*.

I begin with the most *Eastern Churches*, called the *Christians* of *S. Thomas* in the *East Indies*. And we have a clear Proof that there was no Tradition among them about the *Seven Sacraments*. For when *Alexius Meneses*, Archbishop of *Goa*, undertook to reform them according to the *Roman Church*, (if that may be called a *Reformation*) and held a Council at *Diamper* to that purpose, *A. D. 1599.* he found that they had no *Sacrament of Chrism*, or *Penance*, or *Extreme Unction*, of which they were utterly ignorant, saith *Jarricus* from *Antonius Goveanus*, who

Pet. Jarric.
Rer. Judic.
To. 3. p. 2.
c. 12.

was

was Prior of Goa, and published the whole proceedings Which Book was translated out of Portuguese by Joh. Baptista à Glano into French, and Printed at Brussels 1609. From whence the Author of the *Critical History of the Faith and Customs of the Eastern Nations* hath given an Account of these things; and he saith, they owned but three Sacraments, Baptism, Eucharist and Orders; that they knew nothing of the Sacrament of Chrism or Extreme Unction, and abhorred Auricular Confession. But in Excuse of them, he saith, that they joyned Confirmation with Baptism, as other Eastern Churches did; that the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, as it is practis'd in the Church of Rome, is known only to the Latin Church; but the Eastern Church had the Unction of S. James for the Cure of Diseases, as the Greek Church had.

Historie Critique, ch. 8.
p. 104.
p. 105.

p. 112.
p. 113.
p. 13.

Cotovicus affirms the same of the other Eastern Churches called Chaldean, (who are under the same Patriarch with the Christians of S. Thomas) that they knew nothing of the Sacraments of Confirmation and Extreme Unction. This Patriarch is the same which is commonly call'd the Patriarch of Babylon; whose Residence is at Mozal, but called of Babylon, because Seleucia, after the Desolation of the true Babylon had the Name given to it (as it were easie to prove, if it were pertinent to this Design) and upon the Destruction of Seleucia the Patriarch remov'd first to Bagdad, and then to Mozal; whose Jurisdiction extends over all those Eastern Christians, which are called Nestorian.

Cotov. *Itin.*
Hierosol. &
Syr. p. 206.

In the Abyssine Churches, Godignus saith positively from those who had been conversant among them, That they knew nothing of the Sacraments of Chrism and Extreme Unction; and that all the Confession they have is general and rare; and that they have no Bishops under the Abuna, and believe the Bond of Matrimony easily dissolved. So that the Tradition of Seven Sacraments is wholly unknown to them; but as it was imposed by the Roman Missionaries; which Imposition was so ill receiv'd there, and brought such Confusion and Disorders among them, that they are for ever banish'd.

Codign. *de rebus Abassin.*
l. 1. c. 35.
c. 36.

In the Armenian Churches, Joh. Chernacensis, a Latinized Armenian saith, that the Armenians owned not the Seven Sacraments, that they knew nothing of Chrism and Extreme Unction. Here we see a general Consent as to the total Ignorance of two of the Seven Sacraments in these Churches. But Clemens Galanus, who had been many Years a Missionary among the Armenians, endeavours to prove that they had the Tradition of the Seven Sacraments; but very unsuccessfully. For he produces none of their ancient Authors for it: but he names Vartanus, whom he sets himself to confute afterwards; and he confesses, that he took away the Sacrament of Penance, and made Burial of the Dead to be one of his Seven. But more than that, he saith, The Armenian Churches have forbidden Extreme Unction, as the Nestorians had done Auricular Confession. So that nothing like a truly Catholick Tradition can be produced for the Number of Seven Sacraments either in the Church of Rome or elsewhere, within Bellarmine's own term of 500 Years.

Clem. Galan.
Conc. Eccles.
Arm. cum
Rom. c. 30.
p. 516.
Clem. Galen.
To. 3. p. 439.

p. 636.
p. 605.

I am now giving an Account when this Number of Seven Sacraments came into the Church, and on what Occasions it was advanced to be a Point of Faith.

The first I can find who expressly set down the Number of Seven Sacraments, was Hugo de S. Victore, who liv'd in the twelfth Century, not long before Peter Lombard. But that there was an Innovation made by him in this Matter, I shall make appear by comparing what he saith

Hugo de S.
Vict. *de Offi.*
cis l. 1. c. 12.

faith with what others had delivered who were short of the Primitive Fathers.

Rup. Tuit.
de Vi& Verbi
l. 12. c. 11.

Hugo de Sac.
l. 1. part 9.
c. 6, 7.

Reperius Tuitiensis lived much about the same time in Germany that *Hugo* did at Paris, and he gives a different Resolution of the Question about the Principal Sacraments: For he names no more than Baptism, the Eucharist, and the double Gift of the Holy Ghost; and, saith he, these three Sacraments are necessary Instruments of our Salvation. But *Hugo* saith, there are seven principal Sacraments; (which sufficiently shews, that he thought there were other Sacraments besides these; and so he expresses his mind in another place, where he makes all symbolical Signs to be Sacraments,) but the principal Sacraments he saith, are those which convey Grace.

Fulb. Carnot.
Epist. 1.

De Inst. Cler.
l. 1. c. 31.

Rab. Maur.
de Inst. Cler.
l. 1. c. 24.

Bell. de Sac.
l. 2. c. 27.

Walaf. Strab.
de Reb. Eccl.
c. 16, 17, 26.

Pasch. Radb.
de corp. &
sang. Dom.
c. 3.

Isid. Orig. l. 6.
de Officiis.

Ivo Decret.
2. p. c. 73.

Ysamb. ad
72. Disp. 1.
A. 3.

Fulbertus Carnotensis lived in France in the beginning of the tenth Century; and where he discourses of the Sacraments he names no more than Baptism and the Eucharist. He calls the Body and Blood two Sacraments, and so did *Rabanus Maurus* before him.

Who lived in the ninth Age, and was a Person of great Reputation; and he names no more Sacraments than Baptism and Chrism, and the Eucharist; where he proposes to treat of them; and had as just an Occasion to have mention'd the rest, as *Hugo* had. But *Bellarmino* saith, he handled all wherein the Clergy were concerned, and therefore omitted none but Matrimony. But were not they concerned to know whether it were a Sacrament or not? The Question is not whether he mention'd the things, but whether he called them Sacraments; but I do not find *Extreme Unction* so much as mention'd by him in the place he refers us to.

In the same Age, *Walafridus Strabo*, where he purposely discourseth of the Sacraments, names no more than *Rabanus Maurus*; and this had been an inexcusable Omission in such who treat of Ecclesiastical Offices; and were to inform Persons of their Duties about them. And therefore I lay much more weight on such an Omission in them than in any other Writers. I know *Paschasius Radbertus* mentions no more than three Sacraments, Baptism, Chrism and the Eucharist; but *Bellarmino* and *Sirmondus* say he mention'd them for Example sake, because it was not his business to handle the Number of Sacraments; but this Answer will by no means serve for those who purposely treated of these matters; and therefore an Omission in them is an Argument that they knew nothing of them.

And this Argument will go yet higher; for in the beginning of the seventh Century, *Isidore of Sevil* treated of these matters, and he names no more than Baptism, Chrism and the Eucharist; and he tells us, they are therefore called Sacraments, because under the covering of corporeal things a secret and invisible virtue is convey'd to the partakers of them. And this very passage is entred into the Canon Law c. 1. q. 1. c. Multi Secularium, &c. and there it passes under the Name of Gregory I. but the Roman Correctors restore it to *Isidore*.

But it may be objected, that *Ivo Carnotensis* made a Collection of Canons before *Gratian*; who handles the Sacraments in his first and second Part; and he seems to make the annual Chrism to be a Sacrament; for which he quotes an Epistle of *Fabianus*, who saith it ought to be consecrated every year, *quia novum Sacramentum est*; and this, he saith, he had by Tradition from the Apostles. Which Testimony the modern Schoolmen rely upon for a sufficient Proof of this Apostolical Tradition. But this Epistle is a notorious Counterfeit, and rejected by all Men of any

any tolerable Ingenuity in the Church of Rome. Thus we trace the Original of some pretended Apostolical Traditions into that Mass of Forgeries, the Decretal Epistles, which was sent abroad under the Name of Isidore.

Ivo produces another Testimony from Innocentius I. to prove that Ivo ib. c. 75. Extreme Unction was then owned for a kind of Sacrament, and therefore ought not to be given to Penitents. If this Rule holds, then either Matrimony was no Sacrament, or Penitents might not marry; but the Canonists say, even excommunicated Persons may marry, but one of them saith, It is a strange Sacrament excommunicated Persons are allow'd to partake of.

But this *genus est Sacramenti* signifies very little to those who know Alex. Concil. how largely the Word Sacrament was used in elder times, from Tertulian downwards. But our Question is not about a kind of a Sacrament, but strict and proper Sacraments; and if it had been then thought so, he would not have permitted any to administer it; unless they will say it is as necessary to Salvation as Baptism, which none do. It appears from hence, that there was then a Custom among some in regard to S. James his Words, if Persons were sick, to take some of the Chrism to anoint them, and to pray over them in hopes of their Recovery; but this was no Sacrament of dying Persons, as it is now in the Church of Rome.

If it had been then so esteemed, S. Ambrose (or whoever was the Author of the Book of Sacraments) would not have omitted it, and the other Supernumeraries, when he purposely treats of Sacraments; the same holds as to S. Cyril of Jerusalem. And it is a poor Evasion to say, that they spake only to Catechumens; for they were to be instructed in the Means and Instruments of Salvation, as they make all Sacraments to be.

And it is to as little Purpose to say, that they do not declare there are but two; for our business is to enquire for a Catholick Tradition for seven true and proper Sacraments, as the Council of Trent determines under an Anathema. But if we compare the Traditions for two and for seven together, the other will be found to have far greater Advantage; not only because the two are mention'd in the eldest Writers, where the seven are not; but because so many of the Fathers agree in the Tradition, that the Sacraments were designed by the Water and Blood which came out of our Saviour's side. So S. Chrysostom, S. Cyril of Alexandria, Leo Magnus, but above all S. Augustin, who several times insists upon this; which shews that they thought those two to be the true and proper Sacraments of Christianity; however there might be other Mystical Rites which in a large sense might be called Sacraments.

S. Chryl. in Joh. hom. 87.
S. Cyril. in Joh. l. 12.
Leo in Epist. ad Flavian.
S. Aug. in Joh. Tr. 9. 15.
in Pl. 40.
De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 26.
De Symbol. c. 6.

As to the Occasions of setting up this Number of seven Sacraments, they were these.

1. Some petty Congruities which they had found out for them. The Number seven they observe was in request in the Levitical Law, as to Sacrifices and Purifications. Naaman was bid to wash seven times. And Bellarmine in good earnest concludes that the whole Scripture seemed to foretel the seven Sacraments by those things. But besides, he tells us of the seven things relating to natural Life, which these have an Analogy with; the seven sorts of Sins these are a remedy against, and the seven sorts of Vertues which answer to the seven Sacraments. But none of all these prove any Catholick Tradition.

Bell. de Sac.
l. 2. c. 26.

2. Making no difference between *Mystical Rites* continued in Imitation of Apostolical Practices, and true and real Sacraments. Imposition of Hands for Confirmation and Ordination is allowed to be a very just and reasonable Imitation of them; and as long as the *Miraculous Power of Healing Diseases* continued, there was a fair Ground for continuing the Practice mentioned by S. James; but there was no Reason afterwards to change this into quite another thing, by making it a Sacrament, chiefly intended for doing away the Remainders of Sin.

3. Advancing the Honour of the Priesthood, by making them so necessary for the actual Expiation of all sorts of Sins, and in all Conditions. For no Sacrament is rightly administered, by the Council of Trent, without the Priest, and therefore clandestine Marriages are declared void by it. And it pronounces an *Anathema* against those who say any others than Priests can administer *Extreme Unction*; however it appears that in the time of Innocentius I. any might make use of the *Chrism* when it was consecrated by a Bishop; but they are grown wiser in the Church of Rome since that time; and as they have altered a Ceremony of Curing into a Sacrament of Dying, so they have taken Care that none but Priests shall perform that last Office, that the People may believe they can neither live nor die without them.

VI. Of Auricular Confession.

Concil. Trid.
Sess. 14. de
Penit. c. 5.

The Council of Trent declares, that the Universal Church always understood that Christ did institute an entire Confession of Sins; and that it is retained by Divine Right to all who sin after Baptism, because our Lord Jesus Christ, before his Ascension into Heaven, did leave Priests as his Vicars, to be Presidents and Judges, to whom all mortal Sins were to be made known, and of which they were, by the Power of the Keys to give Sentence, so as either to remit or retain them.

1b.

It farther saith, That the most holy and ancient Fathers by a great and unanimous Consent, did use this secret Sacramental Confession from the beginning.

Can. 1.

And it denounces *Anathema's*,
1. Against him that denies the Sacrament of Penance to be of Christ's Institution.

3.

2. Against him that denies that our Saviour's words, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, Whose Sins ye remit they are remitted, &c. are to be understood of the power of remitting and retaining in the Sacrament of Penance, as the Catholick Church always understood them.

4, 6, 7.

3. Against him that denies Confession to be a part of it, or to have Divine Institution, and to be necessary to Salvation; as it relates to all mortal, though secret Sins.

Thus we see the Sense of the Council of Trent in this matter; and I shall now make it evident there was no such Catholick Tradition, as is here pretended for it, by the Confession of their own Writers.

1. As to the General Sense of the Church.

Maldonat. de

scr. Penit.

e Confess.

2.

2. As to the founding it on John 22. Whose Sins ye remit, &c.

1. As to the General Sense of the Church, Maldonat reckons up Seven several Opinions among themselves about Confession. 1. Of those who denied it to be of Divine Right, but held it to be useful in the Church; and for this he quotes Rhenanus and Erasmus. 2. Of those who make it to be only of Ecclesiastical Institution; and this, saith he, is the Opinion of all

all the Canonists. 3. Of those who thought it came in by Apostolical Tradition; of which he reckons Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury. 4. Of some Divines who held it to be instituted only by St. James. 5. Of others who held it to be of Divine Right, and not instituted by the Apostles, but insinuated by Christ; and for this he quotes Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure. 6. Of some who thought it instituted in the Old Testament. 7. Of those who held it instituted by Christ, but not as a Precept, but by way of Council; and for this he mentions Scotus and his Followers.

Vasquez reckons up among those whose Opinions are not condemned, The Canonists, Erasmus, Bonaventure, Alexander Hales, and Scotus, who all differed from the Council of Trent. Vasquez in 3. Th. To. 4. Q. 90. art. 1. n. 4.

Suarez mentions three Opinions among them. 1. Of those who said it was instituted in the Law of Nature. 2. Of those who attributed it to the Law of Moses. 3. Of those who denied any Institution of it by way of Precept from Christ in the Law of Grace; and for this he quotes Hugo de Sancto Victore, Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure, and they went upon this Ground, that no such Institution could be proved either by Scripture or Tradition. Suarez in 3. p. Th. To. 4. Disp. 35. Sec. 1.

Gregory de Valentia confesses, some Catholick Authors denied the Divine Institution of Confession; for which he produces the Canonists, and Erasmus and Rhenanus. But he thinks they were not guilty of Heresie, because they were not obstinate; but that is not our business, which is to shew, that by their own Confession, there was not a constant Catholick Tradition in the Church about it. Greg. de Valent. To. 4. Disp. 7. Q. 9. Punct. 2.

Natalis Alexander, who hath lately pretended to answer Daille, confesses, that from the ninth to the thirteenth Age, many Catholicks did hold, that Confession to God alone was sufficient to obtain Remission of Sins; and he proves it from Lombard, Gratian and the Canonists. But he saith it was no heresie in them, the point not being yet settled by a general Council. Nat. Alex. de Sacr. Confess. p. 229.

Boileau, in his Answer to Daille, cannot deny that in the time of Lombard and Gratian men held several ways about this matter; but he answers with Thomas upon the Sentences, that it was an Opinion then, but since the Council of Lateran it is become a Heresie. But if it were no heretical Opinion then, what becomes of Infallible Tradition? If the Church defines by Tradition, that Tradition must be proved before the Definition, otherwise it hath no ground to proceed upon. Hist. Confess. Auric. c. 29.

The Council of Lateran under Innocent III. (it seems) made it a Heresie to deny this Sacramental Confession. Within much less than a Century before it, lived Peter Lombard and Gratian. Peter Lombard made it his business to collect a Body of Divinity out of the Sentences of the Fathers; and his Work hath been universally esteemed in the Roman Church. When he comes to state this Point of Confession out of the Fathers, i. e. to give an account of the Tradition of the Church about it; he tells us in the beginning, that learned Men were of different Opinions; and for what Reason? because the Doctors of the Church seemed to deliver not only divers but contrary things, i. e. they had no certain and constant Tradition about them. And when he comes to the Point of Confession to God only, he quotes for it, besides Scripture, S. Ambrose, and S. Chrysostom, and Prosper; and against it S. Augustin and Leo, and concludes himself for the latter; but saith not a word more to shew that the constant Tradition of the Church had been for this Opinion. Lomb. sent. l. 4. Dist. 17.

Gratian puts the same Question, and for Confession to God alone he quotes S. Ambrose, S. Augustin, and Prosper, besides Scripture, and ar- Grat. de Prae-nit. Dist. 1.

gues largely for it after *c. convertimini, &c.* Then he sets down the Arguments on the other side from *c. 38.* and after *c. 60.* he sums up the force of them, and again after *c. 87.* and when he hath said all on one side and on the other, he concludes after *c. 89.* that he left all to the Readers Judgment; for both Opinions had wise and pious Defenders; and produces that Saying as out of Theodore's Penitential; that some think that we ought to confess only to God, as the Greeks, others that we ought to do it to the Priest too, as almost all the Churches besides; but then he adds, that Confession to God purges away Sin, but that to the Priest shews how they are purged, i. e. by Contrition. So the Gloss interprets it. Bellarmine thinks that, *ut Graci*, was foisted into the Canon, and I shall not dispute against it, provided that which answers to it, *ut tota fere sancta Ecclesia*, be allowed to be so too, as the Roman Correctors do confess.

Bell. de penit.
l. 3. c. 5.

Hist. Confess.
Auric. p. 388.

Boileau hath taken another course, for he saith, this whole Distinction is without ground, attributed to Gratian; but how does he prove it? From Ant. Augustinus his Dialogue, where a MS. is cited that this was not Gratian's, but an elder Author's. And what is gotten by this? But the other answers, it must be Gratian's, because of the Citation out of the Digests, and other Books of Civil Law then lately found. If this will not do, he saith, Gratian hath many Errors, as the Roman Correctors observe. Yes truly do they; and about this Point several times; for the Councils of Lateran and Trent have otherwise determined. But what is all this to the Tradition of the Church in Gratian's time?

Innocent III. in the Council of Lateran, enjoins strictly the Practice of Confession once a year, under the Penalty of Excommunication, and of being deprived of Christian Burial; but there is not a Word of the Churches Tradition before, for the ground of it. But finding several Opinions about it, and the Waldenses then opposing it, he resolves by his Authority to bind all Persons to it. But after this the Canonists allowed no more than Ecclesiastical Institution for it; as is plain by the Gloss on the Canon Law, Dist. 5. de Penit. Tit. in Penitentia; but the Roman Correctors quote against it, Concil. Trident, Sess. 14. c. 5. i. e. a Council some 100 years after, must tell what the Tradition then was; but the Gloss saith, the Greeks had no such Tradition, and therefore were not bound to Confession. So that we have no Evidence for any Catholick Tradition in this matter, before the Lateran Council.

2. But the Council of Trent hath gone beyond the Council of Lateran, and hath fixed the Divine Right of Confession on John 20. Whose Sins ye remit, &c. and therefore I am now to shew, by the Confession of their own Writers, that this hath not been the Traditionary Sense of this Place.

Cajetan, not long before the Council first sat, in his Notes on this place confesses, that no Precept of Sacramental Confession is contained in it. But how should it be of Divine Right in the Sense of the Council of Trent, if there be no Command for it? Yes, by Consequence, if they will obtain Remission of Sins; but this can by no means be inferred from hence, because the Remission of Sins by Baptism is implied in it; but none of them plead for particular Confession before Baptism, in order to Remission; and therefore not after, unless some Command of Christ made it more necessary after Baptism than before. Vasquez saith, that

Vasquez ubi
supr.

Catharin. in
Cajet. p. 446.

Cajetan means no more, than that it cannot be proved out of this place; but Catharinus saith, that neither there nor in any other place doth Cajetan allow, that Auricular Confession can be proved out of Scripture. Gabriel

Gabriel Biel confesses he cannot find sufficient force to conclude the Necessity of Confession from the Power of Absolution here granted; because it may be valid upon voluntary Confession of the Party; and therefore he resolves it in to an unwritten Tradition. Biel in 4. sent. Dist. 17. q. 1. a. 1.

Guido Briançon takes great pains to prove it out of this place, but at last yields, that Christ's instituting such a Power, doth not bind Persons to confess their Faults to them that have it. For the Power of retaining doth not imply that no Sins are retained which are not retained by the Priest upon Confession; neither then doth the Power of Absolution imply that no Sins are remitted but such as are confessed to a Priest. And therefore he betakes himself, as Biel doth, to unwritten Tradition: and so doth Nicol. de Orbellis Briançon q. 8. Dec. 1. f. 138. De Orbellis ad l. 4. Dist. 17.

Jac. de Almain debates the matter at large; and he says only that it is a probable Opinion, that this Confession is of Divine Appointment; but he yields, that Christ's granting a Power of Absolution, doth not make it a Duty to confess to a Priest; and he saith, it is a false Proposition, that where a Power of judging is given, others are bound to submit to it; for all that follows is, that their Sentence is valid if they do submit. Almain in 4. Dist. 17.

But the force of what the Council of Trent declares from this place, lies wholly in this, as Vasquez observes, that because Christ hath given Authority to absolve, and they cannot exercise that Authority without Confession, therefore Confession is hereby made necessary. And he confesses, that scarce any have deduced the Argument effectually from this place. But he saith one thing very observable, that if this place be extended to Remission of Sins in Baptism, then it can never prove the necessity of Sacramental Confession. And Greg. de Valentia as plainly owns, that the Fathers did understand it of Baptism; he names S. Cyprian, and S. Ambrose; but Natalis Alexander allows S. Cyril of Alexandria to have so understood it; and that Jansenius and Ferns followed him; but besides these S. Augustin interprets this place as S. Cyprian had done. For as S. Cyprian from hence infers the Power of Baptizing and granting Remission of Sins in the Guides of the Church; so S. Augustin saith, the Churches Charity by the Holy Ghost looses the Sins of those who are her Members, and retains the Sins of those who are not. And it may be observed, that whereas S. Matthew speaks of the Power of Baptizing granted to the Apostles; S. John instead of that mentions this Power of remitting or retaining Sins, and S. Mark and S. Luke speak of Baptism; to which the one joins Salvation, and the other Remission of Sins. And therefore this seems to be meant by our Saviour in the Words of S. John; and thus S. Peter exercised this Power of loosing on the converted Jews, Act. 2. 38. and his Power of binding on Simon Magus, Act. 8. 21. Vasquez ib. dub. 2. Greg. de Valent. de Necessit. Confess. c. 3. Nat. Alex. de Sacram. Confess. p. 22. Cyprian ad Jub. Ep. 73. Aug. in Joh. Tr. 121. S. Mark 16. S. Luke 24. 47.

Peter Lombard carries S. Augustin's meaning farther, to the Power of Priests over the Sins of the Members of the Church; but then he limits this Power, and makes it no more than declarative; as I have observed already; and for this he quotes a notable passage of S. Jerom, who saith, that Men are apt to assume too much to themselves under pretence of this Power of the Keys, whereas God regards not the Sentence of the Priests but the Life of the Penitents. Pet. Lomb. l. 4. Dist. 18. Hieron. in Matth. c. 16.

But Natalis Alexander thinks there is no binding Power with respect to Baptism; Was there not as to Simon Magus? And as long as every year the Church judged of the competency of Persons for it? When Christ spake these words the Church was wholly to be formed, and it was a great Power lodged with the Apostles and their Successors to admit into the Church, or to exclude from it, not as private Persons, but by Authority

thority from Christ himself. But then this Power is vain and idle in a constituted Church. By no means; they have still a Power of casting out and taking in again; and of imposing such Acts on Offenders, as may give satisfaction to the Church, whose Honour suffers, and whose Discipline is broken. But the question is, Whether by Christ's appointment under the Gospel no known mortal Sin can be pardon'd to baptised Persons without Confession of it to a Priest? And whether these words of our Saviour do imply it?

Scot. in l. 4.
Dist. 17. q.
unica.

Scotus is by no means satisfied with Mens reasoning out of this place that because Christ hath given such a Power, therefore it is Mens Duty to confess their Sins; For, saith he, this only implies the usefulness and efficacy of this Power if it be made use of; as in Confirmation, none think themselves damned if they do not use it, though it be very useful; and therefore he goes another way to work, viz. by joining this Precept and that of loving God and our selves together with it. But how doth this prove that a Man ought to take this particular way? Truly, Scotus here shews his Subtilty. Suppose there be another way that is harder, and that be found more easie, he thinks a Man is bound to take the shortest and easiest way, viz. by Confession and Absolution.

But for all this his Heart did misgive him, and he could not but see, that this proved nothing, unless this way of Confession were first proved to be a secure way. And therefore he puts the Case, that if it be not proved by these Words, it may be by S. James, Confess your faults one to another. No, saith he, this will not do; for which he gives this Reason, that it holds no more for Confession to a Priest than to any other; therefore, after all, he is willing to resolve it into some unwritten Tradition, since there was no convincing Evidence for it, either in this or any other place of Scripture. Which shew'd they ran to Tradition, when they had nothing else to say.

Bonav. in 4.
Dist. 17. 5. 3.

Bonaventure denies that Christ himself appointed the Confession of Sins; for which he gives this Reason, lest it should prove an occasion of sinning; *ne ex verbis Domini daretur aliquibus recidivandi occasio*; but afterwards he thinks the Apostles appointed it, and S. James published it; which Scotus utterly denies. But to the place of S. John, Bonaventure saith it was not enough to have it implied in the Priest's Power, because it being a harder Duty than Absolution, it requir'd a more particular Command. Which was but reasonably said; especially when Bellarmine after others, urges, that it is one of the most grievous and burthensome Precepts; but his Inference from it is very mean, that therefore it must have a divine Command to enforce it on the People; but Bonaventure's Argument is much stronger, that it ought then to have been clearly expressed. But as to the People's yielding to it, other accounts are to be given of that afterwards.

Bell. de Pen.
l. 2. c. 12.

Alex. Sum. 3.
p. q. 18. num.
3. art. 2.

Alexander Hales observes, that if Christ had intended a Command of Confession, Joh. 20. it would have been expressed to those who are to confess. and not to those who are to absolve; as he did to those who were to be baptised, John 3. Except a man be born of water, &c. so Christ would have said, except a man confess his Sins, &c. and he gave the same Reasons why Christ did not himself institute it, which Bonaventure doth, who used his very Words.

And now who could have imagined that the Council of Trent would have attempted to have made Men believe that it was the Sense of the Universal Church that Christ instituted Confession in John 20? When so many great Divines even of the Church of Rome so expressly denied it; as I have made appear from themselves.

But

But now to give an account by what Steps and Degrees and on what Occasions this *Auricular Confession* came into the Church, these things are to be considered;

In the first Ages, publick scandalous Offenders, after Baptism, were by the Discipline of the Church brought to publick Penance; which was called *Exomologesis*; which originally signifies Confession. And by this, Bellarmine saith, the Ancients understood either Confession alone, or joined with the other parts of Penance; but Albaspineus shews, that it was either taken for the whole course of publick Penance, or for the last or solemn Act of it, when the Bishop led the Penitents from the Entrance of the Church up to the Body of the Congregation, where they expressed their abhorrence of their Faults in the most penitent manner, by their Actions as well as by Words. So that this was a real and publick Declaration of their Sorrow for their Sins, and not a Verbal or *Auricular Confession* of them. The same is owned by La Cerda. But Boileau pretends, That it had not this Sense till after the Novatian Heresie and the Death of Irenæus; and that before that time it signified Confession according to the Sense of the Word in Scripture. This seems very strange, when Baronius himself confesses, that Tertullian uses it for that part of Penance which is called Satisfaction; and Bellarmine grants it is so used both by Tertullian and Irenæus; when he saith the Woman seduced by Marcus, afterwards spent her days in *Exomologesis*. What! in continual Confession of her Sin? No, but in Penitential Acts for it; and so Petavius understands it, both in Irenæus and Tertullian; and he saith, it did not consist only or principally in Words but in Actions, i. e. It was nothing of Kin to *Auricular Confession*, which is a part of Penance distinct from Satisfaction. And to make these the same, were to confound the Parts of the Sacrament of Penance, as the Council of Trent doth distinguish them.

Bell. de Pen.
l. 3. c. 6.

Albasp. Obs.
l. 2. c. 26.

La Cerda
Advers. Sacr.
c. 142. p. 2.
Hist. Confess.
Auric. c. 4.
p. 72.

Baron. ad
A. D. 56.
Iren. l. 1. c. 9.

Petav. Not.
ad Epiphan.
p. 71.
De la Pénit.
publique l. 2.
ch. 13. n. 9.

But besides this, there were several other Circumstances, which do make an apparent difference between these Penitential Acts and the modern Notion of Confession.

1. The Reason of them was different. For, as Rigaltius observes, the penitential Rigour was taken up after great Numbers were admitted into the Church; and a great Dishonour was brought upon Christianity by the Looseness or Inconstancy of those who professed it. There were such in S. Paul's time in the Churches of Corinth, and elsewhere; but although he gives Rules about such, yet he mentions no other than avoiding or excommunicating the guilty Persons, and upon due Sorrow and Repentance receiving them in again; but he imposes no necessity of Publick or Private Confession in order to Remission. much less of every kind of mortal Sin, though it be but the breach of the tenth Commandment, as the Council of Trent doth; yet this had been necessary in case he had thought, as that declares, that God will not forgive upon other terms. And so much the rather, because the Evangelists had said nothing of it; and now Churches begin to fill, it was absolutely necessary for him to have declared it, if it were a necessary Condition of Pardon for Sins after Baptism. But although the Apostles had given no Rules about it, yet the Christian Church suffering so extremely by the Reproaches cast upon them, they resolved, as far as it was possible, to take care to prevent any scandalous Offences among them. To this end, the Actions of all Persons who professed themselves Christians were narrowly watched; and their Faults, especially such as were scandalous, complained of; and then if they confessed them, or they were

Bigalt. not. in
Tert. de Pen.

were convicted of them, a severe and rigorous Discipline was to be undergone by them before they were restored to Communion; that their Enemies might see how far the Christians were from encouraging such *Enormities* as they were accused of. They were charged with *Thyestian Suppers* and *promiscuous mixtures*; whereas, any Persons among them who were guilty of *Homicide* or *Adultery*, were discharged their Society, and for a great while not admitted upon any Terms; and afterwards, upon very rigorous and severe Terms. And besides these, to preserve the Purity of their Religion in times of Persecution, they allowed no *Compliance* with the *Gentile Idolatry*; and any tendency to this, was looked upon as a degree of Apostacy, and censured accordingly. And about these three sorts of Sins, the severity of the Primitive Discipline was chiefly exercised; which shews, that it proceeded upon quite different grounds from those of the Council of Trent about *Auricular Confession*.

2. The Method of proceeding was very different; for here was no *toties quoties* allow'd; that Men may sin, and confess, and be absolved; and then sin the same Sin again, and receive Absolution in the same manner. The Primitive Church knew nothing of this way of dealing with Sinners upon Confession. If they were admitted once to it that was all. So *Pamelius* himself grants, and produces several Testimonies of *Fathers* for it; and so doth *Albaspineus* and *Petavius*. Dare any say this is the Sense of the Church of Rome about Confession, that a Man cannot be received a second time to Confess and be absolved from the same Sin? How then can they pretend any *Similitude* between their Confession and the ancient *Exomologesis*? Besides, none ever received Absolution from the Ancient Church till full Satisfaction performed. But in the Church of Rome, Absolution is given before Satisfaction; and although some have complained of this, as a great Abuse; yet they have been sharply answer'd, that it is to call in question the Conduct of the Church for five hundred years; and they may as well question many other things, which depend upon the Authority of the present Church.

3. The Obligation to Confession is very different from what it was in the ancient *Evangelists*. Now by the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, a Person looks on himself as bound in Conscience to confess every mortal Sin; but in the Ancient Church none can imagine that Persons were bound to undergo the *Exomologesis* for every mortal Sin, there being no *Penitential Canons* which did ever require it; but they had respect to some particular Sins, and the Penance was proportion'd to them.

We ought to take notice of two Things with respect to the Discipline of the Ancient Church, which will shew the different Notion it had of these things, from what is now current in the Church of Rome.

1. That it did not exclude those from all hopes of Salvation whom it excluded from Penance; as may be seen in the *Illiberitan Council*, where many are wholly shut out from the Church, whom we cannot think they thought incapable of Salvation. From whence it follows, that they did not look on Confession and Absolution as a necessary Condition of Salvation; but now in the Church of Rome they allow Confession to all, because they think they cannot otherwise be in a state of Salvation in an ordinary way. But in the Ancient Church they could not look on the desire of Confession as necessary, for to what purpose should they make that necessary when they desired the thing? But in

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Pamel. not. 1.
in Terr. de
Panis.
Albasp. Obs.
l. 2. c. 5.
Petav. ad E-
riph. p. 236.
Append. ad
Epiph. c. 3.
p. 91.

Conc. Illiber.
Eccl. 1, 2, 3, 4

the Church of Rome, they make the *Desire* necessary, because they hold the Thing it self to be so, if there be Means to have it.

2. That the *Penitential Canons* never extended, in the *Primitive Church*, to all those Sins which the Church of Rome now accounts *Mortal*, and therefore necessary to be confessed. The Council of *Trent* saith expressly, they must confess *omnia & singula peccata mortalia — etiam occulta* — and an *Anathema* is denounced against him that denies it to be necessary to Remission of them. Now if we consider their Notion of *mortal Sins*, we shall easily discern the vast difference between the Obligation to Confession by the Council of *Trent*, and by the old *Penitential Canons*. For *mortal Sins* are not only all voluntary Acts committed against the known Laws of God, but against the Laws of the Church; and even venial Sins may become mortal by the Disposition of the Person, and by other Circumstances, which the *Casuists* set down at large. Now the Council of *Trent* doth expressly oblige Men, not only to relate the Acts themselves, but all Circumstances which change the kind of Sin. And this is racking the Consciences of Men far beyond whatever we find in the old *Penitential Canons*; for, *Petavius* confesses that that many Sins now accounted mortal, had no Penance appointed for them by the old Canons; and therefore I need not take any pains to prove it: If any one hath a mind to be satisfied, he may see it in *Gregory Nyssen's Canonical Epistle*, where he owns that several of those Sins, for which the Scripture excludes from the Kingdom of Heaven, have no Canonical Penance prescribed them by the ancient Canons of the Church. Which shews a mighty difference from the Rule of the Council of *Trent*.

De Penit.
can. 7.

Petav. not. ad
Epiph. p. 238.

Greg. Nyss.
Epist. ad Let.
c. 4, 5.

The most plausible place in Antiquity brought for all mortal Sin, is that of *S. Cyprian*, where he saith, that some confessed their very Thoughts, though they had not proceeded to actual Sin. It is true, that he doth speak of some such; but was it for Sins of Thought against the tenth Command? No; but it is very plain, that he speaks of that Sin which was thought to imply a renouncing Christianity, and *S. Cyprian* elsewhere calls *summum delictum*, and the Sin against the Holy Ghost; viz. consenting to any Act of Gentile Idolatry; and yet *S. Cyprian* had much ado to persuade those who were actually guilty to submit to due Penance for it; but they obtained Tickets from the Confessors, and were admitted to Communion without undergoing the Discipline of the Church, the Consequence whereof would be, that the Discipline would be lost, and the Church over-run with Apostates; this makes *S. Cyprian* plead hard against such practices, and among other Arguments he uses this of the great Tenderness of some, who, because they had entertained such Thoughts of doing as others did, for their own Safety, they offer'd to unburthen their Consciences before them, and desired Remedy for small Wounds; how much more ought they to confess their Faults whose Wounds are greater? This is the whole Force of his Reasoning; where the Thought and Act relate to the same Sin; and that said to be no less than denying Christ, and sinning against the Holy Ghost. But there is no parity in the Case of other Sins; which even *S. Cyprian* calls *minora delicta*, being against Men immediately; and there is no Intimation in him that ever the Thoughts of those Sins were discovered, or that Persons were under any Obligation by the Rules of the Church to do it.

Cypr. de lapsis, n. 23.

Cypr. Ep. 10.

Cypr. Ep. 12.

2. Private Offenders were sometimes advised, in those first Ages, for the Ease of their Consciences to make Confession, of their Sins; of which

Orig. in Le-
vit. Hom. 2.
in Psal. 37.
Hom. 2.
in Luc. Hom.
17.

Hist. Confess.
Auric. c. 5.
n. 8.

we see an Instance, as to the Practice, in one Case in S. Cyprian's time. And Tertullian compares such Persons who avoid it, to those who have such secret Ulcers that they chuse rather to perish than to discover them. Now in Cases of this Nature he advises to Confession, and publick penitential Acts, that so they may in the Judgment of the Church have the Wounds of their Consciences healed. And this is that which Origen doth advise to in such Cases, to seek out a wise spiritual Physician, and to make known his inward Distemper to him, and to follow his Advice and Direction, as to the Method of Cure. Now this we never oppose; but the only Question is, whether it be necessary for all Persons, and for every mortal Sin, to make Confession of it to the Priest, that it may be forgiven: and Origen never once supposes this; for he mentions several other ways for the Remission of Sins after Baptism, by Martyrdom, by Alms, by forgiving and converting others, by great Love to God, and in the last place he brings in this of a Laborious Penance and Confession. Either the former ways are sufficient without this, or not; if they are, then this is not necessary to the Remission of all mortal Sins; if not, to what purpose doth he mention so many ways, when this one is sufficient without them, and all those are insufficient without this? For Boileau confesses, that no mortal Sins according to them can be remitted where there is not at least the desire of this. But Origen shews the different ways of obtaining Remission, or else he doth not answer the difficulty; which was, that the Jews had several sorts of Sacrifices for the Expiation of Sins, to which we have none answerable under the Gospel. Yes, saith Origen, Baptism answers to one sort, Martyrdom to another, Alms to a third, &c. and last of all, Penance to the Offering baked in the Frying-Pan. From whence it is plain, that he looked on this as one particular way proper to some Cases, and not as a general Method for the Remission of all mortal Sins. But he urges, that Origen quotes Scripture for the Confession of Sins, as necessary, Hom. 2. in Psal. 37. But what Scripture? Even the Words of the Psalmist, I will confess my Iniquity. And was Confession to a Priest necessary under the Law? How then can those Words prove it necessary under the Gospel? Although therefore Origen might think it very convenient in some Cases for Penitents to unload their Consciences by Confession to a spiritual Physician, yet we find no proof of any necessity of it, as to all mortal Sins. It is confessed, that publick Faults, either confessed or proved, had publick Penance appointed for them by the Penitential Canons; but Boileau, after Arnould, pleads, that even Secret Sins being mortal, were not thought remissible by the Keys of the Church, without publick Penance. But this can never be proved to have been the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, and it is unreasonable to suppose; for then, all Persons must have undergone publick Penance who had any mortal Sin, and it must have been frequently born by the same Persons, both which are inconsistent with the Ancient Discipline. But they saw there was no other way to maintain the Necessity of confession, but by this. For they could find none but publick Penance, and that by the Penitential Canons was prescribed only for some particular scandalous Sins; and therefore they fancied, that Persons who committed other faults, were bound to confess them privately, and to undergo publick Penance for them. I do not deny, but some great Penitents, for secret Faults, would of their own accord submit to the publick Discipline; but this was a voluntary Act in them, that by this means they might assure

assure themselves the more of the sincerity of their own Repentance; and it being looked on as an Act of *Humility* and *Piety*, it made it go down the better with *Voluntary Penitents*.

3 For the sake of such *Voluntary Penitents* in great Churches, whose Cases required *particular and private Examination and Direction*, there was a *Penitentiary* appointed, whose Office it was to receive their *Confessions*, and to direct and order the Method of their *Penance*. Of this we have a famous Instance in the Church of *Constantinople*, in the time of *Nectarius*, about which so much hath been taken for different purposes. That which seems most propable to me, is, that the *Penitentiary* was appointed to examin and judge of such *Penetential Causes* which were brought before him, (not being notorious,) and to give sentence according to the Canons; but especially of *Voluntary Confessions* of Persons, whose Consciences were oppressed with the Guilt of Secret Sins; and to those he was to appoint *Penance* without revealing their Faults. Where the Facts were *notorious* and *scandalous*, I suppose the ancient *Discipline* of the Church (part whereof is to be seen in the *Canonical Epistles*) to have still continued at *Constantinople*, as well as in other Churches. But there were many private miscarriages, where-Pande<. Ca-
non. Vol. 2. in great Prudence and Judgment was required, both to determine the *Penance*, and to manage it so, that it did not break out into an open Scandal. And for Cases of this Nature the *Penitentiary* was appointed; to whom all Persons might resort in private cases, and open their Consciences to him, and take his Directions how to perform their *Penitential Acts*. So it was with that Person of Quality at *Constantinople*, who gave occasion to the abolishing the Office of *Penitentiary*, both there, and in all the *Eastern Churches*. She first went to the *Penitentiary*, as a *voluntary Penitent*, and confessed her Faults to him; and took his directions; and while she was performing her *Penance* in the Church, the Fact was committed with the Deacon, which she afterwards confessed to the *Penitentiary*. Who being enraged at the Deacon, in probability through his desire to have him punished, the Fact came to be discovered, and the People to be highly offended: And it is not reasonable to suppose that the *Penitentiary* put her upon a *publick Confession* of her secret fault; but that it came out by his means; and therefore *Nectarius* thought fit no longer to put such a Trust into any Man's hand, which through his discovery might redound to the Dishonour of the Church, as that did.

What the Effect was of abolishing this Office, is the great Question, whether the taking away *publick* or *private Confession*. If the Historians may be believed, it was the *Necessity* of *making any Confession at all in secret*; for the Right of receiving such Confessions, was devolved upon the *Penitentiary*; therefore when his Office was put down, where the Case was not notorious, every one *must be left to his own Conscience*; and that both *Socrates* and *Sozomen* affirm was the consequence of it. If Socr. l. 5.
c. 19.
Soz. l. 7.
c. 16. onely *publick Confession* was taken away, as some imagine, a *secret Confession* was still continued, how was it possible for the *Historians* to mistake the matter so grossly, by making that the consequence of it? For, *is every man left to his own Conscience*, where he is bound to go to *Confession* before he partakes of the *Eucharist*? And why should *publick Penance* be taken away on this occasion, where there seems to have been none; for that Person underwent no *publick Penance* upon her former *Confession*, for then her *Penance* would not have been done in the Church,

Church, but out of it, among the Penitents. But as the former was voluntary, so was the latter too; for here was no Accuser but her self; and for what Reason should publick and solemn Penance for notorious Crimes, be taken away for the sake of the discovery of a Secret Confession? Whether the punishment of the Deacon were the Occasion of its coming out, or whatever it was, it seems evident to me, that she was not obliged to any publick Confession; because Sozomen saith, the Penitentiary was chosen for his Gravity, Silence and Wisdom; but what Silence was there, if the Confessions were to be made publick? And on the other side, it is impossible to conceive, that if all Persons were then obliged to confess all mortal Sins after Baptism, that one Penitentiary should be sufficient in so vast a City as that of Constantinople was. Therefore I think it most probable, that the case of notorious and scandalous Offenders stood as it did, and so continued in S. Chrysostom's time; but this Office of Penitentiary relating to voluntary and secret Offenders was taken away because a greater Scandal came to the Church by the discovery, when such a publick Disgrace made the Fact become notorious. And so this Act of Nectarius, in taking away the Penitentiary's Office, and the Approbation of it by other Churches following the Example, evidently proves, that they did not look on Confession of secret Sins, as necessary to the Remission of them.

Socr. l. 5.
c. 19.

Soz. l. 7.
c. 16.

Concil. Trid.
Sess. 13. c. 7.
Can. 11.

4 As the taking away the Penitentiary's Office shewed the Sense of the Church at that time against the Necessity of Confession in order to Pardon, so it did likewise in order to the partaking of the Eucharist. For Socrates saith, that Eudæmon gave that Counsel to Nectarius, that he should remove the Penitentiary, and give every one leave to pass Judgment on himself in his own Conscience, and so to partake of the Mysteries. The same is affirmed by Sozomen. Which respects not the publick Discipline about Notorious Offenders, but the private Applications made by scrupulous persons and secret Offenders to the Penitentiary in order to a right preparation for the Eucharist. And it is very probable, that it was then believed by many, that they could not be duly fitted for that Sacrament, unless they had first unburthened their Consciences by a voluntary Confession to the Penitentiary, and followed his Directions. But this Office being taken away, the Question now is, whether it were thought necessary to confess privately to any other? The Council of

Διὰ τὸτο φησιν ὁ Παῦλος. Ἐ-
καστος ὁ δοκιμαζέτω ἑαυτὸν καὶ
τὸς ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἐστὶν καὶ ἐν τῇ πο-
τητικῇ πίνεσθαι ἀπεκάλυψε τὸ ἐλ-
κός, καὶ ἐκ κοινῆς θιάζον ἡγάγε
καὶ καθήγοριαν ἐπεισέσθαι μάρτυ-
ρας ἢ πλημμελημάτων ἐνδόν
ἐν τῷ σωματικῷ, μηδὲν παρὲν-
τος; πλὴν τὰ τὰ πάντα ὁρᾷ
Θεὸς, ποῦ καὶ κείσιν, καὶ ἐν ἡμαρτη-
μασὶν καὶ ἡμετέροις καὶ πάντα καὶ βίον
ἀναλογισθόντες ὡς τὸ νῦν τὸ
κρίσιμον ἔστι τὰ ἀμαρτήματα,
διόρθω τὰ πλημμελήματα, καὶ ἔτω
μετὰ καθαρῆς συνειδήσεως καὶ ἰσχυρῆς ἀπὸ
τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς ἀγίας μέτεχε
θυσίας, S. Chrys. To. 6. p. 837. Hom. 8.
de Penit. Hom. 28. in 1 ad Corinth,

that purpose. For this Cause S. Paul saith. Let a man examin himself, and so let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup; he doth not lay open the secret Ulcer; he doth not bring the Accusation into a Theatre; he appoints no Witnesses of thy transgressions; pass judgment within in thy own Conscience, there examin thy faults, and call thy self to an account for the sins of thy Life, where none but God is present, who sees all things; amend thy faults, and so with a pure Conscience draw near to the holy Table, and partake of the Sacrifice there offered.

S. Chrys. To. 6. p. 837. Hom. 8. de Penit. Hom. 28. in 1 ad Corinth,

But lest this should be thought one of those sudden eloquent heats which *Petavius* saith, are hardly capable of good sense, if too strictly examined; we find him very coolly delivering the same Doctrine in his Exposition of those words of *S. Paul*. Than which nothing can be more inconsistent with the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome, which makes Confession of our Sins to a Priest a necessary Preparation for the Eucharist. *Catharinus* saith, that if the Church had not limited the time, yet every Person would be bound to confess to a Priest, as often as he communicated. And although he knew no mortal sin by himself, yet he would deserve the severest Censure for not confessing, because he took upon him to be his own Judge. Can any thing be more contrary to *S. Chrysostom* than this? *Boileau* confesses, that *S. Chrysostom* doth not here refer at all to Confession to a Priest; then it follows, that he thought it not necessary to right participation of the Holy Eucharist. Here he speaks not of daily Examination of Conscience by the Faithful; but of the solemn Judgment of Conscience by way of due Preparation; and so justifies the Fact of *Nectarius* in taking away the Penitentiaries Office. But we are not to suppose so great and so zealous a Man would have done it against his Conscience, as he must, if he still thought Confession to a Priest necessary; and he doth not say, they need not go now to the Penitentiary, but that they need not disclose their sins to any. Not to a multitude, nor in a theatrical manner, as some expound it; but to none but God, which excludes the knowledge of a single Priest, as well as of a great number. I need not insist on the other places in *St. Chrysostom* to that purpose, since these are sufficient for my design.

Cassian was a Disciple of *S. Chrysostom*, and he supposes Confession to God alone to be sufficient for Remission of Sin, where mere modesty hinders men from confessing to men. *Boileau* answers, that he doth not speak of Sacramental Confession made to Priests; but of an Ascetick Confession among the Monks. But he speaks of a Confession to God as sufficient for Remission of Sins, and therefore must exclude the Necessity of any other.

5. After the taking away the Penitentiary's Office, the publick Discipline of the Church, as to open and scandalous Offenders continued for some time in the Eastern as well as the Western Churches. No one speaks more fully to this than *S. Chrysostom*; which makes me wonder at those who say the publick Penance was taken away by *Nectarius*, for in his 82. Homily on *S. Matthew*, towards the Conclusion he insists very much upon it; and not only charges the People not to come with their sins upon them; but he speaks to those who ministred, to deny the Eucharist to open Offenders. And he saith, it would be charged as a great Fault upon them, if they knew such and permitted them to communicate. But how shall we know them? I speak not, saith he, of those who are not, but of those who are known; and if any such did thrust themselves in, he bids them not be afraid to deny them; and if they durst not, he tells them, they should bring them to him, and he would rather lose his life than give that Sacrament to such unworthy receivers. But still he saith he speaks of open and notorious Offenders. Which shews plainly, that even *S. Chrysostom* never thought the publick Discipline was changed; since he declares so much Resolution to maintain it. And this could not be spoken by him while he was a Presbyter at Antioch, but after he came to the See of Constantinople. There was no doubt some alteration as to the Penitents, after the taking away the Penitentiary; but it was no more than his Office was concerned in. The old Penitential Canons remained still in force and were executed, as Occasion were

Petav. Not. ad Epiphan. p. 224.

Cathar. & Cajetan p. 453.

451. Hist. Confess. Auric. p. 201.

Cassian: Col. lat. 20. c. 8.

Hist. Confess. Auric. c. 18. p. 286.

S. Chryf. in
Matth. Hom.
71.
In 2. Ep. ad
Cor. Hom. 18.
Hom. 3. in Ep.
ad Ephes.

served; as appears by the *Canons* in *Trullo* so long after *S. Chrysostom's* time which refer to them. If all the *publick Discipline* had been laid aside so long before, to what purpose do those *Bishops* speak of them, as if they were still in force? See *Canon* 44, 46, 53, 54, 87. In the last *Canon* indeed they leave it to those who had the *Power of binding and loosing* to temper the severity of the *Canons* as they should judge convenient; but doth it hence follow, that the ancient *Discipline* as to *publick Offenders* was destroy'd? *S. Chrysostom* himself several times mentions those who were in the state of *Penitents* and the *Prayer* that was made for them; to what purpose, in case the whole Order of *Penitents* was taken away? He likewise speaks of the charge for the *Penitents* to go out. What a mockery were this, if there were no *publick Discipline* then left? And lest it should be said, that these things were said by him at *Antioch*, before the fact of *Nectarius*, I have shew'd already that the latter *Homilies* on *S. Matthew* were made by him at *Constantinople*; and in his *Liturgy* there used the dismissal of the *Penitents* was continued.

Petav. de la
Penitence
publique, l. 3.
ch. 10. p. 64.

6. While the *publick Discipline* was kept in the several Churches none were enjoined to undergo it, but open and *publick Offenders*. The Evidence being so clear in *Antiquity* for the *publick Penance* of those who were bound to give the Church satisfaction before they receiv'd *Absolution* from it; there was a necessity found by some learned Men of the *Roman Communion* to set up a new *Hypothesis*, viz. that by the *Ancient Rules of the Church* all Persons conscious to themselves of secret sins were bound to undergo *publick Penance* for the Remission of their sins. The occasion of the debate was this. Some in the Church of *Rome* held no more necessary in case of mortal Sin to prepare men for *Communion* than *Confession to a Priest* and *Absolution*; others saw the fatal Consequence of this, and therefore insisted on the *Necessity of Penance*; both Parties made their Appeal to the *Ancient Church*; and both were mistaken. For, on the one side, there was no such Doctrine then held that *Confession and Absolution* did sufficiently prepare Persons for the *Eucharist*; and on the other, there was no good Evidence that any were enjoined *publick Penance* for secret faults. But in the Case of such sins, the *Confession* was left to God in Secret; and a true and hearty Contrition for them was thought the best as well as most necessary Preparation for the *Eucharist*.

Arn. de freq.
Communione,
Part. 2. c. 3.
p. 205.
Petav. l. 2.
c. 5. n. 3.

Monfr. *Arnauld* saw well enough that without his *Hypothesis*, it was impossible to prove the *Necessity of Confession* in the *Antient Church*; for he yields that the Church did not use the *Power of the Keys* but in *Publick*. On the other hand, *Petavius* urges, that on the same Ground that they would reduce, as they pretended, the *Ancient Discipline* they must make many other alterations in the Church, and so justify the *Reformers*. But Monfr. *Arnauld* was defective in his Proofs, as *Petavius* at large shews; not when he proves that the *Penance* was *publick*; but that all Persons under mortal sins were bound to undergo it. For *Petavius* makes it appear, that all such as are accounted mortal sins in the modern sense, were not then thought necessary to be expiated by *publick Penance*; but only such as were notorious and scandalous, and he at large answers all Monfr. *Arnauld's* Arguments. Notwithstanding which *Morinus* took up Monfr. *Arnauld's* Opinion, and without any colour charges it on *Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury*, 'that he first in his *Penitential* appointed *publick Penance* to be only for *publick Offences*. But the learned Editor of the *Abstract of Theodore's Penitential*, hath fully vindicated him in this matter.

l. 6. c. 2, &c.
Morin. Com.
de Penit.
l. 10. c. 17.

Theod. Vind.
p. 61, &c.

But

But after these Boileau resumes the Opinion of Monsr. Arnauld, and lays it for the Foundation of his History of *Auricular Confession*. But *Hist. Confess.* he grants, that all the solemn and ceremonial Penance, imposed by the *Penitential Canons* did not extend to all kind of mortal sins, but chiefly to Idolatry, Adultery and Homicide; but this he insists upon, that some part of this publick Penance, viz. Exclusion from the Communion, was inflicted on Persons guilty of secret mortal sins. But this will by no means do his business; for he is to prove that no secret mortal sin could be forgiven without Confession to a Priest; and that all persons were required by the ancient Church, in case they were conscious to themselves of any such sins, to make them known, and to undergo publick Penance for them, before they could obtain Remission of them. We do not deny that Persons under Trouble of Conscience for secret sins, were from time to time advised to resort to their Guides, to make known their Cases to them, and to take their Directions; we do not deny that such Persons might be required by such Guides to withdraw themselves from joining in the most solemn Acts of publick Communion till they had manifested the Sincerity of their Repentance, by Fasting, and Prayers, and other Penitential Acts; we do not deny, that some of these Persons might either by Advice or of their own Accord join themselves with the publick Penitents, as is well known in the Case of *Fabiola* at Rome, so much magnified by S. Jerom; but this is the thing we desire to see proved, that no sin whatsoever of a mortal Nature (as it is defined in the Church of Rome) was then thought capable of Remission by the penitential Acts of the Parity, (especially by true Contrition) without Confession to a Priest and Absolution from him. And this is the true State of the Case; and I can find nothing produced by him to this purpose which deserves to be considered.

7. As the publick Discipline declined, Persons were exhorted to make private Confession of their Sins; if they could not be brought to publick Penance. Thence in the Greek Church came the Penitentials of *Johannes Jejunator* (who first took upon himself the Title of Oecumenical Patriarch, in the time of *Mauritius* to the great Offence of the Bishops of Rome) and of some others after him.

Morinus grants that there was a great Alteration in the Greek Church about this Matter; he thinks it began with the Business of the Penitentiary; but after the publick Discipline was disused, instead of that, he saith, came up a secret Confession and Penance; which was left to the Honesty and Piety of the Penitent, and not required by any Canonical Authority among them; and so he saith, it continued from the time of *Nectarius* to this Day, as to the People. So that we have a plain Confession from him, that there is no Rule in the Greek Church requiring this secret Confession of Sins in order to the forgiveness of them. But it is observable concerning the modern Greeks, that if Persons do make Confession among them, they think themselves obliged to keep to the old Penitential Canons, and blame *Joh. Jejunator* for receding from them; for *Simeon* of *Thessalonica* saith, they had them from the Fathers, and the Fathers by Tradition down from the Apostles. But although they are therein mistaken, yet they shew how different their Tradition is from that of the Roman Church, which thinks it self under no such Obligation, but allows Absolution to be granted upon Confession, and a right of Communion without Penance performed, for which there is no colour, as to any ancient Tradition either in the Eastern or Western Church.

In

In the *Western Church* we find the publick Discipline fallen to decay in the *ninth Age*, and *Charles the Great* summoning several Councils for putting things into as good an Order as they would be able to bear. In the second Council of *Carillon*, A. D. 813. we find a Complaint, *Can. 25.* that the old Canonical Penance was generally disused; and neither the ancient Order of Excommunicating or Absolving was observed. Which is a plain and ingenuous Acknowledgment that they had gone off from the ancient Tradition of the Church; and therefore they pray the Emperor's Assistance, that the publick Discipline might be restored for publick Offenders, and the ancient Canons brought into use again. From whence it follows, that at that time notorious Offenders escap'd with private Confession and Penance; and even that was done by halves, *can. 32.* and some thought it not necessary to do it at all, *can. 33.* And upon this Occasion, they do not declare it necessary for the Remission of Sins to confess even the most secret mortal Sins to a Priest; but very fairly say, that both are useful; for Confession to God purgeth the Sin; and to the Priest, teaches men how their sins may be purged. For God, who is the Author and Giver of Health, giveth it often by the Operation of his Power, and often by the means of Physicians.

Hist. Confess. Boileau yields, that there were some then in the Roman Church, who denied Confession to Men to be necessary; but he saith, they were Adversaries and Rebels. This had been a good Answer, if the Council had called them so; which it doth not, but on the contrary declares, That God doth often forgive sin immediately without the Priest's Interposition, or else the latter Clause signifies nothing. And the most it saith before, is, that Confession to a Priest is useful in the Church; which is not the thing disputed by us, but the Necessity of it; and his Critical Observations of *Utrumque* signifie just nothing, unless he had proved that the Council had before said that both were necessary, which it doth not. He doth not deny, that the Opinion of the Sufficiency of Confession to God alone did continue in the Church to the time of the Council of Lateran, and that it gave Occasion to the Canon, which enforced the Necessity of a Confession to a Priest; but he adds, that learned and pious Men may have false Opinions before the Judgment of the Church. So that at last we find Universal Tradition is given up, and the Necessity of Auricular Confession is resolved into the Authority of the Roman Church's Definition, or rather, the Pope's Declaration of it, either with or without the Consent of the Lateran Council. But he saith, The Fathers did not speak so exactly of the Trinity before the Council of Nice; nor the Greek Fathers of Grace and Predestination before S. Augustin. If this be true, it is impossible to prove either of those great Points merely by Tradition; for those Fathers either delivered the Sense of the Church, or they did not; if they delivered the Sense of the Church, then either the Sense of the Church was doubtful, or they did not understand it; if the Sense of the Church were doubtful, then it is plain those Doctrines could not be proved by Tradition; if the Sense of the Church were not doubtful, but the Fathers did not understand it, then how is it possible that the Church's Tradition should be an Infallible Guide, when even the Fathers of the Church were mistaken about it? But I have sufficiently proved, that not only before, but even after the Council of Lateran there was no Universal Tradition for the Necessity of Auricular Confession. H



AN APPENDIX,

q:1.D.

IN

ANSWER to some late PASSAGES of J. W.
of the Society of Jesus, concerning the Prohibi-
tion of Scripture in Vulgar Languages by the
Council of Trent.

SINCE the Publication of the foregoing Book, I have met with a Reflexion upon it made by J. W. in the Preface to a *Treatise* lately Reprinted by him. Wherein, he observes that a great part of the Objections made against them are either grounded on mistakes, or touch points of Discipline not of Faith, which alone they are bound to defend. This last Clause I could not but wonder at, since the new Title of his Book is, *A Defence of the Doctrine and Holy Rites of the Roman Catholick Church*, &c. Why should J. W. take such needless pains to defend the Rites of the Church, if they are bound to defend nothing but Points of Faith? I had thought the Honour and Authority of the Church had been concerned in its Commands and Prohibitions, as well as in its Definitions and Decrees. And although it be not pretended, that the Church is Infallible in Matters of Discipline; yet it is a strong Prejudice against any pretence to Infallibility in a Church, if it be found to err notoriously in any thing of general Concernment to the Catholick Church.

But how comes my late Book to be made an Example? As for instance, (saith he) I find in a Book newly Published, with this Title, *The Council of Trent Examined and Disproved by Catholick Tradition*, that for 15 Pages together Dr. St. labours to prove that there is no Catholick Tradition against Translating Scripture into Vulgar Languages. Whereas I expressly say, that the Prohibition of reading the Scripture so translated without a particular License, was that which I undertook to shew could not be justified by any Catholick Tradition; And that there was a General Consent of the Catholick Church, not merely for the Translations of Scripture into Vulgar Languages, but for the free use of them by the People. Which I made out by these Particulars,

Cccc

1. That

1. That where-ever the Christian Religion prevailed, the Scripture was Translated into the Vulgar Language for the Peoples benefit. Which I proved from the Ancient *Italick* Versions before St. *Jerom's* time, the *Gothick*, *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Syriack*, *Coptick* and *Æthiopick* Translations; without the least prohibition of the Common use of them.

2. That where a Language grew into Disuse among the People there the Scripture was Translated into the Tongue which was better understood. And for this I instanced in the *Arabick Versions* after the prevalency of the *Saracens* in the Eastern and Southern Parts, and after the *Moors* coming into *Spain*.

3. That even after the Primitive Times, Christian Princes and Bishops did take Care that the People should read the Scriptures in their own Language. For Princes, I instanced in *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Alfred*; for Bishops, in *Waldo Bishop of Fressing*; *Methodius* and *Cyrill*, &c.

4. That the Pope himself in the 9th Century did approve of it; and for a Reason common to all times and Churches, viz. that *All People and Languages were to praise God, and that God himself had so commanded*.

5. That *Gregory VII.* was the first Person who forbade the use of Scripture and Divine Offices in the Vulgar Tongue, and was not ashamed to own that the Church saw cause to alter several things from what they were in the Primitive Church.

6. That upon the setting up the Inquisition by *Innocent III.* this Prohibition took place in *France* and *Spain*, and other Places.

7. That some noted Divines of the Church of *Rome* have highly commended it; and said that the taking of it away would be pernicious and destructive to Faith and Devotion.

8. That the Prohibition in the Church of *Rome* is built on the Authority of the Council of *Trent*, which appointed the *Index* to be made, in which the fourth Rule forbids all Persons the use of the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue without a particular License, and whosoever presumes to do it is to be denied Absolution.

9. From hence it follows, that the Council of *Trent* is evidently disproved, as to *Catholick Tradition*, for any Foundation of such a Prohibition.

And what now saith *J. W.* against all this? He would gladly know against whom I dispute. Against *J. S.* and all such who would make the World believe the Council of *Trent* did proceed upon *Catholick Tradition*. To prove I am mistaken, he tells me in his sixth Chapter, I may find an Account of several new Translations of Scripture into Vulgar Tongues, made by Catholics and approved in the Roman Church. Then he

he mentions an *English Translation made by the Rhemish and Doway Colleges; and in French by the Doctors of Lovain; and some others.* What now follows from hence? Is it any *Mistake* in me to say, There was such a Prohibition of Reading the Scripture in the Church of *Rome*, and enforced by the Rule made by Appointment of the Council of *Trent*? This had been indeed to the purpose if it could have been proved. I do not deny, that there have been such *Translations* made, where it was found impossible to hinder all *Translations*; and the use of them have been connived at or allow'd to some particular persons, whom they were otherwise secure of. But such *Translations* are like the *Galenists* allowing some *Chymical Medicines* to their Patients; they declare against their use as dangerous; but if the Patient will have them, then pray take them of my Apothecary, who is a very honest man and prepares mischievous Medicines better than another. This is just the Case of the Church of *Rome*, as to *Translations* of Scripture; If we ask their Opinion in general, whether *Translations* be allowable or not, their Answer hath been formerly very free and open, by no means; for they are very dangerous and mischievous things. And here besides those I have already mentioned, I could produce many more to the same purpose. But alas! these men lived before the Age of *Mis-representing* and *Expounding*. Now all this is *Mistake* on our side, and *Infallibility* on theirs. We cannot for our hearts understand their Doctrines or Practices aright, although we take never so much pains and care to do it. One would think by the present way of dealing with us, that the Church of *Rome* were like the *New Name on the White Stone*, which no man knows but he that hath it; and so it were impossible for any else to understand it, but such as are in it. I thought my self pretty secure from *Mistaking*, when I pitched on the Council of *Trent* for my Guide. But it seems, I am *mistaken* here too? How so? Did not the Council of *Trent* appoint the Congregation of the *Index* at first, *Sess. 18*? Did it not own that the Matters of it were prepared before its Dissolution? And if there were a *Prohibition* of the free use of the Scripture in Vulgar Languages by the Rules of the *Index*, is not the Council of *Trent* justly chargeable with that *Prohibition*? Especially when the Title in the *Roman Edition* is *Regula Indicis Sacrosanctæ Synodi Tridentinæ jussu edita*. Apoc. 2. 27

Jacob Ledesma was one of the same Society with *J. W.* and he frankly owns the *Prohibition* of reading the Scripture, made by the Rule of the *Index*, to have been done by the Authority of the Council of *Trent*.

Accedit ad hoc, locupletissimum Testimonium, atque Decretum ex Indice librorum prohibitorum per Patres à Tridentina Synodo delatos conscripto & Autoritate Sanctiss. D. nostri Pii. 4. P. M.

comprobato Regula. 4. Jac. Ledesma. De Divin. Script. quavis lingua non legend. c. 51.

The Faculty at *Paris* in the Articles sent to *Gregory XIII.* against the Translation of *Rene Benoit*; several times own the Rules of the *Index* as done by the Council of *Trent*. *Quacunque Autoritate transferantur in Vulgarem linguam Biblia & edantur, vetat idem sacrosanctum Concilium ea passim sine discrimine permitti.*

The same *Ledesma* goes farther, and vouches the Authority of the Council of *Trent* in this matter, from the Decree *Sess. 23. c. 8.* where it forbids all the Parts of the *Mass* to be in the Vulgar Tongue. Which could not be reasonable, if the Scripture were allowed to be translated.

C c c c 2

Alphonsus

Alphonf. à Castro de heret. Pun. l. 3. c. 6. *Alphonfus à Castro* thinks the case so alike, that a prohibition of one amounts to a prohibition of the other too, because the greatest Part of the Office is taken out of the Scriptures, and if the Scripture may be translated, he saith, it must follow that Divine Offices ought to be in the vulgar Tongue. But to return to the Index.

Concil. Trid. Sess. 25. c. 15. The Congregation of the Index was (as is said) established by the Council in the 18th Session as the Council it self owns in the last Session; and withal, that the Rules of it were then formed, but because of the multiplicity and variety of the Books, the matter of the Index was referred to the Pope, and to be published by his Authority, as likewise the Catechism, Missal and Breviary. So that the Rules of the Index have the same Authority in the Church of Rome with the Roman Catechism, Missal and Breviary.

Pius IV. in his Bull, when he first set forth the Index A. D. 1564. owns that it was finished by the Fathers appointed by the Council of Trent, but was remitted to him by the Council, that it might be approved by him and published by his Authority. And he strictly commands the Rules of it to be observed under pain of Mortal Sin; and Excommunication, ipso

(*) Quod Indice & Regulis confectis per Patres a Generali Synodo Tridentina delectos sanctum est. Præter ea qua Tridentinorum Patrum Regulis supradictis decretis junct. *jure.* After him Clement VIII. in his (2) Instructions about the Rules of the Index owns them to be made by the Fathers of the Council of Trent, And the same Pope is so far from renewing the Power of granting Licenses to read the Scripture in the vulgar Languages, that he declares against them. For by the 4th Rule of the Index, the Ordinary and In-

quisitor by the Advice of the Parish Priest or Confessor, might permit Persons to read the Bible in the vulgar Language, so the Translation were made by Catholick Authors; and it was apprehended by some, that the new Printing the Rule might be giving new Authority to Bishops and Inquisitors to grant Licenses, therefore the Pope declares against it; and saith it was contrary to the Command and Use of the Roman Church and Inquisition, which ought to be inviolably observed. In pursuance of this we find in the Roman Index of prohibited Books; these words; *Biblia vulgari quocunque idiomate conscripta; i. e. All Bibles in vulgar Languages are prohibited.* Therefore I cannot understand how the giving License to Persons since the Declaration of Clemens VIII. is consistent with the Duty which Persons of that Communion owe to the Authority of the Roman See, unless they can produce a Revocation of the Bull of Clemens VIII. and some latter Explications of the fourth Rule which take away the force of his. But instead of that, Alexander VII. who published the Index again, after Clement VIII. owns that the first Index was made by Authority of the Council of Trent: And it is observable, that in his Bull A. D. 1664. he not only prefixes the Rules of the Index, but the Observations and Instruction of Clement VIII. and confirms all by his Apostolical Authority; and enjoins the punctual Observation of the Orders contained therein inviolably; under the same pains which were expressed in the Bull of Pius IV. Therefore as far as I can understand, the Faculty of granting Licenses to read the Translations of the Bible is taken away as far as the Pope's Authority can do it.

Qui sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini auctoritate prodierat. To what purpose then are we told of some modern Translations, as long as the use of them is forbidden by the Pope's Authority? And no Ordinaries can have Authority to grant Licenses against the Pope's solemn Declaration to the contrary; nor can any of that Communion with good Conscience make use of them. But

Qui sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini auctoritate prodierat.

But

But I am told there are Translations approved in the Roman Church. By whom have they been approved? By the Pope, or the Congregation of the Index? I do not find any such Approbation given to any of them. But on the contrary, even in France, such Translations have been vehemently opposed by the Bishops and Divines there, as being repugnant to the Sense of the Roman Church. And this is apparent by a Book published by Order of the Gallican Clergy, A. D. 1661. Wherein it is said, that it was the common and unanimous Sense and Practice of all Orthodox Persons, that neither the Scriptures nor divine Offices ought to be put into Vulgar Languages, it being injurious to the Christian Church, and giving Occasion of Offence to the weak and unlearned. How then can we imagine that such Translations should not only be allowed but approved among them?

E quibus pateat fuisse semper communem & unanimem Orthodoxorum omnium sensum ac usum; divinos Libros ac Officia Ecclesiastica, vernaculo Idioma te nequitiam reddendi; utpote Christiana Reipubl. damnosum, ac rudibus & imperitis scandalum occasionem præbens. Collectio Authorum Version. vulg. damnant. Monit. ad Lector.

And besides the entire Treatises there collected against them, of Card. Hosius, Lizetius, Spiritus Roterus, Ledesma, &c. and the Fragments and Testimonies of several others; we have a particular account of the proceedings of the Sorbon as to this matter.

In the Censure of Erasmus, Dec. 17. 1527. the Sorbon declared Vulgar Translations of Scripture to be dangerous and pernicious.

The like Declaration had been made before A. D. 1525. and that all Translations of the Bible, or of the Parts thereof ought rather to be suppressed than tolerated.

A. D. 1607. The Faculty again declared, that it did not approve any Translations of Scripture into the Vulgar Language.

But J. W. instances, p. 26. in some Translations that have been approved, as a French Translation by the Doctors of Lovain. But in the French Collection before mentioned, I find, that A. D. 1620. Dec. 1. a Debate arose in the Faculty at Lovain about it; and the Faculty declared that it by no means approved of it.

Another is of Rene Benoit; which was so far from being approved, that it was first condemned by the Faculty at Paris, and then sent to Rome to be condemned by the Pope; which was effectually done; and Gregory XIII. directed his Bull to the Faculty of Divinity in Paris, Nov. 3. A. D. 1575. wherein he doth expressly forbid this Translation, and reject it with an Anathema.

Biblia supradicta omninè prohibemus, & ab Ecclesia Catholica sub Anathemate rejicimus.

And yet this very Translation of Rene Benoit is one of those made by Catholics and approved in the Roman Church; which J. W. refers me to. One of us two must needs be under a great Mistake, but to whom it belongs I leave the Reader to determine.

The sense of the Gallican Clergy in this matter doth fully appear by the Representation which they sent to Alexander VII. about the Translation of the Missal into French. Which was done by Voisin a Doctor of the Faculty, and was published at Paris by the Permission of Cardinal de Retz Archbishop there, and had the Approbation of some Doctors of the Sorbon. The rest of the Bishops and Clergy highly resented this matter, and assembled together to consult about it, Nov. 29. 1660. where they proposed two things to be considered. 1. The matter of Right, whether such a Translation were to be permitted or not. 2. The matter of Fact, whether this were a good Translation or not. The Debate was adjourned

adjourned to Dec. 3. and from thence to the Seventh, on which they came to a Resolution to suppress it. And a Circular Letter was sent to all the Bishops to forbid the use of it under pain of Excommunication; and the King desired to interpose his Authority in it. Dec. 9. they agreed to send an account of the whole matter to the Pope in the name

Illam omnino improbamus tanquam ab Ecclesia consuetudine alienam, nec nisi cum ingenti animarum perniciem conjunctam.

of the *Gallican Clergy*; wherein they declare their great dislike of it, *as contrary to the Custom of the Church, and as pernicious to the Souls of Men.* And in the Body of it, they say *they look on the Translations of Scripture into vulgar Languages as the great occasion of the Northern Heresies*; and quote Vincentius Lirinensis, saying that the Scripture is the *Book of Hereticks*. And after add, *that they had sent to the Pope their Condemnation of all Translations of Scripture and Divine Offices into the Vulgar Languages.* This was subscribed by the General Assembly of the Clergy, Jan. 7. 1661.

The Pope sent a *Brief* in Answer, which was received Feb. 25. wherein he very Tragically complains, *that some Sons of Perdition in France had to the ruine of Souls, and in Contempt of the Church's Laws and Practice, arrived to that degree of madness as to translate the Roman Missal into French.* And he charges the doing of it not only with Novelty, but Disobedience, Sedition, Schism, &c. and declares that he abhorred and detested it; and for ever damned, reprobated and forbid it, under pain of Excommunication; and requires all Persons to deliver up their Books to the several Ordinaries that they might be burnt.

I now desire J. W. to inform me whether we are bound to believe that in France Translations of Scripture into the vulgar Language are allowed and approved? I am really so unwilling to mistake, that I take the best care I can to be rightly informed. I have no design either to deceive others, or to be deceived my self; and therefore have not trusted to second-hand Evidence; but searched and considered the Authors themselves, whose Testimonies I rely upon. I am certain I have fallen into no willful mistake, but have truly and impartially stated things according to the clearest Evidence I could find; and therefore I think it somewhat hard to be told, *that our Objections are grounded on Mistakes*, and especially as to this matter about the Prohibition of reading Scripture in the vulgar Language; for I hope I have made it appear not only that there is such a Prohibition, but that it is founded on the Authority of the Council of Trent.

And if it be so, then it serves my main design, viz. to prove that it went off from *Catholick Tradition*, for if there were so many Translations of old without the least prohibition, and there be since the Council of Trent, so severe a one, back'd with the Pope's Authority, here must a very great change in Tradition. For that is accounted *pernicious and mischievous to the Souls of Men*, which before was accounted useful and beneficial to them. If the Physicians in one Age should condemn the common Reading of *Hippocrates* and *Galen* as destructive to the Health of mens bodies, which those of former Ages extremely commended, would not any one say, there was a great Change in the Opinions of Physicians, and that they did by no means hold to the Judgment of those before them? If the common Lawyers should now say *Littleton's Tenures* is a Book very unfit to be read by young Lawyers, that it fills their Heads with seditious and dangerous Principles, and therefore ought to be

be taken out of their Hands; would not any one say, here is a wonderful Change, for no such thing was ever apprehended before, but the Book was thought very useful and proper to instruct Students in some fundamental Points of the Law?

When *Manna* was rained from Heaven in the Wilderness for 40 years, and for 30 of them every Man gathered his own share and proportion, and ate of it as he saw cause; would it not have been thought a strange alteration among them, if after 30 years a sett of Physicians should have risen up and told the People, "It was true, *Manna* was Angels food, but " if they had not great care in the taking it, and used it promiscuously, " it would turn them to Devils; or at least it would fill them with " such Distempers, as they would never be able to reach to *Canaan*? This might be pretended to be great Care and Tenderness of them, in these new Physicians; but on the other side, they would tell them, " they had done very well with their eating *Manna* for 30 years together; and there had been no such Distempers among them, but such " as human Nature is always subject to; that such an alteration might " be of worse Consequence than their common use of *Manna*; for so " it was at first appointed and so it had continued, and they could not " tell but their new Physicians might be worse to them than their old " Distempers; and they could never believe that could be so hurtful " which God himself had appointed for their Food.

The former Discourse makes the Application needless.

But after all, it is said: *This is but a point of Discipline and not of Faith; and in such the Church may change her Measures.* To that I answer,

1. It is more than a point of Discipline, for it is changing the *Rule of Faith* with respect to the People. While the Scriptures were in the hands of the People, they resolved their Faith into the *Word of God*, as it was deliver'd to them and understood by them. But when that is taken out of their Hands and they are bid to Trust to the *Church's Testimony* for matters of Faith; they have a different Resolution of their Faith and a different Ground and Reason of believing. For they cannot ground their Faith upon a written Rule who are incapable of understanding it.

2. It is no matter of Discipline to overthrow the design of publishing the Scripture for the universal Benefit of the Church of God. And this the *Jansenists* have well proved in Defence of their Translation of the New Testament against the Prohibitions of it. " For, say they, the *Dialogue 1.*
 " Prohibition of reading the Scripture under pain of Excommunicati- *P. 26, 29.*
 " on, is it self contrary to the Gospel and ought not to be obey'd. For
 " Bread and Nourishment is not more necessary to preserve the Life of
 " the Body, than the Word of God is to uphold the Life of the Soul.
 " That for Men to speak of so much danger in reading the Scripture is
 " to reflect very dishonourably on the Providence and Goodness of God;
 " for it was by means of Translations in Vulgar Languages that God's
 " Word came to be known to the World, and the Gospel was at first
 " published in those Tongues, which were most generally understood.
 " And therefore those do manifestly oppose the design and method of
 " Providence for advancing the Gospel, who decry Translations of Scrip-
 " ture, as pernicious to the Souls [of Men. And farther, that such a *P. 63.*
 " prohibition

An APPENDIX.

“prohibition, is a Contempt of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a design to
“suppress the Gospel; and a Contradiction to the Will and Command
“of God; A Contempt of the Scripture, which was intended to be un-
“derstood by all; A Contempt both of Councils and Fathers, which
“looked on the Scripture as the best Judge of Controversies, and who
“advised all believers to a continual reading of the Word of God.

If after all this, the *Council of Trent* could so notoriously err not only
against *Scripture* and *Reason*, but *Tradition* too in such a Matter of Con-
cernment to the Souls of Men, as this is, it will be hardly possible to
persuade Men, it could not as well err in any Point of Faith. And it
renders the whole proceeding suspicious as to particular Points, when the
Rule of Faith is so industriously kept out of the hands of the People.
For those who follow their Instructions, are never ashamed to produce
their Credentials.

Dialogues
in Answer
to T. G.
Part. 4.

As to what *J. W.* saith in his Book concerning *Jupiter*, &c. I had an-
swered it so fully many years since, that I have Reason to expect a Reply
to what I had there said in my own Vindication, before I can think it
fit to trouble the World with needless Repetitions. And it were hard
for me to be put to Answer again to the same things, when a Person will
not take the pains to see whether he were not answer'd already.

22

THE

THE
DOCTRINES
AND
PRACTICES
OF THE
Church of ROME

TRULY REPRESENTED;

In Answer to a Book Intituled,

A PAPIST *Misrepresented, and Represented, &c.*

64:2:0.

AN

ANSWER to the INTRODUCTION.

THE *Introduction* consists of two parts,
I. A general Complaint of the *Papists* being *Misrepresented* among us.
II. An Account of the Method he hath taken to clear them from these *Misrepresentations*.

I. As to the *First*; Whether it be just, or not, must be examin'd in the several Particulars. But here we must consider, whether it serves the End it is designed for in this place, which is, to gain the Reader's good Opinion of their Innocency: Not merely because they complain so much of being injured, but because the best Men in all Times have been *misrepresented*; as he proves at large in this *Introduction*, from several Examples of the Old and New Testament, but especially of Christ and his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians. But it is observable, that when Bp. Jewel began his excellent *Apology* for the Church of England, with a Complaint much of the same Nature, and produced the very same Examples, his Adversary would by no means allow it to have any Force, being, as he called it, *Exordium Commune*, which might be used on both sides, and therefore could be proper to neither. And altho' it be reasonable only for those to complain of being *misrepresented*, who having Truth on their side, do notwithstanding suffer under the Imputation of Error; yet it is possible for those who are very much

D d d d

mistaken,

mistaken, to complain of being *misrepresented*; and while they go about to remove the Misrepresentations of others, to make new Ones of their own. And as the best Men, and the best Things, have been misrepresented; so other Men have been as apt to complain of it; and the worst Things are as much misrepresented, when they are made to appear not so bad as they are. For *Evil* is as truly misrepresented under the appearance of *Good*, as *Good* under the appearance of *Evil*; as it is hard to determine whether hath done the greater Mischief.

So that if *the Father of Lies be the Author of Misrepresenting*, (as the *Introduction* begins) we must have a care of him both ways. For when he *tried this black Art in Paradise*, (as our Author speaks) it was both by misrepresenting the Command, and the Danger of transgressing it. He did not only make the Command appear otherwise than it was; but he did very much lessen the Punishment of Disobedience, and by that means deluded our first Parents into that Sin and Misery, under which their Posterity still suffers. Which ought to be a Caution to them, how dangerous it is to break the Law of God under the fairest Colour and Pretences; and that they should not be easily imposed upon by false Glosses, and plausible Representations, though made by such as therein pretend to be *Angels of Light*.

But altho' *the Father of Lies be the Author of Misrepresenting*: yet we have no reason to think, but that if he were to plead his own Cause to Mankind, he would very much complain of being *misrepresented* by them; and even in this respect, when they make him the *Father* of those *Lies* which are their own Inventions. And can that be a certain Argument of Truth, which may as well be used by *the Father of Lies*?

And the great Instruments he hath made use of in deceiving and corrupting Mankind, have been as forward as any to complain of being *misrepresented*. The true Reason is, Because no great Evil can prevail in the World, unless it be represented otherwise than it is; and all Men are not competent Judges of the Colours of Good and Evil; therefore when the Designs of those who go about to deceive, begin to be laid open, they then betake themselves, to the fairest Representations they can make of themselves, and hope that many will not see through their Pretences.

If I had a mind to follow our Author's Method, I could make as long a Deduction of Instances of this kind. But I shall content my self with some few Examples of those who are allowed on both sides to have been guilty of great Errors and Corruptions.

The *Arians* plead they were *misrepresented*, when they were taken for Enemies to Christ's Divinity; for all that they contended for, was only such a Moment of Time, as would make good the Relation between Father and Son.

The *Pelagians*, with great Success for some time (and even at Rome) complained, that they were very much *misrepresented*, as Enemies to God's Grace: whereas they owned and asserted the manifold Grace of God; and were only Enemies to Mens Idleness, and neglect of their Duties.

The *Nestorians* gave out, that they never intended to make two Persons in Christ, as their Adversaries charged them; but all their design was to avoid Blasphemy, in calling the Blessed Virgin *the Mother of God*;

God; and whatever went beyond this was their Adversaries *Misrepresentations*, and not their own Opinions.

The *Eutychians* thought themselves very hardly dealt with, for saying, there was *but one Nature in Christ*; they did not mean thereby (as they said) to destroy the Properties of the Humane Nature, but only to assert that its Subsistence was swallowed up by the Divine; and of all Persons, those have no reason to blame them, who suppose the Properties of one Substance may be united to another.

Even the *Gentile Idolaters*, when they were charged by the Christians, that they worshipped Stocks and Stones; complained, they were *misrepresented*, for they were not such Ideots, to take things for Gods, which had neither Life, nor Sense, nor Motion in them. And when they were charged with worshipping other Gods as they did the Supreme; they desired their Sense might not be taken from common Prejudices, or vulgar Practices, but from the Doctrine of their Philosophers; and they owned a Sovereign Worship due to him that was Chief; and a subordinate and Relative to some Cœlestial Beings, whom they made Application to as Mediators between him and them. Must all these Complaints now be taken for granted? what then becomes of the Reputation of General Councils, or the Primitive Christians? But as, if it were enough to be Accused, none would be innocent; so none would be Guilty, if it were enough to complain of being *misrepresented*.

Therefore in all Complaints of this Nature, it is necessary to come to Particulars; and to examine with Care and Diligence the Matters complained of, and then to give Judgment in the *Case*. I am glad to find our Author professing so much *Sincerity and Truth without Passion*; and I do assure him I shall follow what he professes: For the Cause of our Church is such, as needs neither Tricks nor Passion to defend it; and therefore I shall endeavour to state the Matters in Difference, with all the clearness and calmness that may be; and I shall keep close to his Method and Representations, without Digressions, or provoking Reflections.

II. But I must declare my self very much unsatisfied with the Method he hath taken to clear his Party from these *Misrepresentations*. For,

i. He takes upon himself to draw a double Character of a Papist; and in the one he pretends to follow a certain Rule, but not in the other; which is not fair and ingenuous.

As to the one, he saith, *He follows the Council of Trent, and their allowed Spiritual Books & Catechisms*: and we find no fault with this. But why must the other Part then be drawn by Fancy, or common Prejudices, or ignorant Mistakes? Have we no Rule, whereby the Judgment of our Church is to be taken? Are not our Articles as easy to be had and understood, as the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent? I will not ask, How the Council of Trent comes to be the Rule and Measure of Doctrine to any here, where it was never received? But I hope I may, why our Representations are not to be taken from the Sense of our Church, as their's from the Council of Trent? If he saith, *his Design was to remove common Prejudices, and vulgar Mistakes*: it is easy to answer, If they are contrary to the Doctrine of our Church, we utterly disown them. We know very well there are Persons, who have so false a Notion of *Poper*y, that they charge the Rites and Customs of our Church with it: but we pity their Weakness and Folly,

and are far from defending such Misrepresentations. But that which we adhere to, is the Doctrine and Sense of our Church, as it is by Law established; and what Representations are made agreeable thereto, I undertake to defend, and no other. But if a Person take the liberty to lay on what Colours he pleases on one side, it will be no hard matter to take them off on the other, and then to say, *How much fairer is our Church than she is painted!* It is an easy, but not so allowable a way of disputing, for the same Persons to make the Objections and Answers too; for he may so model and frame the Arguments by a little Art, that the Answers may appear very full and sufficient; whereas if they had been truly represented, they would be found very lame and defective.

2. He pretends to give an Account why he quotes no Authors for his Misrepresentations, which is very unsatisfactory, viz. *That he hath described the Papist therein, exactly according to the apprehension he had of him when he was a Protestant.* But how can we tell what sort of Protestant he was; nor how well he was instructed in his Religion? And must the Character now supposed to be common to Protestants be taken from his ignorant, or childish, or wilful Mistakes? Did ever any Protestant, that understands himself, say, *That Papists are never permitted to hear Sermons which they are able to understand,* (p. 58.) or *that they held it lawful to commit Idolatry,* (p. 9.) Or, *that a Papist believes the Pope to be his great God, and to be far above all Angels, &c.* Yet these are some of his Misrepresentations, (p. 40.) Did he in earnest think so himself? If he did, he gives no good account of himself: If he did not, he gives a worse; for then how shall we believe him in other things, when he saith, *He hath drawn his Misrepresentations exactly, according to his own Apprehensions?* It is true, he saith, *he added some few Points, which were violently charged on him by his Friends:* but we dare be bold to say, these were none of them. But let us suppose it true, that he had such Apprehensions himself. Are these fit to be printed as the Character of a Party? What would they say to us, if a Spanish Convert should give a Character of Protestants, according to the common Opinion the People there have of them; and set down in one Column their monstrous Misrepresentations, and in another, what he found them to be since his coming hither; and that in good Truth he saw they were just like other Men? But suppose he had false Apprehensions before he went among them; why did he not take care to inform himself better before he changed? Had he no Friends, no Books, no Means to rectify his Mistakes? Must he needs leave one Church, and go to another, before he understood either? If this be a true Account of himself, it is but a bad Account of the Reasons of his Change.

3. The Account he gives of the other Part of his Character, affords as little satisfaction: For although in the general, it be well that he pretends to keep to a Rule; yet,

(1.) He shews no Authority he hath to interpret that Rule in his own sense. Now several of his Representations depend upon his own private Sense and Opinions, against the Doctrine of many others as zealous for their Church as himself; and what reason have we to adhere to his Representations rather than to theirs? As for instance, he saith, *The Pope's Personal Infallibility is no Matter of Faith,* (p. 42.) But there are others say it is, and is grounded on the same Promises which makes him Head of the Church. Why now must we take his Representation rather

than theirs? And so as to the *Deposing Power*, he grants, it hath been the Opinion of several Popes (and Councils too) but that it is no Matter of Faith, (p. 47.) But whose Judgment are we to take in this Matter, according to the Principles of their Church? A private Man's, of no Name, no Authority; or of those Popes and Councils who have declared it, and acted by it? And can any Man of their Church justify our relying upon his Word, against the Declaration of Popes and Councils? But suppose the Question be about the Sense of his own Rule, the Council of Trent: What Authority hath he to declare it, when the Pope hath expressly forbidden all Prelates to do it, and reserved it to the Apostolical See? *Bulla Pii 4th super Confirmat. Concil. Tridentini.*

(2.) He leaves out, in the several Particulars, an essential part of the Character of a *Papist* since the Council of Trent; which is, that he doth not only believe the Doctrines there defined to be true, but to be necessary to Salvation. And there is not a word of this in his Representation of the Points of Doctrine, but the whole is managed, as though there were nothing but a difference about some particular Opinions; whereas in Truth, the Necessity of holding those Doctrines, in order to Salvation, is the main Point in difference. If Men have no mind to believe their own Senses, we know not how to help it; but we think it very hard to be told, we cannot be saved unless we renounce them too. And this now appears to be the true State of the Case, since Pius the 4th drew up and published a Confession of Faith, according to the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent, wherein Men are not only required to believe their Traditions as firmly as the Bible, the Seven Sacraments, Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Worshipping of Images, Indulgences, Supremacy, &c. but they must believe, that without believing these things, there is no Salvation to be had in the ordinary Way; for after the enumeration of those Points, it follows, *Hanc veram Catholicam fidem extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, &c.* This is the true Catholick Faith, without which no Man can be saved; i. e. The belief of these things is thereby declared as necessary to Salvation, as of any other Articles of the Creed. But it may be objected, The subscribing this Profession of Faith, is not required of all Members of that Church. To which I answer, That to make a Man a Member of it, he must declare that he holds the same Faith which the Church of Rome holds: And this is as much the Faith of the Roman Church, as the Pope and Council of Trent could make it. And it is now printed in the Roman Ritual at Paris, set forth by Paul the 5th, as the Confession of Faith owned by the Church of Rome. And therefore this ought to have been a part of the true Representation, as to the Doctrinal Points; but when he comes to the 35th Head, he then owns, *That unless Men do believe every Article of the Roman Faith, they cannot be saved, (p. 96.) and he that disbelieves one, does in a manner disbelieve all. (p. 97.)* Which may as well reach those who disown the Deposing Power, and the Pope's personal Infallibility, as Us, since those are accounted Articles of Faith by the ruling part of their Church, to whom it chiefly belongs to declare them; and the former hath been defined both by Popes and Councils.

(3.) He never sets down what it is which makes my Doctrine to become a Doctrine of their Church. We are often blamed for charging particular Opinions upon their Church; but we desire to know what it is which makes a Doctrine of their Church; i. e. whether frequent and publick

publick Declaration, by the Heads and Guides of their Church, be sufficient or not to that End? Our Author seems to imply the Necessity of some Conditions to be observed; for besides *the Pope's Authority*, he requires, *due Circumstances, and proceeding according to Law*; (p. 42.) But who is to be Judge of these Circumstances, and legal Proceedings? And he never tells what these *Circumstances* are. And yet after all, he saith, *The Orders of the Supreme Pastor are to be obey'd, whether he be infallible or not.* And this now brings the Matter home; *The Popes*, he confesses, *have owned the Deposing Doctrine, and acted according to it*: And others are bound to obey their Orders, whether infallible or not; and consequently they are bound by the Doctrine of their Church to act, when the Popes shall require it, according to the Deposing Power. But he seems to say in this Case, that a Doctrine of their Church is to be judged by the Number; for, saith he, *There are greater Numbers that disown this Doctrine*, (p. 47.) I will not at present dispute it; but I desire to be informed, Whether the Doctrines of their Church go by majority of Votes, or not? I had thought the Authority of the Guides of the Church, ought to have over-ballanced any Number of Dissenters. For, what are those who refuse to submit to the Dictates of Popes and Councils, but Dissenters from the Church of *Rome*? The distinction of the *Court and Church of Rome*, is wholly impertinent in this Case. For, we here consider not the mere Temporal Power which makes the Court, but the Spiritual Capacity of Teaching the Church; and if Popes and Councils may err in Teaching this Doctrine, why not in any other? I know there are some that say, *Universal Tradition is necessary to make a Doctrine of their Church.* But then no submission can be required to any Doctrine in that Church, till the Universal Tradition of it, in all Times, and in all Parts of the Christian Church, be proved. And we need to desire no better Terms than these, as to all Points of Pope *Pius* the 4th his Creed, which are in dispute between us and them.

(4.) He makes use of the Authority of some particular Divines, as delivering the Sense of their Church, when there are so many of greater Authority against them. Whereas, if we proceed by his own Rule, the greater Number is to carry it. Therefore we cannot be thought to *misrepresent* them, if we charge them with such things as are owned, either by the general and allowed Practices of their Church, or their Publick Offices, or the generality of their Divines and Casuists; or in case of a Contest, with that side which is owned by the Guides of their Church, when the other is censured; or which was approved by their Canonized Saints, or declared by their Popes and Councils, whose Decrees they are bound to follow. And by these Measures I intend to proceed, having no design to *misrepresent* them, as indeed we need not.

And so much in Answer to the *Introduction*.

129:1.2.

I. Of Praying to Images.

IN this, and the other Particulars, where it is necessary, I shall observe this Method.

1. To give a clear and impartial Account of the State of the Controversie in as few words as I can.

2. To

2. To make some Reflections on what he saith, in order to the clearing them from Misrepresentations.

As to the state of this Controversie, as it stands, since the Council of Trent, we are to consider.

1. We must distinguish between what Persons do in their own Opinion, and what they do according to the Sense of the Divine Law. It is possible that Men may intend one thing, and the Law give another Sense of it; as is often seen in the Case of Treason; although the Persons plead never so much they had no intention to commit Treason, yet if the Law makes their Act to be so, their disavowing it doth not excuse them. So it is in the present Case; Men may have real and serious Intentions, to refer their final, ultimate and sovereign Worship only to God; but if the Law of God strictly and severely prohibits this particular manner of Worship by Images, in as full, plain and clear Words as may be, and gives a denomination to such Acts, taken from the immediate Object of it; no particular Intention of the Persons can alter that denomination, or make the Guilt to be less than the Law makes it.

2. There can be no *Misrepresenting* as to the lawfulness of many external Acts of Worship, with respect to Images, which are owned by them. But it doth not look fairly to put the Title, *Of Praying to Images*; for the Question is, *about the Worship of Images*; whereas this Title would insinuate, as though we did directly charge them with *Praying to their Images, without any farther respect*; which we are so far from charging them with, that I do not know of any People in the World, who are not like *Stones and Stocks* themselves who are liable to that Charge. The *P E N D E T S* in the *East-Indies* are fully cleared from it, by *Thevenot*, as well as *Bernier*. And it would be hard we should not allow the same to our Fellow-Christians. I do therefore grant what our Author saith, *viz. That all the Veneration they express before Images, whether by kneeling, praying, lifting up the Eyes, burning Candles, Incense, &c. is not at all done for the Image, but is wholly referred to the things represented, which he intends to honour by those Actions.* But I hope now, it is no misrepresenting for us to say, that they do kneel, pray, lift up their Eyes, burn Candles, Incense, &c. before their Images; which is all I charge them with at present.

Thevenot Voyage des Indes, p. 188. Bernier Memoirs, Tom. 3. p. 172. Page 3.

3. To perform these Acts before Images, without a design to worship the Images by them, is declared, by great Divines of the Church of Rome, to be next to Heresie. The Case was this; There were before the Council of Trent, several Persons who lived in Communion of that Church, but by no means approved the Worship of Images, such as *Durandus, Holcot, Picus Mirandula*, and others. Now these Persons thought fit to comply in these external Acts, but declared they intended not to worship the Images, but the Objects before them. Since the Council of Trent decreed Images were to be worshipped, this Case hath been debated by the Divines and Casuists of greatest reputation among them: And *Suarez* saith, *This way of Durandus is dangerous, rash, and savours of Heresie*; and he saith farther from *Medina*, *That it was Victoria's Opinion, that it was heretical*; but he adds, that his own Opinion, *that Images were truly and properly to be worshipped, was generally received by their Divines*: and therefore I need name no more.

Suarez in 3 part, Q. 25. Disp. 53. Sect. 3. 2do. principaliter, & §. 5.

4. It is granted by their Divines and Casuists, that the People in the worship of Images, may easily fall into Idolatry.

(1.) If

(1.) If the worship do not pass from the Image to the Thing represented. And so *Aquinas* himself determines, That no irrational Creature is capable of worship, but as it hath respect to a rational Being. But here lies the difficulty, how an extrinsecal relation to an Object of worship, where the Thing is confessed to deserve none, can give any reason for its being properly worshipped. But they all grant, if the worship stop at the inanimate part, it can be no other than the worship of Stocks and Stones.

Bellarmin
de Imag. l.
2. c. 24.

(2.) If the worship be given to the Image, which is proper to God alone. This *Bellarmin* is forced to grant, because the Evidence is so clear in antiquity, that the *Gnosticks* were condemned for some Worship which they performed to the Image of Christ. Now, we cannot think that these *Gnosticks* were such Sots, as to take the Image of Christ to be Christ himself; and therefore what-ever Worship it was, it must be relative, i. e. given to the Image for the sake of Christ represented by it.

Concil. Tri-
dent. Sess.
25.

(3.) If the People believe any Divinity to be in the Images, or put any Trust or Confidence in them; then the Council of Trent it self owns such to be like the Heathen Idolaters. Now, how shall it be known when the People believe Divinity to be in Images, but by some more than ordinary Presence or Operation in or by them? by their having a greater Opinion of one Image than of another of the same Person? by their going long Pilgrimages to certain Images, in hopes of relief, when they might easily cause Images to represent at home?

Moyens Surs
& honnestes
pour la Con-
version de
tous les He-
retiques,
To. 2. p.
115.
Entretiens
de Philale-
the & Phi-
lerene, 2d
Part, p. 157.

And that such are no extravagant Imaginations, is known to all who have heard of *Loretto*, or *Compostella*, or other Places nearer home. I need not mention the Complaints of *Polydore Virgil*, *Cassander*, or *Wicelius*, to this purpose, who all died in the Communion of the Church of Rome; for the same is very lately complained of by a considerable Person in that Communion, who saith, *The greatest part of the Devotion of the People of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, consists in prostrating themselves before Images, and going in pilgrimage to them, and hoping for remission of their Sins by so doing.* And another very lately yields, *That to avoid the peril of Idolatry, to which, (he saith) the People is evidently exposed by the use of Images, it would be necessary to take them away from the Altars, and by no means to have them allowed for the Objects of Religious Worship.*

The Question now is, Whether the Council of Trent hath taken any effectual Course to prevent these Abuses? If not, what misrepresenting is it to charge the Abuses upon the Doctrines and Practices allowed by it?

The Remedies prescribed by the Council, are these:

1. Declaring that there is no Divinity or Vertue in them for which they should be worshipped; and that nothing is to be desired of them, or any trust or confidence to be put in them.
2. Expressing their earnest desire, that if any Abuses have crept in, they may be removed.

Catechis.
Rom. Part
3. c. 2.
S. 14.

But in the mean time the Council decrees, the Images not only to be useful to be set up in Churches, but to have due Honour and Worship given them there, for the sake of those they represent; as not only putting off the Hat, but falling down before them. And the Roman Catechism declares, *That this Worship is very beneficial to the People, and so much is to be told them; and that Images are to be in Churches, not merely for Instruction, sed ut colantur, that they may be worshipped.*

But

But what could the Council do more, than to desire all Abuses may be taken away? and is it not then the fault of others, and not of the Council if they be not?

I grant, the Council doth desire Abuses may be taken away, if any such be, but then it enumerates those Abuses, in *Heterodox Images*, in making gain of Images, in painting them too wantonly; but besides, it doth say, that all Superstition be removed in the sacred use of Images; but it doth not say in the worship of them; and so it may relate to *Magick and Divination*. But that the Council could not prevent, or design to prevent the Abuses mention'd in the worship of Images, will appear by these things.

1. The Council of Trent allows the highest relative Worship to be given to them; it setting no bounds to it, so it be for the sake of the Prototypes.

2. It allows a Worship to be given to the Images themselves too; for it confirms the second Council of Nice, which decreed an inferior Adoration to be given to them.

3. It disapproves no Customs then practised among them in the Worship of Images; which were all known, and by many complained of, both as Pilgrimages to them, and the carrying them about in Procession, and the solemn Consecration of them; the Form whereof is not only inserted, but enlarged in the new Pontifical, since the Council of Trent. And it is to be observed, that in the old Pontifical, A. D. 1511, there is no Form for consecrating an Image; in that of Paul the 3^d, it is inserted, but out of *Durandus*; but in that of Clement the 8th, it is put in more largely, and as authentically, as if it had been always there. And is not this the way to reform the worship of Images?

To come now to our Author's Reflections on the *Misrepresentation* he saith hath been made as to this Point.

1. A Papist represented, believes it damnable to worship Stocks and Stones for Gods; to pray to Pictures or Images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or any other Saints.

These Expressions are capable of a double Sense, and therefore this is not fair representing.

(1.) To worship Stocks or Stones for Gods, may signifie two things: (1.) To believe the very Stocks and Stones to be Gods. And this we do not charge them with. (2.) To give to Images made of Wood and Stone, the Worship due only to God; and so by construction of the Fact, to make them Gods, by giving them *Divine Worship*. And if they will clear themselves of this, they must either prove that *External Adoration* is no part of Divine Worship, (notwithstanding the Scripture makes it so, and all the rest of Mankind look upon it as such, even Jews, Turks, and Infidels) or that their external Adoration hath no respect to the Images, (which is contrary to the Council of Trent) or that Divine Worship being due to the Being represented, it may be likewise given to the Image. And how then could the *Gnosticks* be condemned for giving Divine Worship to the Image of Christ, which *Bellarmino* confesses; and is affirmed by *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *S. Augustine*, and *Damasceus*?

(2.) To pray to Images of Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, may likewise be taken in two senses: (1.) To pray to them, so as to expect to be heard by the mere Images, and so we do not charge them with it. (2.) To pray to them, so as to expect to be rather heard by themselves for praying to them by their Images. And if this be not so, to what end are

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the Prayers made in the Consecration of Images, for those that shall pray before them? To what purpose do so many go in long Pilgrimages to certain Images, if they do not hope to be better heard for praying there?

But he goes on: 2. *He keeps them by him indeed, to keep in his mind the memory of the things represented by them.* And is this all in good Truth? We will never quarrel with them, if this be true representing. No, that he dares not say.

But, 3. *He is taught to use them, p. 2. But how? by casting his Eye upon the Pictures, or Images, and thence to raise his Heart to the Prototypes.* And is this all yet? No.

But, 4. *He finds a double conveniency in the use of them: (1.) They represent, at one glance; and Men may easily make good Reflections, as upon the sight of a Death's-Head, or old Time painted with his Fore-lock, Hour-Glass, and Sythe.* And will he undertake that Images shall be used in Churches for no other end? Was the Picture of old Time ever consecrated, or placed upon the Altar, or elsewhere, that it might be worshipped, as the Roman Catechism speaks of their Images. (2.) *They cure Distractions, for they call back his wandring Thoughts to the right Object.* What is this right Object? the Image, or the Person represented? And that must be either a Creature, or God himself. If it be a Creature, doth not this imply, that it is made a right Object of worship? If God himself, how doth an Image cure our distraction, in the worship of an infinite invisible Being, when the very Image is most apt to distract our Thoughts, by drawing them down from his Divine and Adorable Perfections, to the gross and mean representations of an Image? But are we yet come to the utmost use of them? No.

But, 5. *He cannot but love, honour, and respect the Images themselves, for the sake of those they represent.* Will this content them, and will he promise to go no farther? It is hard to part upon Terms of mere Respect, and decent Regard, where there is no encroachment upon Divine Worship. And here we are at a stand.

But he goes farther. 6. And so he is come at last, to *Veneration before Images.* And is this all? Dares he deny *Veneration to Images*, when the Council of Trent hath determined it? *Eisq; venerationem impartientiam?* What, is this Veneration before Images only? Bellarmine hath a Chapter on purpose to prove, that true and proper Worship is to be given to Images. And was he a Misrepresenter? Suarez saith, *It is an Article of Faith, that worship is to be given to them.* But if the Veneration be only before them, why are they consecrated, and set up in Places proper for Adoration?

But, 7. *To satisfy any one that he is far from making Gods of his Images, he is ready to break them into a thousand pieces.* What a consecrated Image? Dares he take a Crucifix from the Altar, and tear it in pieces? This doth not look like the Love, Honour, and Respect he mentioned before, not to name Veneration. And I am afraid this is a strain beyond true representing: Yet at length he hath found some pretty Parallels for the Veneration of Images themselves; and so we are come at last to the main Point. But this is not directly owned; yet in the way of his representing, it is fairly insinuated by his Parallels.

1. *A Christian loves and honours his Neighbour, because he bears the Image of God in his Soul.* But doth he therefore take him and set him before him when he kneels at his Devotion, to raise his Mind, and cure

his Distractions? Would he set him upon the Altar, and burn Incense before him, because of the Image of God in him? Is there no difference between the *Object of Christian Love*, and of *Divine Worship*? Nor between a Spiritual, Invisible, Divine Image in the Souls of Men, and a Material and Corporeal Representation?

2. *We may kiss and esteem the Bible, because it contains and represents to us God's Word.* But when we kiss and esteem the Bible, we remember the Second Commandment is in it; and we dare not break his Law, when we pretend to honour his Word. But we think there is some difference between *Reverence* and *Respect* to the *Bible*, and *falling down* before an Image. The Circumstances of the one declare it to be mere *Respect*, and a *Religious Decency*; and if the other be not *External Adoration*, we know not what it is.

3. *A good Preacher is loved, because he minds Men of their Duty.* But what should we say to him that should therefore *kneel down and say his Prayers, and burn Candles and Incense before him*, out of a respect to his good Doctrine? Did *S. Peter*, or *S. Paul* like this, when Men would have worshipped them? A good Preacher would tell them of their Duty, as they did; and take Men off from the worship of any Creature, animate or inanimate, and direct them to worship God alone, who made Heaven and Earth.

47. 1. B.

II. Of Worshipping Saints.

FOR the clear stating this Controversie, these things are to be premised.

1. We do not charge them, *that they make Gods of dead Men, i. e.* that they believe the Saints to be independent Deities. For this our Author confesses, *were a most damnable Idolatry.*

2. We do not say, that the State of the Church of *Rome*, with respect to the worship of dead Men, is as bad as Heathenism. For we acknowledge the true Saints and Martyrs to have been, not only Good and Virtuous, but Extraordinary Persons, in great Favour with God, and highly deserving our Esteem and Reverence, as well as Imitation; whereas the Heathen Deified Men, were vile and wicked Men, and deserved not the common Esteem of Mankind, according to the Accounts themselves give of them. And we own the common Doctrine and Advantages of Christianity to be preserved in the Church of *Rome*.

3. We do not deny, that they do allow some external Acts of Worship to be so proper to God alone, that they ought to be given to none else besides him. And this they call *Latria*; and we shall never dispute with them about the proper signification of a Word, when the Sense is agreed, unless they draw Inferences from it, which ought not to be allowed. To this *Latria*, they refer not only Sacrifice, but all that relates to it, as Temples, Altars, and Priests: so that, by their own confession, to make these immediately and properly to the Honour of any Saint, is to make a God of that Saint, and to commit Idolatry.

4. They confess, that to pray to Saints, to bestow Spiritual or Temporal Gifts upon us, were to give them the Worship proper to God, who is the only Giver of all good Things. For else I do not under-

stand, why they should take so much pains to let us know, that whatever the Forms of their Prayers and Hymns are, yet the Intention and Spirit of the Church, is only to desire them to pray for us, and to obtain things for us by their Intercession with God.

But two things cannot be denied by them.

Sect. 25.

1. That they do use solemn Invocation of Saints in Places of Divine Worship, at the same time they make their Addresses to God himself, with all the Circumstances of External Adoration, with bended Knees, and Eyes lifted up to Heaven; and that this Practice is according to the Council of *Trent*, which not only decrees an humble Invocation of them, but declares it to be Impiety to condemn mental and vocal Supplication to the Saints in Heaven.

2. That they do own making the Saints in Heaven to be their Mediators of Intercession, but not of Redemption, although Christ be our Mediator in both senses.

And upon these two Points this Controversie depends.

Page 4.

Let us now see what our *Representer* saith to them.

1. *His Church teaches him indeed, and he believes that it is good and profitable to desire the intercession of the Saints reigning with Christ in Heaven; but that they are either Gods, or his Redeemers, he is nowhere taught, but detests all such Doctrine.*

There are two ways of desiring Intercession of others for us.

1. By way of *Friendly Request*, as an Act of mutual Charity; and so, no doubt, we may desire others here on Earth to pray for us.

2. By way of *Humble Supplication*, with all the external Acts of Adoration: and we cannot think *S. Peter*, or *S. Paul*, who refused any thing like Adoration from Men, would have been pleased to have seen Men fall down upon their Knees before them; and in the same posture of Devotion in which they were praying to Almighty God, to put their Names into the middle of their *Litanies*, and so pray them then to pray for them.

But how are we sure that their Church teaches no more than this? I have read over and over the Council of *Trent*, and the *Roman Catechism* about it, and I can find no such limitation of their sense there, where, if any where, it ought to be found. The Council of *Trent* mentions both the *Prayers*, and the *Help and Assistance* of the Saints which they are to fly to. If this *Help and Assistance* be no more than their *Prayers*, why is it mentioned as distinct? Why is *their reigning together with Christ in Heaven* spoken of, but to let us understand they have a Power to *Help and Assist*? For what is their *Reigning* to their *Praying* for us? But I have a farther Argument to prove the Council meant more, viz. the Council knew the common Practice and Forms of Invocation then used and allowed, and the general Opinion, that the Saints had power to *Help and Assist* those who prayed to them. If the Council did not approve this, why did it insert the very Words upon which that Practice was grounded? They likewise very well knew the Complaints which had been made of these things; and some of their own Communion cried shame upon some of their Hymns. *Wicelius* saith, one of them, [*Salve Regina*, &c.] is full of downright Impiety, and horrible Superstition, and that others are wholly inexcusable. *Lud. Vives* had said, He found little difference in the Peoples Opinion of their Saints in many things, from what the Heathens had of their Gods. These things were known; and it was in their Power to have redressed them, by declaring what the

Wicel. in
Elencho A-
busuum.

Vives in
Aug. de Ci-
vit. Dei.
l. 8. c. 27.

Sense

Sense of the Council was, and that whatever Forms were used, no more was to be understood by them, but *praying to them to pray for them*. Besides, the Council of Trent, in the very same Session, took care about reforming the Missal and Breviary; why was no care taken to reform these Prayers and Hymns, which they say are not to be construed by the Sense of the Words, but by the Sense of the Church? There was time enough taken for doing it; for the Reformed Missal was not published till six Years after the Council, nor the Breviary till four. In all that time, the Prayers and Hymns might easily have been altered to the Sense of the Church, if that were truly so. But instead of that, a very late French Writer cries out of the necessity of Reforming the Breviaries as to these things; wherein he confesses, *Many Hymns are still remaining, wherein those things are asked of Saints, which ought to be asked of God alone; as being delivered from the Chains of our Sins, being preserved from Spiritual Maladies, and Hell Fire; being inflamed with Charity, and made fit for Heaven*. In good Conscience, saith he, is not this joining the Saints with God himself, to ask those things of them which God alone can give? And whatever Men talk of the Sense of the Church, he confesses the very Forms, and natural Sense of the Words, do raise another Idea in Mens Minds; which ought to be prevented.

Entretiens de Phila- the & Pailere. Part. 2. p. 160, 163, 165.

But doth not the Roman Catechism explain this to be the Sense of the Church? I have examined that too, with all the care I could, about this Matter. And I cannot find any necessity from thence of putting this Sense upon them. I grant in one place, where it explains the difference of the Invocation of God and Saints, it saith, *We are to pray to God as the Giver, and to Saints, that they would obtain things of God for us*; and then it adds, *the Forms differ, that to God, is Miserere Nobis, and Audi Nos; that to Saints is, Ora pro Nobis*. Very well! And is there then no other Form owned or allowed in the Church of Rome to Saints besides this? Hold a little, saith the Catechism, for it is lawful to make use of another Form; and that is, *we may pray to Saints too, Ut nostri miserantur*. And how doth this now differ from that to God, but only in Number? But it adds, *that the Saints are very pitiful; then surely we are encouraged to pray to them for help and pity*. Yes, saith the Catechism, *we may pray to them, that being moved with pity toward us, they would help us with their Favour and Intercession with God*. But yet this doth not clear the Matter; for elsewhere the Roman Catechism attributes more to Saints than mere Intercession; and we may pray to them for what is in their Power: For where it undertakes to give an exact Account of the Reason of Invocation of Saints and Angels; it there parallels them with Magistrates under a King, and saith, *they are God's Ministers in governing the Church; Invocandi itaque sunt quod & perpetuo Deum intuentur, & Patrocinium Salutis nostræ libentissime suscipiunt*. What is this Patrocinium salutis nostræ? Is it only Praying and Intercession with God? That cannot be; for it instances presently in deliverances by Angels, and Jacob's praying to the Angel to bless him, and not merely to intercede for him. But though this is spoken of Angels, yet from hence it infers the Invocation of Saints too. But what need we insist more on this, since they do own the Ministry of Saints as well as Angels, with respect to the Church; and do Canonize Saints for particular Countries, as lately St. Rosa for Peru. And where there is such a particular Protection supposed, what incongruity is it

Catech. Rom. Part 4. c. 6. n. 2, 3.

Catech. Part 3. c. 2: n. 4, 6. Cum præsent nobis Sancti & rerum nostrarum curam gerant. Bellarm. de Sanct. Beat. tit. l. 1. c. 20. §. deinde. Non solum ab Angelis sed etiam à spiritibus beatorum hominum Regibus Gubernari fideles viventes. Id. ib. c. 18. S. nos autem.

to interpret the Form of their Prayers, according to a Doctrine so received and allowed? But of this more under the next Head.

2. *He confesses that we are all redeemed by the Blood of Christ alone, and that he is our only Mediator of Redemption; but as for Mediators of Intercession, he doth not doubt but it is acceptable with God we should have many.*

I would ask, concerning this Distinction, the Question which Christ asked concerning John's Baptism, *Is it from Heaven or of Man?* No doubt there may be such a Distinction of Mediators, if God please to make them. But who hath Authority to appoint Mediators with him besides himself? Is it not usurping his Prerogative, to appoint the great Officers of his Kingdom for him? Would any Prince upon Earth allow this, viz. when he hath absolutely declared his Pleasure, that his own Son should present Petitions to him, that others should take upon them to set up Masters of Requests themselves? Can any thing be plainer in the New Testament, than that God hath appointed the Mediator of Redemption, to be our Mediator of Intercession? And that his Intercession is founded upon his Redemption? As the High-Priest's going into the Holy of Holies to intercede for the People, was upon the Blood of the Sacrifice of Expiation, which he carried in with him. If there were no Revelation in this Matter, there might be some reason for it. But since the Revelation is so clear in it, this Distinction looks just like the Socinians Distinction of a God by Nature, and a God by Office, which was framed on purpose to avoid the plain Text of Scripture which called Christ God. So doth this look as if it were intended to avoid that clear Text, which saith, *There is one Mediator between God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus.* Which is presently answered with this Distinction; altho' there be not the least ground in that, or any other Text for it.

John 14.
13, 14, 16,
23, 24.
Heb. 7. 25.
& 9. 7, 24.
1 John 2. 1.

1 Tim. 2. 5.

Yes, saith our Author, *Moses was such a Mediator for the Israelites; Job for his three Friends; Stephen for his Persecutors: The Romans were desired by St. Paul to be his Mediator, and the Corinthians and Ephesians; so almost every sick Person desires the Congregation to be his Mediator, that is, to be remembred in their Prayers.* P. 4. 5.

But is there no difference between Men praying for one another, and desiring others to pray for them here on Earth, and an humble Invocation of the Saints in Heaven to be our Mediators of Intercession with God there?

There is a threefold disparity in the Case.

1. Here upon Earth we must converse with one another as Fellow-Creatures, and there is no danger of our having an Opinion thereby, that we are able to assist one another any other way than by our Prayers. But the Case is very different as to the Saints in Heaven, who by being addressed to there by such solemn Invocation, may too easily be conceived to have the Power of bestowing such Blessings upon those who call upon them.

2. Heaven is look'd on by all Mankind who direct their Devotions thither, as the particular Throne of God, where he dwells, and discovers himself after another manner than he doth upon Earth. And we are directed to pray to our Father in Heaven; where he is represented as infinitely above all his Creatures; and the great Concernment of Religion is, to keep up the apprehension of this distance between him and them. Now it is hardly possible to keep it up, if in the Publick Offices of Religion, in the solemnest postures of Devotion, with Eyes lifted up to Heaven, they do make Addresses, both to God and to his Creatures.

3. Men

3. Men are sure, when they pray to others on Earth to pray for them, that they do no more than they can justify in point of Discretion, when they speak or write to those that can understand what their desire is: But no Man on Earth can be certain that the Saints in Heaven can do it: For it is agreed they cannot do it without Revelation, and no Man can be assured there is a Revelation; and it is not reasonable to expect it; for they pray to Saints to pray to God for them, and they cannot tell what they pray for, unless God, to whom they are to pray, reveal to them what it is they must pray unto him for. Is it not then the better, the safer, the wiser way, to make our Prayers to him, who we are sure is able to hear and help us; and hath promised to grant what we ask in his Son's Name? But there is no other Name, either under Heaven, or in Heaven, whereby we can be saved, or our Prayers accepted, but His alone.

But our Author saith, *It is no part of his Faith, how the Saints in Heaven know the Prayers and Necessities of such who address themselves to them*, p. 5.

But how comes it to be any part of his Faith, that they know them? *However he doth not doubt but God can never want means of letting the Saints know them*, p. 6. And is this a sufficient ground for solemn Invocation of Saints? God doth not want Means to let the Emperor of Japan know a Request any one here hath to make to him; but is this a reasonable Ground, for him at this distance to make it to him? God doth not want means to let the Pope know what a mighty Service it would be to the Christian World, to make a wise and truly Christian-Reformation in the Church? but would this be a Ground sufficient for me at this Distance, to make a Speech to him about it? I knew a Man who understood not a word of Latin, but yet would needs go to hear a Latin Sermon: some asked him afterwards what he meant by it? and the chief Reason he gave was much like this, *God did not want Means to let him know what the Preacher meant*.

But after all; Suppose God should make known to the Saints what is desired of them: I ask, Whether this be a sufficient Ground for solemn Invocation? When Socinus was not able to defend the Invocation of Christ himself, supposing that he could know our Hearts only by Revelation: and he had nothing material to say, but only that there was a Command for it; which can never be so much as pretended in this Case.

As to what he alleadges of the *Elders falling down before the Lamb, having Vials full of Odours, which are the Prayers of the Saints*, Apoc. 5. 8. It must be strained hard to be brought to this purpose, when both Ancient and Modern Interpreters take it for a Representation of what was done upon Earth, and not in Heaven. And if it were in Heaven, Prophetical Visions were never intended for a measure of our Duties. *If the Angels do pray for Mankind*, Zech. 1. 12. Doth it therefore follow we must pray to them? But we say, as the Angel did to St. John, Revel. 19. 10. in a like Case, *See thou do it not: worship God*.

III. Of Addressing more Supplications to the Virgin Mary, than to Christ.

Here is no need of farther stating the Question; this only relating to the extraordinary Service of the Blessed Virgin. And therefore we are presently to attend his Motions.

He believes it damnable to think the Virgin Mary more powerful in Heaven than Christ, or that she can in any thing command him. p. 6.

But in good earnest, is it not damnable, unless a Man thinks the Blessed Virgin more powerful than Christ? Suppose one shou'd think her to have an equal share of Power with Christ; Is this damnable, or not? Is it not setting up a Creature equal with God?

S. Bonavent
Opusc. Tom.
1. ad fin.

But what thinks he then of those who have attributed an universal Dominion to her, over Angels, Men, and Devils? What thinks he not only of Psalters, but of a Creed, Litany, and all the Hymns of Scripture being applied to her? All which was done by a Canonized Saint in their Church; and the Books printed out of the Vatican Manuscripts, and dedicated to the Pope. And there we find something more than an *Ora pro nobis* in the Litany; for there is *Parce nobis, Domina*, Spare us, good Lady: and *Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domina*: From all evil good Lady, deliver us.

S. Bernardin.
din. Sen.
apud Bernar-
dinin à
Bustis Ma-
rial. Part
12. Serm. 2.

What thinks he of another Canonized Saint, who said, these two Propositions are both true, *All things are subject to God's Command, even the Virgin*; and *all things are subject to the Command of the Virgin, even God*. Was this damnable in a Canoniz'd Saint?

What thinks he of the noted Hymn?

*O felix Puerpera nostra piens scelera
Jure Matris impera Redemptori!*

Balingham
Parnass.
Marian. p.
208.

Was not this damnable? And I have not only seen it in the old Paris Missal, but Balingham a Jesuit, saith, it was in the Missals of Tournay, Liege, Amiens, Artois, and the Old Roman. I could produce many other Passages cited by him out of the old Offices to the same purpose; but I forbear.

Mendoza.
Virid. Sacr.
l. 2. Probl.
1, & 4.
Salazar. pro
Immac.
Concept.
c. 22.

But I cannot omit the Approbation given to the blasphemous saying of S. Bernardin by Mendoza, (who endeavours to prove the blessed Virgin's Kingdom, not to be a Metaphorical, but a true and real Kingdom.) And by Salazar, another noted Jesuit, who saith, *Her Kingdom is as large as her Son's*. And we have lately seen how far this Divinity is spread, for not many years since, this Proposition was sent from Mexico,

Hier. Peres
de Nutros
Lapidicina
Sacr. Tr. 1.
Sect. 12.
N. 148.
Page 7.

Filius non tantum tenetur audire Matrem, sed & obedire;

The Son is bound not only to hear, but to obey his Mother. And is it still damnable for to say, *she commands him*?

Viridar.
Sacr. l. 2.
Probl. 2.
N. 11.

But our Author saith, What ever esteem they have for her, *They own her still as a Creature*. Is he sure of that? What thinks he of another Saying, which Mendoza approves of, viz. of Christ's saying to his Mother, *As thou hast communicated Humanity to me, I will communicate my Deity to thee*?

But

But it may be said, *We are by no means to judge the sense of a Church by some Mens extravagant sayings.*

I grant it. But I have something considerable to reply, viz. That we may easily judge which way the Guides of that Church incline, by this following passage: About ten years since a Gentleman of that Communion published a Book, called, *Wholsome Advice to the Worshippers of the blessed Virgin*; and the whole design of it, being printed in Latin and French, was to bring the People of that Church to a bare *Oro pro nobis* to the *blessed Virgin*. But this was so far from being approved, that the Book was condemned at Rome, and vehemently opposed by the Jesuits in France, and a whole Volume published against it.

La veritable Devotion envers la S. Vierge Etablie & Defendue par le Pere Crasset à Paris, A. D. 1679.

Here I have reason to enquire, Whether the Virgin Mary then, according to the sense of the Church of Rome, be only a *Mediatrice* of *Intercession* or not, since so large Power and Dominion is attributed to her? And why should not her Suppliants go beyond an *Ora pro nobis*, if this Doctrine be received, as it must be, if the contrary cannot be endured? For that Author allowed her *Intercession* and *Prayer* to her on that account; but he found fault with those who said *she had a Kingdom divided with her Son*; that *she was the Mother of Mercy*, or *was a Co-Saviour*, or *Co-Redemptrix*; or that *she was to be worshipped with Latria*; or that *Men were to be Slaves to her*. Now, if these things must not be touched without Censure, and no Censure pass on the other Books; is it not easie to judge which is more agreeable to the Spirit of the Guides of that Church?

Monita Salutaria B. V. Mariae ad Cultores suos indistinctos, §. 3. n. 56. §. 4.

But we have a fresh Instance of this kind at home, in a Book very lately published, *Permissu Superiorum*. There we are told in the Epistle, That not only the *blessed Virgin is the Empress of Seraphims*—the most exact Original of practical Perfection, which the Omnipotency of God ever drew; but that by innumerable Titles she claims the utmost Duty of every Christian, as a proper Homage to her Greatness. What can be said more of the Son of God in our Nature? In the Book it self she is said to be, *Queen of Angels*, *Patroness of the Church*, *Advocate of Sinners*; that the *Power of Mary in the Kingdom of Jesus*, is suitable to her *Maternity*, and other Privileges of Grace; and therefore by it she justly claims a servitude from all pure Creatures. But wherein doth this special Devotion to her consist? He names several Particulars.

Contemplation of the Life and Glory of holy Mary, the Mother of Jesus, A. D. 1685.

Page 4.

Page 8.

1. In having an inward, cordial, and passionate value of the *Maternity* of Mary, and all other Excellencies proper to, and inseparable from the *Mother of God*.

2. In external Acts of worship, of eminent Servitude towards her, by reason of the amplitude of her Power in the Empire of Jesus. And can we imagine these should go no farther, than a poor *Ora pro nobis*? He instances in these external Acts of her worship. (1.) *Frequent visiting holy Places dedicated to her Honour*. And are not those her Temples then? which Bellarmine confesseth to be a peculiar part of the Worship due to God. And the distinction of *Basilica* cannot hold here, because he believes the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; and he will not pretend to her Honour is only for Discrimination. (2.) *A special Reverence towards Images representing her Person*. (3.) *Performing some daily Devotions containing her Praises, congratulating her Excellency, or imploring her Mediation*; and by oft calling upon the sacred Name of holy Mary, &c.

Bellarmin de Cultu Sanct. l. 3. c. 4. init.

3. In having a firm and unshaken Confidence in her Patronage, amidst the greatest of our inward Conflicts, and outward Tribulations; through a strong Judgment of her eminent Power within the Empire of Jesus, grounded upon the singular Prerogative of her Divine Maternity. I have not Patience to transcribe more, but refer the Reader to the Book it self; only the eighth Particular of special Devotion is so remarkable, that it ought not to be passed over, viz. *Entring a solemn Covenant with holy Mary, to be for ever her Servant, Client, and Devote, under some special Rule, Society, or Form of Life, and thereby dedicating our Persons, Concerns, Actions, and all the Moments and Events of our Life to Jesus, under the protection of his Divine Mother, chusing her to be our Adoptive Mother, Patroness, and Advocate; and entrusting her with what we are, have, do, or hope, in Life, Death, and through all Eternity. And is all this no more than an Ora pro nobis? And it follows, Put your self wholly under her protection. What a pitiful thing was the old Collyridian Cake, in comparison of these special Acts of Devotion to her! But there are some extraordinary Strains of Devotion afterwards, which it is pity to pass over: As, I will ever observe thee as my Sovereign Lady, Adoptive Mother, and most powerful Patroness, relying on thy Bowels of Mercy, in all my Wants, Petitions, and Tribulations of Body and Mind. Could any thing greater be said to the Eternal Son of God? And in the Praise:*

Verse. Open my Lips, O Mother of Jesus!

Resp. And my Soul shall speak forth thy Praise.

Verse. Divine Lady, be intent to my Aid.

Resp. Graciously make haste to help me.

Verse. Glory be to Jesus and Mary.

Resp. As it was, is, and ever shall be.

Then follows the Eighth Psalm, applied thus to her.

Mary, Mother of Jesus, how wonderful is thy Name, even unto the ends of the Earth!

All Magnificence be given to Mary, and let her be exalted above the Stars and Angels.

Reign on high as Queen of Seraphims and Saints; and be thou crowned with Honour and Glory, &c.

Glory be to Jesus and Mary, &c.

In the next Page follows a Cantique, in imitation of the Te Deum.

Let us praise thee, O Mother of Jesus! Let us acknowledge thee our Sovereign Lady.

Let Men and Angels give Honour to thee, the first conceived of all pure Creatures, &c.

I think I need mention no more; only three things I shall observe: (1.) That this is now printed *Permissu Superiorum*; and we thank them for the seasonableness of it, in helping us in true Representing, what their allowed Doctrines and Practices are. (2.) That this is published in *English*, that our People, as well as theirs, may be convinced how far we have been from unjust charging them as to such things as these. (3.) That at the same time they plead for keeping the Bible out of the hands of the People; wherein their Discretion is so far to be commended, since the Scripture, and this new Scheme of Devotion, can never stand together. There being not one word in the Bible towards it, but very much against it; and the Psalms and Hymns must be *burlesqu'd* to sound that way.

But

But what saith our Author to their *Rosaries*, wherein there are *nin Ave Marias to one Pater noster*; which is accounted a special piece of Devotion; and great things are said of the effects of it by *Alanus de Rupe*, and many others.

1. As to the *Ave Marias*, he saith, *there is no more dishonour to God in reciting the Angelical Salutation, than in the first pronouncing it by the Angel Gabriel and Elizabeth*. But it may not be altogether so pertinent. But doth he really think they said the whole *Ave Maria*, as it is used among them? Did the Angel and *Elizabeth* say, *Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus, nunc & in hora mortis nostrae*? If not to what purpose are they mentioned here?

2. As to the *Repetition*; that, he saith, *is no more an idle Superstition, than David's repeating the same words twenty six times in the 136 Psalm*. But what is this to the Question, *why more Supplications to the blessed Virgin than to Christ*? and not one word of answer is given to it. But *Alanus de Rupe* answers it roundly, *Because the blessed Virgin is our Mediatrix to Christ the Mother of Mercy, and the special Patroness of Sinners*. This is indeed true representing.

Page 71

Alanus de Rupe de usu Psalterii, l. 1. c. 6.

142:1.A.

IV. Of paying Divine Worship to Reliques.

FOR the right understanding this Controversie, we are to consider,

1. That there is a due Veneration to the Bodies of Saints and Martyrs, allowed on both sides; and there is an undue worship of them, which is disowned on both sides. The due Veneration is, a religious Decency to be observed towards them; which lies in avoiding any thing like Contempt or Dishonour to them; and using all such Testimonies of Respect and Decency, which becomes the Remains of excellent Persons; provided we are satisfied of their Sincerity, without having recourse to Divine Omnipotency to prove them: which *Ferrandus* the Jesuit runs so much to, to prove the Truth of many Reliques, worshipped in the Church of *Rome* in many places at once. But that it is possible to exceed in the worship of true Reliques, even *Bellarmin* confesses, who says, *that God took away the Body of Moses, lest the People should give Divine Worship to it*. And *St. Jerom*, as hot as he was against *Vigilantius*, yet he utterly denied giving any Adoration to the Reliques of Martyrs. It seems then it is very possible to exceed that way.

Ferrandi. Disquisitio Reliquiarum.

De Imag. Sanct. l. 2. c. 4.

2. The Question then is, Whether those Acts of Worship which are allowed in the Church of *Rome*, do not go beyond due Veneration? For it is unreasonable to suppose those who give it, to believe those Reliques to be Gods; and therefore it must be such a Worship as is given to them, supposing them to be only Reliques of such Persons. The Council of *Trent* decrees Honour and Veneration to be given to them, but never determines what is due, and what not: it forbids all Excesses in drinking and eating, in the visiting of Reliques; but not a word of Excesses in worshipping of them, unless it be comprehended under the name of Superstition. But *Superstition* lies in something forbidden, according to their notion of it: therefore, if there be no Prohibition by the Church, there can be no Superstition in the worship of them. And if they had thought there had been any in the known Practices of the

Cassand.
Consult.
Art. 1.
Traff. spe-
cial 4. Con-
trou. 4.

Church, they would certainly have mentioned them; and because they did not, we ought in Reason to look on them as allowed. And yet not only *Cassander* complains of the great Superstition about them; but even the *Wallenbergii* lately confess, that the Abuses therein, have not only been offensive to us, but to themselves too.

But what faith our *Representer* to them?

He believes it damnable to think there's any Divinity in the Relicks of Saints, or to adore them with Divine Honour, p. 7. But what is this adoring them with Divine Honour? A true *Representer* ought to have told us what he meant by it, when the whole Controversie depends upon it. Is it only saying Mass to Relicks, or believing them to be Gods? Is there no giving Divine Honour by Prostration, burning of Incense, &c. Nothing in expecting help from them? Yes, *If it be from any hidden Power of their own*. But here is a very hard Question: If a Man doth not believe it to be an intrinsic Power in the Relicks, may a Man safely go to them, *Opis impetrande causâ*, as the Council of Trent saith, in hopes of Relief from them? Is it not possible for the Devil to appear with *Samuel's* true Body, and make use of the Relick of a Saint to a very bad end? Then, say I, no Relicks can secure Men against the Imposture of Evil Spirits, who, by God's Permission, may do strange things with the very Relicks of Saints.

But God hath visibly worked by them, saith our Author, by making them Instruments of many Miracles; and it is as easie for him to do it now, p. 8, 9. This is the force of all he saith. To which I answer.

Rabat. Joy
de Jansenist,
A. D. 1656.

1. It is a very bold thing to call in God's Omnipotency, where God himself hath never declared he will use his Power; for it is under his own Command, and not ours. But there is no Reason to deduce the Consequence of using it now, because he hath done it formerly. And that they may not think this is cavilling in us, I desire them to read *Pere Annat's* Answer to the Jansenists pretended Miracle at *Port Royal*, viz. of the Cure wrought by one of our Saviour's Thorns. There he gives another account of such Miracles than would be taken from us. But where he saith, *It is as much for the Honour of God's Name to work such Miracles now*; their own Authors will tell him the contrary; and that there is no such Reason now, as in former times, when Religion was to be confirmed by them; and when Martyrs suffered upon the sole account of the Truth of it; and therefore their Reputation had a great Influence upon converting the unbelieving World.

2. Suppose it be granted, yet it proves not any Religious Worship to be given to them. For I shall seriously ask an important Question: Whether they do really believe, any greater Miracles have ever been done by Relicks, than were done by the Brazen Serpent? And yet, although that was set up by God's own Appointment; when it began to be worshipped after an undue manner, it was thought fit by *Hezekiah* to be broken in pieces. What now was the undue Worship they gave to it? Did they believe the Serpent, which could neither move nor understand, was it self a God? But they did burn Incense to it. And did that make a God of it? Suppose Men burn Incense to Reliques; what then, are they made Gods presently? Suppose they do not, but place them upon Altars, carry them in Procession, fall down before them, with intention to shew the Honour they do them; are not these as much as burning a little Incense, which could not signifie so much Honour as the other do? and it is hard then to make the one unlawful, and not the other.

V. Of

V. Of the Eucharist.

143:2:A.

There are two material Points under this Head which are to be examined, because he endeavours to set them off with all the advantage he can, viz. Adoration of the Host, and Transubstantiation.

204:1:A.

I. Of the Adoration of the Host.

1. The Question is far enough from being, Whether it be lawful to commit Idolatry? as our *Representer* puts it. For the *Misrepresenter* saith, *That a Papist believes it lawful to commit Idolatry*: and to clear this, our Author gravely saith, *He believes it unlawful to commit Idolatry*, p. 9. As though any Men ever owned it to be lawful: Which is, as if the Question were, Whether such a Man committed Adultery, and he should think to clear himself by saying, he believed it unlawful to commit Adultery.

2. The Question is not, Whether Christ may be lawfully adored by us in the Celebration of the Eucharist; which we are so far from denying, that our Church requires our receiving it in the posture of Adoration.

3. The true Question is, Whether the Body of Christ, being supposed to be present in the Host by Transubstantiation, be a sufficient Ground to give the same Adoration to the Host, which they would do to the Person of Christ?

And that this is the true state of the Question, will appear by these things.

1. The Council of *Trent* first defined Transubstantiation, and from thence inferred *Adoration of the Host*; as is most evident to any one that will read the fourth and fifth Decrees of the Thirteenth Session: *Nul- lus itaque dubitandi locus*, &c. i. e. If Transubstantiation be true, then Adoration follows. It's true, the sixth Canon only speaks of *Christ being there worshipped*; but that ought to be compared with the first, second, and fourth Canons, where the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* is fully set down, as the Foundation of that *Adoration*.

2. The *Adoration* is not fix'd on the *Person of Christ*, as separate from the *Host*, but as making one Object of Worship together with it. And so the Council of *Trent* declares in the sixth Decree; when it saith, *The Sacrament is never the less to be adored, because it was instituted to be received*. This cannot be otherwise understood, than as relating to the Sacrament: and so that whatever it be, must be granted to be the Object of Adoration. ' By the Sacrament, saith Cardinal *Pallavicini*, is understood the Object made up of the Body of Christ, and the Accidents. The Worship then being confessed to be Adoration, which is due to God alone, and that Adoration directed to the Sacrament as its proper Object; the Question now is, Whether such a Supposition in the Sacrament, doth justify that Adoration?

Pallavicini.
hist. Confil.
Trident.
l. 12. c. 6.

Our Author saith, *He accounteth it most damnable to worship or adore any brea-den God, or to give Divine Honour to any Elements of Bread and Wine*, p. 9.

Then,

Then, I say, by his own confession, if it be only Bread, he commits Idolatry; for the Adoration he cannot deny. But our *Representer* loves ambiguous Expressions, which to the People sound very well, but have no sincere meaning: for what is it he understands by his *breaden God*? If it be that he worships a God which himself supposes to be nothing but Bread, we do not charge him with it; but if it be what we believe it to be, the Substance of Bread, but himself believes to be turned into the Body of Christ, then he cannot deny his Adoration to be given to it.

All that can excuse them is, the Supposition; and whether that will or not, is now to be consider'd.

Roffenj.
c. Oecolamp.
l. 1. c. 2.
Coster. Eu-
chicid. c. 8.
n. 10.
Catharin.
in Cajet.
p. 133, &c.
Ed. Paris.
l. 1535.

1. If it be not true, themselves grant it to be Idolatry. The Testimonies of Bishop *Fisher*, and *Costerus*, are so well known to this purpose, that I shall not repeat them. And *Catharinus*, a Divine of Note in the Council of *Trent*, confesses it is Idolatry to worship an unconsecrated Host, although the Person, through a Mistake, believes it Consecrated. And he quotes *St. Thomas* and *Paludanus* for his Opinion; and gives this Reason for it; *because Christ is not worshipped simply in the Sacrament, but as he is under the Species; and therefore if he be not so present, a Creature hath Divine Worship given it. As those were guilty of Idolatry, who worshipped any Creatures of old, supposing God to be there, as that he was the Soul of the World. They were not excused, saith he, that they thought they worshipped but one God; because they worshipped him as present in such a manner as he was not.* And this Book of his, he saith, in the Review of it, was seen and approved by the Pope's Order, by their Divines at Paris.

Lugdun.
1542.

2. If the Bread were taken to be God, our Author doth not deny it would be Idolatry, for that were to worship a breaden God. Yet here would be a Mistake, and a gross one; yet this Mistake would not excuse the Persons committing it from most damnable Idolatry, as he confesses: Why then should the other Mistake excuse them, when they suppose the Substance of the Bread not to be there, but the Body of Christ to be under the Species? Yes, say they, *then no Creature is supposed to be the Object of Worship.* But when the Bread is supposed to be God, it must be supposed not to be a Creature. There is no Answer to be given in this Case, but that the Bread really is a Creature, whatsoever they imagined; and if this Mistake did not excuse, neither can the other.

§3. 1. A

II. Of Transubstantiation.

Three Things our Author goes upon, with respect to this.

P. 9, 10,
11, 12.

1. He supposes Christ's words to be clear for it.
2. He shews the possibility of it, from God's Omnipotency.
3. He argues against the Testimony or Evidence of Sense or Reason in this Case, from some parallel Instances, as he thinks.

1. He believes *Jesus Christ* made his Words good, pronounced at his last Supper, really giving his Body and Blood to his Apostles; the Substance of Bread and Wine being, by his powerful Words, changed into his own Body and Blood; the Species only, or Accidents of the Bread and Wine, remaining as before. The same he believes of the Eucharist consecrated now by Priests.

This

This is a very easy way, of taking it for granted that the words are clear for Transubstantiation. And from no better Ground, to fly to God's Omnipotency to make it good, is as if one should suppose Christ really to be turned into a Rock, a Vine, a Door; because the words are every jot as clear, and then call in God's Omnipotency, which is as effectual to make them good. I confess, these words are so far from being clear to me for Transubstantiation, that if I had never heard of it, I should never have thought of it, from these or any other words of Scripture, *i. e.* not barely considering the sound of words, but the Eastern Idioms of speaking; the Circumstances of our Saviour's real Body at that time when he spake them; the uncouth way of feeding on Christ's real Body, without any Objection made against it by his Disciples; the Key our Saviour elsewhere gives for understanding the manner of eating his Flesh; and withal, if these words be literally and strictly understood, they must make the Substance of Bread to be Christ's Body; for that is unavoidably the literal sense of the words. For can any Men take *This* to be any thing but this Bread, who attend to the common sense and meaning of Words, and the strict Rules of Interpretation? Yet this sense will by no means be allow'd; for then all that can be infer'd from these words is, that when Christ spake these words, *The Bread was his Body*. But either Christ meant the *Bread* by *This*, or he did not; if he did, the former Proposition is unavoidable in the literal Sense; if he did not, then by virtue of these words, the Bread could never be turned into the Body of Christ. For that only could be made the Body of Christ which was meant, when Christ said, *This is my Body*. This seems to me to be as plain and convincing as any Demonstration in *Euclid*. Which hath often made me wonder at those who talk so confidently of the plain Letter of Scripture, being for this Doctrine of Transubstantiation. But several Divines of the Church of Rome, understood themselves better, and have confessed, That this Doctrine could not be drawn out of the literal sense of these words; as it were easy to shew, if it had not been lately done already. It is enough here to observe, that *Vasquez* confesseth it of *Scotus*, *Durandus*, *Vasq. in 3 Part. Disc. 180. Q. 75.4. Art. 2. c. 9.* *Paludanus*, *Ockam*, *Cameracensis*; and himself yields that they do not, and cannot signify expressly the Change of the Bread and Wine into the Body of Christ. For how can, *This is my Body*, literally signify, this is changed into my Body? If that Proposition were literally true, *This is my Body*, it overthrows the change; For how can a thing be changed into that which it is already?

2. He believes Christ being equal to his Father in Truth and Omnipotency, can make his Words good. We do not in the least dispute Christ's Omnipotency, but we may their familiar way of making use of it to help them out, when Sense and Reason fail them. And therefore *Cajetan* *Cajetan. in 3 Part. Q. 75. Art. 1, 2, 3.* well said; "We ought not to dispute about God's absolute Power in the Doctrine of the Sacraments, being things of such constant use; and that it is a foolish thing to attribute to the Sacrament all that God can do."

But we must consider what he saith against *Sense and Reason*. For the believing this Mystery, he does not at all think it meet for any Christian to appeal from Christ's Words, to his own Senses or Reason, for the examining the Truth of what he hath said, but rather to submit his Senses and Reason to Christ's Words in the obsequiousness of Faith. What! whether we know this to be the meaning of Christ's Words, or not? And thus

thus we shall be bound to submit to every absurd Interpretation of Scripture, because we must not use our Senses or Reason for examining the Truth of what is said there. Can any thing be plainer said in Scripture, than that God hath Eyes, and Ears, and Hands? Must now every Man yield to this *in the obsequiousness of Faith*, without examining it by Principles of Common Reason? And we think we are therefore bound to put another Sense upon those Expressions, because they imply a Repugnancy to the Divine Perfections. Why not then where something is implied which is repugnant to the Nature of Christ's Body, as well as to our Senses? But the Question about judging in this Matter by our Senses, is not, as our Author is willing to suppose, *viz.* Whether our Senses are to be believed, against a clear and express Divine Revelation; but whether the Judgment of our Senses and Reason is not to be made use of for finding out the true sense of this Revelation? And we think there is great reason for it.

(1.) Because we have no more certain way of judging the Substance of a Body, than by our Senses. We do not say our Senses go beyond the Accidents; but we say, our Senses by those Accidents, do assure us of the bodily Substance, or else it were impossible for us to know there is any such thing in the World.

(2.) Because Christ did himself appeal to the Judgment of his Disciples Senses concerning the Truth of his own Body after the Resurrection; *S. Luke 24. 39. Behold my Hands and my Feet, that it is I my self: handle and see, for a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have.* Now we think we have reason to allow the same Criterion which Christ himself did about the very same Body. Unless he had then told his Disciples, that there was to be *another supernatural manner of Existence* of the same Body, concerning which their Senses were not to be Judges.

(3.) Some of the most important Articles of the Christian Faith do suppose the Judgment of our Senses to be true. As about the Truth of Christ's Body; whether he had really a Body, or only the outward Accidents and Appearance of a Body? if he had not, he did not really suffer upon the Cross, and so the Sacrifice of Propitiation there offered up to the Father for the Sins of Mankind, is lost. There was a great Controversy in St. John's time, and afterwards, Whether Christ had any real Body? Those who denied it, brought Revelation for it; those who asserted it, proved it by their Senses, as S. John himself, *That which we have seen, and heard, and our hands have handled, &c.* He doth not tell Men, they must submit their Sense and Reason to the pretence of Revelation; but they ought to adhere to the Judgment of their Senses concerning the Reality of Christ's Body. Since therefore Christ himself appealed to it, the Apostles made use of it, without any Caution or Limitation, we have great reason to rely still on the Judgment of our Senses concerning the same Object, *viz.* the Body of Christ.

But we must now consider his Instances to overthrow the Judgment of our Senses and Reason in this Point.

1. *He believes Christ to be God, though to Senses he seemed nothing but Man.* Do we ever pretend to judge of Christ's Divinity by our Senses? How then can this be pertinent, when our only Dispute is about judging his Body, and the Substance of Bread and Wine by them? And yet the Senses were of great use as to the proof his Divinity by the Miracles which he wrought; which if they had been like the pretended Miracles

Miracles in Transubstantiation, could have convinced no Man, because they could never see them.

2. *He believes the Holy Ghost descended on our Saviour, tho' Senses or Reason could discover it to be nothing but a Dove.* If there were no reason to judge otherwise, the Judgment of Sense were to be followed: But since the Scripture declares it was the Holy Ghost descending as a Dove, we have no reason to question that Revelation. For we do not pretend that our Senses are so far Judges of Divine Appearances, as to exclude the possibility of God's assuming the shape and figure of his Creature when he pleases, by moulding the Substance of a real Body into such a Representation. Thus we do not deny the possibility of an appearance of the Holy Ghost under Bread and Wine, if God thought fit, any more than under a Dove; and in this Case we do not pretend that our Senses can exclude the presence of a Spirit under the Elements; but that is very different from the present Case, for here the Substance is supposed to be gone, and nothing but Accidents remaining; and no spiritual Presence of Christ is denied, but that of his Body, the very same Body which suffered on the Cross.

3. *He believes the Man who appeared to Joshua, (Ch. 5. 13.) and the three Men to Abraham, (Gen. 18.) were really and substantially no Men, notwithstanding all the Information and Evidence of Sense to the contrary, from their Colour, Features, Proportion, Talking, Eating, and many others.* And what follows from hence, but that Spiritual Invisible Substances may be under the appearance of Bodies, and that our Senses cannot be Judges of them? Which is not our Question: but, Whether Bodies can be so present after the manner of Spirits, as to lose all the natural Properties of Bodies? and, Whether a Material Substance can be lost, under all the Accidents proper to it, so as our Senses cannot be proper Judges of one by the other?

But our Author seems to grant this, in a natural way of the Existence of a Body: but he saith, *Christ gives to his Body a supernatural manner of Existence, by which being left without extension of Parts, and rendered independent of Place, it may be one and the same in many Places at once, and whole in every part of the Symbols, and not obnoxious to any corporeal contingences.*

This is to me a Mystery beyond all comprehension by Sense or Reason; and there is certainly a great difference between governing our Understandings, and giving them up, as we must do if this Doctrine hold good; for it overthrows any fixed Principles of Reason in Mankind concerning the Nature and Properties of Bodies.

For, 1. We must still suppose the Body of Christ to be the very same individual Body which suffered upon the Cross; but if it had no extension of Parts, and be reckoned independent upon Place, it ceaseth to be a Body. It is granted, that after a natural way of Existence, a Body cannot be in more Places than one: but let the way of Existence be what it will, if it be a Body, it must be finite; if finite, it must be limited and circumscribed; if it be circumscribed within one place, it cannot be in more places, for that is to make it circumscribed, and not circumscribed; undivided from it self, and divided from it self at the same time. Which is a manifest Contradiction, which doth not depend only on Quantity or Extension, but upon the essential Unity of a Body.

2. If it be possible for a Body to be in several places by a *supernatural Existence*; why may not the same Body be in several Places by a *Natural*

ral Existence? Is it not because Extension and Circumscription are so necessary to it, that in a natural Way it can be but in one Place? Then it follows that these are essential Properties of Bodies; so that no true Body can be conceived without them.

3. This *Supernatural Existence* doth not hinder the Body's being individually present in one Place: My meaning is this; A Priest consecrates an Host at *London*, and another at *York*; is the Body of Christ at *London*, so present there by virtue of Consecration, as to be present at *York* too, by this *Supernatural Existence*? What then doth the Consecration at *York* produce? If it be not, then its Presence is limited to the Host, where the Consecration is made; and if it be so limited, then this *Supernatural Existence* cannot take off its Relation to Place.

4. The same Body would be liable to the greatest Contradictions imaginable: For the same Body after this *supernatural way of Existence*, may not only be above and below, within and without, near and far off from it self: but it may be hot and cold, dead and alive; yea in Heaven and Hell at once.

5. What is it that makes it still a Body after this *supernatural way of Existence*, &c. if it lose extension and dependency on Place? If it be only an aptitude to extension, when that *supernatural Existence* is taken off, then it must either be without quantity, or with it. If it be without quantity, how can it be a Body? if with quantity, how is it possible to be without Extension?

6. This confounds all the differences of Greater and Less, as well as of Distance and Nearness. For upon this Supposition, a thing really greater may be contained within a less: for the whole Organical Body of Christ, with all its Parts, may be brought within the compass of a Wafer; and the whole be in every part without any distance between Head and Feet.

7. This makes Christ to have but one Body, and yet to have as many Bodies as there are consecrated Hosts. No, saith our Author, *This supernatural manner of Existence is without danger of multiplying his Body, or making as many Christs as Altars*, p. 11. But how this can be, is past all human Understanding: For every Consecration hath its Effect, which is supposed to be the Conversion of the Substance of the Bread into the Body of Christ. Now, when a Priest at *London* converts the Bread into the Body of Christ there, he doth it not into the Body of Christ at *York*, but the Priest there doth it; therefore the Body of Christ at *London*, is different from that at *York*; or else the Conversion at *London* would be into the Body, as at *York*. But if not, what is the substantial Term of this substantial Change, where nothing but an accidental Mode doth follow? If there be any such Term, whether that must not be a Production of something which was not before; and if it be so, Christ must have as many new Bodies, as there are Consecrations.

8. This makes that which hath no particular Subsistence of its own, to be the Subject of a substantial Change; for this is the condition of Christ's Body, whatever its manner of Existence be, after the Hypostatical Union to the Divine Nature. For, when *Bellarmin*, *Petavius*, and others of their greatest Divines, undertake, against *Nestorius*, to explain the Hypostatical Union, they tell us it consists in this, That the Human Nature loseth its proper Subsistence, and is assumed into the Subsistence of the Divine Nature. From whence I infer, That the Body of Christ

Bellarmin. de
Incarn. l. 3.
c. 8.
Petav. de
Incarnatio-
ne. p. 6.
c. 1. §. 3.

Christ, having no proper Subsistence of its own, there can be no substantial Change into that which hath no proper Subsistence, but into that which hath; and consequently the Change must be into the Divine Nature principally; from whence it will follow, the Elements losing their Subsistence upon Consecration, the Divinity must be united hypostatically to them, as to the Human Nature; and so there will be as many Hypostatical Unions, as there are Consecrations. And so this Doctrine not only confounds Sense and Reason, but the Mysteries of Christ's Incarnation too: Which I think is sufficient for this Head.

A.

200: 2: C VI. Of Merits and Good Works.

FOR the true stating this Controversy, we are to observe;

1. That we do not charge those of the Church of Rome, *That they believe Christ's Death and Passion to be ineffectual and insignificant, and that they have no dependence on the Merits of his Sufferings, or the Mercy of God for attaining Salvation; but that they are to be saved only by their own Merits and Good Works,* as the Misrepresenter saith, *Pag. 12.*

2. We do not charge them with denying the necessity of Divine Grace in order to Merit; or with asserting that they can merit independently thereupon.

3. We do by no means dispute about the Necessity of Good Works, in order to the Reward of another Life; or assert that Christ's Merits will save Men, without working out their own Salvation; but do firmly believe, that God will judge Men according to their Works.

The Question then is, *Whether the Good Works of a Just Man, as our Author expresses it, are truly meritorious of Eternal Life?* Which he affirms, but qualifies with saying, *That they proceed from Grace, and that through God's Goodness and Promise, they are truly meritorious.* But the Council of Trent denounces an Anathema against those who deny the Good Works of Justified Persons, to be truly meritorious of the increase of Grace, and of Eternal Life. *Pag. 31: Concil. Trident. Sess. 6: Can. 32.*

Here then lie the Points in difference; (1.) Whether such Good Works can be said to be truly meritorious? (2.) Whether those who deny it, deserve an Anathema for so doing? As to what relates to God's Acceptance and Allowance, and his Goodness and Promise, we freely own all that he saith about it; and if no more be meant, what need an Anathema about this Matter? There must therefore be something beyond this, when Good Works are not only said to be truly meritorious, but we are cursed if we do not say the same.

To make any thing truly meritorious, we must suppose these Conditions requisite.

1. That what we pretend to merit by, be our own free Act.
2. That it be not defective.
3. That there be an Equality between it, and the Reward due to it.
4. That there be an Obligation in Point of Justice, to give that Reward to him that doth it.

And from these Considerations, we deny that Good Works, even of Justified Persons, can be truly meritorious.

Meritum est Actio libera cui Merces debetur ex iustitia. Co-ster. Enchirid. de Meritis bon. Oper. c. 7.

In quantum homo propria voluntate facit id quod debet, meretur apud Deum, alioquin reddere debitum non esset meritorum. Aquin. 1, 2. q. 114. artic. 1. resp. ad 1.

1. It is granted by themselves, That what is *truly meritorious*, must be a free Act of the Person who doth it. Now the Good Works of justified Persons cannot be said to be their own free Acts, if the Power of doing them depend upon Divine Assistance, and there was an antecedent Obligation upon them to perform them: So that they can do nothing but what they are bound to, as God's Creatures; and their very Power of doing it is from the Grace of God. If Men pretended to merit at another's hands by what God gives, there were some colour for it; but to merit from God himself by what he gives us, seems very incongruous. If I owe a Man an 100 *l.* and another knowing me unable to pay it, gives me so much to pay the Debt, this is no more than what may be called strict Payment, as to the Creditor; but if the Creditor himself gives me this 100 *l.* to pay himself with, will any Man call this strict Payment? He may call it so himself, if he pleases, but that only shews his Kindness and Favour; but it doth not look very modestly or gratefully, for the Debtor to insist upon it as *true legal Payment*. Just so it is in Good Works done by the Power of God's Grace, which we could never have done without it; and therefore such cannot be *truly meritorious*.

2. What is *truly meritorious* must not be defective; because the Proportion is to be equal between the Act and the Reward due to it; which being perfect, requires that there be no Defect in the Acts which merit it. But this can never be said of Good Works of justified Persons, that they have no Defects in them. We do not say, they are not Good Works, but they are not exact and perfect; for although the Grace of God, as it comes from him, be a perfect Gift; yet as it Acts upon Mens Minds, it doth not raise them to such a degree, but that they have Imperfections in their best Actions. And whatever is defective, is faulty; whatever is faulty, must be forgiven; whatever needs forgiveness, cannot be *truly meritorious*. But not only their Good Works are defective; but if they would merit, they ought to have none but Good Works, whereas the mixture of others renders the good incapable of being *meritorious*, because there is so much to be pardoned, as takes away all claim of *Merit* in the good they perform. And themselves do not pretend, that Men can merit the Grace of Remission; but it is very strange that those who cannot deserve to be forgiven, should deserve to have an infinite Reward bestowed upon them.

Meritum se habet ad premium sicut pretium ad illum quod emitur. Altfiodor. l. 3. tr. 12. Absoluta æqualitas inter mercedem & meritum ponitur per modum Iustitiæ commutativæ. Bell. Justif. l. 5. c. 14.

3. There must be an exact Proportion between the Act and the Recompence: for to merit, is to pay a Price for a thing; and in such Acts of commutative Justice, there must be an Equality of one thing with another. But what Equality can there be between the imperfect Good Works of the best Men, and the most perfect Happiness of another World, especially when that consists in the fruition of the Beatifical Vision? For what Proportion can there be between our Acts towards God, and God's Acts towards the Blessed in Heaven? Let the Acts be of what Person soever, or of what Nature soever, or from what Principle soever, as long as they are the Acts of finite imperfect Creatures, it is impossible there should be any Equality, or exact Proportion between them and the Eternal Favour of God, which is the Reward promised.

4. Where Acts are *truly meritorious*, there follows an Obligation of strict Justice, to pay the Recompence due to them. But what strict Justice can there be between the Creator and his Creatures, to recompence the

the Service they are bound to perform ; when their very Being, Power to act, Assistance in acting, and Recompence for it, are all from his Bounty and Goodness? But our Author would avoid all this, by saying, that though Good Works are *truly meritorious* ; yet it is *through the Merits of Christ, and as they proceed from Grace, and through his Goodness and Promise that they are so* ; i. e. they are truly meritorious, because it appears from all these things they neither are, nor can be meritorious. For,

(1.) How come the Merits of Christ to make Good Works *truly meritorious* ? Are the Merits of Christ imputed to those Good Works ? Then those Good Works must be as meritorious as Christ's own Works ; which I suppose he will not assert. Or, is it that Christ hath merited the Grace whereby we may merit ? But even this will not make our personal Acts truly meritorious ; and the nature of Merit relates to the Acts, and not to the Power.

(2.) How comes the Power of Grace to make them *truly meritorious* ; when the Power of Grace doth so much increase the Obligation on our side ? If it be said, *That the state of Grace puts Men into a Capacity to merit* : we might more reasonably infer the contrary, that it puts them out of a Capacity of meriting ; because the Remission of Sins, and the Favour of God, are things for which we can never make him any Recompence.

(3.) How comes a Divine Promise to make Acts truly meritorious ? For God's Promise is an Act of mere Kindness, which is very different from strict Justice : and although by the Promise God binds himself to performance ; yet how come those Acts to be more meritorious of Heaven, than the Acts of Repentance are of Remission of Sins ? Yet none will now say, that there can be any Acts meritorious of that. Yet certainly there is as clear a promise of Pardon upon Repentance, as there is of Heaven upon Good Works : And if the Promise in the other case doth not make Repentance meritorious of Pardon ; how can it make Good Works truly meritorious of Eternal Life ? But notwithstanding, we do not deny God's Fidelity to his Promise may be ^{2 Tim. 4: 8} called *Justice* ; and so God, as a *Righteous Judge*, may give a *Crown of Righteousness to all that follow St. Paul's Example*, without making Good Works to be *truly meritorious*.

C.

65:1. H.

VII. Of Confession.

WE do not charge the Church of Rome, that in the Power of *Absolving, they make Gods of Men*, P. 14. as our *Misrepresenter* pretends.

2. We do not deny, *That Christ gave to the Bishops and Priests of the Catholick Church, Authority to absolve any truly penitent Sinner from his Sins*, (which he therefore needlessly proves out of Scripture) and that *such Absolution is ratified in Heaven*.

3. We are glad to find that our Author declares, *That no Man receives benefit by Absolution, without repentance from the bottom of his Heart, and real Intention of forsaking his Sins*, P. 15. by which we hope he means more than Attrition.

But

But yet there are some things which stick with us, as to the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome in this Matter, which he takes no notice of.

1. That secret Confession of Sins to a Priest, is made so necessary to Salvation, that an *Anathema* is denounced against all that deny it, when they cannot deny that God doth forgive Sins upon true Contrition. For the Council of Trent doth say, *That Contrition, with Charity, doth reconcile a Man to God before the Sacrament of Penance be actually received.* But then it adds, *That the desire of Confession is included in Contrition:* Which is impossible to be proved by Scripture, Reason, or Antiquity. For so lately, as in the time of the *Master of the Sentences*, and *Gratian* (in the 12th Century) it was a very disputable Point, whether Confession to a Priest were necessary. And it is very hard for us to understand how that should become necessary to Salvation since, which was not then. Some of their own Writers confess, that some good Catholicks did not believe the necessity of it. I suppose the old Canonists may pass for good Catholicks; and yet *Maldonat* saith, *That all the Interpreters of the Decrees held, that there was no Divine Precept for Confession to a Priest* and of the same Opinion he grants *Scotus* to have been. But he thinks it is now declared to be Heresy, or he wishes it were. And we think it is too much already, unless there were better ground for it.

2. That an *Anathema* is denounced against those who do not understand the words of Christ, *Whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted, &c.* of the Sacrament of Penance, so as to imply the necessity of Confession: Whereas there is no appearance in the words of any such Sense; and themselves grant, that in order to the Remission of Sins, by Baptism, (of which *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark* speak in the *Apostles Commission*) there is no necessity of *Sacramental Confession*, but a general Confession is sufficient. And from hence the Elder *Jansenius* concludes, *That the Power of Remission of Sins here granted, doth not imply Sacramental Confession.* *Cajetan* yields, *There is no Command for Confession here.* And *Catharinus* adds, *That Cajetan would not allow any one Place of Scripture to prove Auricular Confession.* And as to this Particular, he denies that there is any Command for it; and he goes not about to prove it, but that *Cajetan* contradicts himself elsewhere, viz. when he wrote *School-Divinity*, before he set himself to the study of the Scriptures.

Vasquez saith, *That if these words may be understood of Baptism, none can infer from them the Necessity of Auricular Confession.* But *Gregory de Valentia* evidently proves, that this place doth relate to Remission of Sins in Baptism; not only from the Comparison of Places, but from the Testimonies of *S. Cyprian*, *S. Ambrose*, and others.

3. That it is expressed in the same *Anathemas* that this hath been always the Doctrine and Practice of the Catholick Church from the beginning. We do not deny the ancient practice, either of *Canonical Confession*, as part of the Discipline of the Church for publick Offences; nor of *Voluntary Confession*, for ease and satisfaction of the perplexed Minds of doubting or dejected Penitents; but that which we say was not owned nor practised by the Church from the Beginning, was this *Sacramental Confession* as necessary to the Remission of Sins before God. It is therefore to no purpose to produce out of *Bellarmino*, and others, a great number of Citations, to prove that which we never deny; but if they hold to the Council of *Trent*, they must prove from the Fathers,

thers, that Sins after Baptism cannot be forgiven without Confession to Men: which those who consider what they do, will never undertake, there being so many Testimonies of undoubted Antiquity against it. And it is observable, that *Bonaventure* grants, that before the *Lateran* Decree of *Innocentius* 3. it was no Heresy to deny the Necessity of Confession; and so he excuses those who in the time of *Lombard* and *Gratian*, held that Opinion. And all other Christians in the World besides those of the Church of Rome, do to this day reject the Necessity of Particular Confession to a Priest, in order to Remission, as the Writers of the Church of Rome themselves confess. So *Godignus* doth of the *Abyssins*; *Philippus à SS. Trinitate*, of the *Jacobites*; *Clemens Galanus* of the *Nestorians*, who saith, *They made a Decree against the use of Confession to any but to God alone.* And *Alexius Meneses* of the Christians of *S. Thomas* in the *Indies*. The Greeks believe Confession only to be of Positive and Ecclesiastical Institution, as the late Author of the *Critical History of the Faith and Customs of the Eastern Nations*, proves. And the very Form of their Absolution declares, that they do not think particular Confession of all known Sins, necessary to Pardon: for therein the Priest absolves the Penitent from *the Sins he hath not confessed through forgetfulness, or shame.* And now let any one prove this to have been a Catholick Tradition by *Vincentius* his Rules, viz. *That it hath been always received, every where, and by All.*

Bonavent. in l. 4. Sent. Dist. 17. part 2. Godign. de rebus Abyssin. l. 1. c. 28. Itinerarium Orientale. l. 5. c. 8. Galan. Concil. Eccles. Armen. Tom. 2. p. 605. Historie Critiq; de la Creance & de Coutums des Nations du Levant. c. 8. p. 105. Ch. 1. pag. 14. Resp. 1. Jerem. Patriarch. ad Theolog. Wirtemberg. p. 87. Arcud. de Concord. Ecclesie Occident. & Orient. in 7 Sacram. l. 4. c. 3. Goar in Eucharolog. p. 681.

140. 2. A.

VIII. Of Indulgences.

1. **T**hey must be extremely ignorant, who take the Power of Indulgences, to be a Leave from the Pope to commit what Sins they please; and that by virtue thereof, they shall escape Punishment for their Sins, without Repentance, in another World. Yet this is the sense of the Misrepresentation, which, he saith, is made of it. And if he saith true in his Preface, *That he hath described the Belief of a Papist, exactly according to the apprehension he had when he was a Protestant:* He shews how well he understood the Matters in difference, when I think no other Person besides himself ever had such an apprehension of it, who pretended to be any thing like a Scholar.

2. But now he believes it damnable to hold that the Pope, or any other Power in Heaven or Earth, can give him leave to commit any Sins whatsoever; or that for any Sum of Money, he can obtain any Indulgence, or Pardon for Sins that are to be committed by him, or his Heirs hereafter. Very well! But what thinks he of obtaining an Indulgence, or Pardon, after they are committed? Is no such thing to be obtained in the Court of Rome for a Sum of Money? He cannot but have heard of the Tax of the Apostolick Chamber for several Sins, and what Sums are there set upon them. Why did he not as freely speak against this? This is published in the vast Collection of Tracts of Canon Law, set forth by the Pope's Authority, where there are certain Rates for Perjury, Murder, Apostacy, &c. Now what do these Sums of Money mean? If they be small, it is so much the better Bargain, for the Sins are very great. And *Espenceus* complains, that this Book was so far from being called in, that, he saith, the Pope's Legats renewed those Faculties and confirmed them. It seems then a Sum of Money may be of some consequence to-

Tractat. Tractatum To. 15. part 1. f. 368. Espence. in Ep. ad Tit. c. 1. digress.

wards

wards the obtaining Pardon for a Sin past, tho' not for a License to commit it. But what mighty difference is there, whether a Man procures with Money a Dispensation, or a Pardon? For the Sin can hurt him no more, than if he had License to commit it.

3. He doth believe there is a Power in the Church to grant Indulgences; which, he saith, concern not at all the Remission of Sins, either Mortal or Venial, but only of some Temporal Punishments remaining due after the Guilt is remitted. Here now arises a Material Question, viz. Whether the Popes, or the Representer, be rather to be believed. If the Popes, who grant the Indulgences are to be believed; then not only the bare Remission of Sins is concerned in them, but the Plenary, and most Plenary Remission of Sins is to be had by them. So Boniface the Eighth, in his Bull of Jubilee granted, *Non solum plenam & largiorem, imo plenissimam veniam peccatorum*. If these words had no relation to remission of Sins, the People were horribly cheated by the sound of them. In the Bull of Clement the VIth, not extant in the Bullarium, but published out of the Utrecht Manuscript, not only a Plenary Absolution from all Sins is declared to all Persons who died in the Way to Rome; but he commands the Angels of Paradise to carry the Soul immediately to Heaven. And I suppose, whatever implies such an Absolution as carries a Soul to Heaven, doth concern Remission of Sins. Boniface the IXth, granted Indulgences, *a Pœnâ & a Culpâ*; and those certainly concerned Remission of Sins; being not barely from the Temporal Punishment, but from the Guilt it self. Clement the VIIIth, whom Bellarmine magnifies for his care in reforming Indulgences, in his Bull of Jubilee, grants a most Plenary Remission of Sins; and Urban the VIIIth, since him, not only a Relaxation of Penances, but Remission of Sins; and so lately as A. D. 1671. Clement the Xth, published an Indulgence upon the Canonization of five new Saints, wherein he not only grants a Plenary Indulgence of Sins, but upon invocation of one of these Saints in the Point of Death, a Plenary Indulgence of all his Sins. And what doth this signifie in the Point of Death, if it do not concern the Remission of Sins?

4. Indulgences, he saith, are nothing else but a Mitigation or Relaxation, upon just Causes, of Canonical Penances, which are or may be enjoined by the Pastors of the Church on penitent Sinners, according to their several degrees of Demerits. If by Canonical Penances, they mean those enjoined by the Penitential Canons, Greg. de Valentia saith, This Opinion differs not from that of the Hereticks, and makes Indulgences to be useless and dangerous things. Bellarmine brings several Arguments against this Doctrine. (1.) There would be no need of the Treasure of the Church; which he had proved to be the Foundation of Indulgences. (2.) They would be rather hurtful than profitable, and the Church would deceive her Children by them. (3.) They could not be granted for the Dead. (4.) They who receive Indulgences, do undergo Canonical Penances. (5.) The Form of them doth express, that they do relate to God, and not only to the Church. And this, I think, is sufficient to shew how far he is from true Representing the Nature of Indulgences; for we do not dispute the Church's Power in relaxing Canonical Penances to Penitent Sinners upon just Causes

Greg. de Valent. de Indulg. c. 2.
Bell. de Indulg. l. 1. c. 7.
C. 2.

Bullar. Ch. rubin. in To. 1. p. 204.

Prorsus mandamus Angelis Paradisi, quantum animam illius a Purgatorio penitus absolutam in Paradisum gloriam introducant.
Bulla Clem. 6. ultrajecti A.D. 1653.
Gobel. Perjon. Cosm. der. at. 6. c. 86. p. 278.
Bullar. To. 3. p. 74. To. 4. p. 86.

65:1:6.

IX. Of Satisfaction.

1. **HE** believes it damnable to think any thing injuriously of Christ's Passion: But then he distinguishes the Eternal and Temporal Pain due to Sin. As to the Guilt and Eternal Pain, the Satisfaction, he saith, is proper to Christ; but as to the Temporal Pain, which may remain due by God's Justice, after the other are remitted, he saith, that Penitent Sinners may in some measure satisfy for that by Prayer, Fasting, Alms, &c. p. 17.

2. These Penitential Works, he saith, are no otherwise satisfactory, than as joined and applied to Christ's Satisfaction, in virtue of which alone our good Works find a grateful acceptance in God's sight, p. 19.

But for right apprehending the State of the Controversie, we must consider.

1. That they grant both Eternal and Temporal Pain due to Sin, to be remitted in Baptism; so that all the Satisfaction to be made, is for Sins committed after Baptism.

2. We distinguish between Satisfaction to the Church before Absolution, and Satisfaction to the Justice of God for some part of the punishment to Sin which is unremitted.

3. We do not deny that truly Penitential Works are pleasing to God, so as to avert his Displeasure; but we deny that there can be any Compensation in way of equivalency, between what we suffer, and what we deserve. Catech. Roman. part. 2. c. 5. n. 52, 56.

The Matter in Controversie therefore on this Head, consists in these things.

1. That after the total Remission of Sins in Baptism, they suppose a Temporal Punishment to remain, when the Eternal is forgiven; which the Penitent is to satisfy God's Justice for: and without this being done in this Life, he must go into Purgatory for that End. Of which more under that Head.

2. That this Satisfaction may be made to the Justice of God, after Absolution is given by the Priest. So that altho' the Penitent be admitted into God's Favour, by the Power of the Keys, according to their own Doctrine; yet the Application of the Merits of Christ, together with the Saints in the Sentence of Absolution (according to their Form) do not set him so free, but he either wants a new supply from the Treasure of the Church, i. e. from the same Merits of Christ and the Saints; or else he is to satisfy for the Temporal Punishment by his own Penances.

3. That these Penitential Works are to be joined with the Merits of Christ, in the way of proper Satisfaction to Divine Justice. And however softly this may be expressed; the meaning is, that Christ hath merited, that we may merit, and by his Satisfaction, we are enabled to satisfy for our selves. And if the Satisfaction by way of Justice be taken away, the other will be a Controversie about Words.

4. That these Penitential Works may not only be sufficient for themselves, but they may be so over-done, that a great share may be taken from them to make up the Treasure of the Church, for the benefit of others who fall short, when they are duly applied to them in the way of Catech. Rom. de Penit. Sacr. Indul- n. 61.

H h h h

Indulgences. And about these Points, we must desire greater Proof than we have ever yet seen. 9.

6: 2: A.

X. Of reading the Holy Scripture.

- Fig. 19. 1. *HE* believes it damnable in any one, to think, speak, or do any thing irreverently towards the Scripture, or by any means whatsoever to bring it into disrepute or disgrace: but not being contented with this, he adds, *That he holds it in the highest Veneration of all Men living.* Now, here we must desire a little better Representation of this Matter. For certainly, those who derive its Authority from the Church; who set Traditions in equal esteem with it; who complain so much of its Obscurity, can never be said to hold it in equal Veneration with those who maintain its independent Authority, its Sufficiency, and Perspicuity. And these are known and material Points in Controversie between us and them: therefore let them not say, they hold it in the highest Veneration of all Men living; tho' those thought themselves through Catholics, who have compared it to a *Nose of Wax*, to a *Lesbian Rule*, to a *dead Letter*, *unsensed Characters*, and to other things, not fit to be repeated. But we are well pleased to find them express such Veneration for it. Wherefore then are the People to be kept from reading it?
2. He saith, *It is not out of disrespect to it.* But why then? (1.) *Because private Interpretation is not proper for the Scripture*, 2 Pet. 1. 20. One would think the Scripture were not kept only from the People, by such a sense being put upon it; for any one that would but consider that place, will find it must relate to the Prophets themselves; and doth he think the Prophets were to be debarr'd from reading the Scriptures? But this is playing with Scripture, and not reasoning from it. (2.) *Because in the Epistles of St. Paul are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable deprave, as also the rest of the Scriptures, to their own perdition*, 2 Pet. 3. 16. Now in my Opinion, such Men deserve more to be debarr'd from meddling with the Scripture, who make such perverse Inferences from it, than ordinary Readers. And if they use all other places as they do this, they cannot be excused from *depraving it*. It is granted, there were then *unlearned and unstable Men*, who misunderstood, or misapplied the Writings of St. Paul, and other Scriptures. And what then? There are Men of all Ages, who abuse the best things in the World, even the Gospel it self, and the Grace of God. Doth it hence follow, that the Gospel must not be preached to them, or the Grace of God made known to them, for fear of Mens making ill use of it? If this had been the just Consequence, would not St. Peter himself have thought of this? But he was so far from making it, that he adviseth those Persons he writes to, to have a mighty regard to the Scriptures, even to the Prophetical Writings, *as to a Light shining in a dark place*, 1 Pet. 1. 19. According to this way of deducing Consequences, St. Peter should have argued just contrary; *The Prophetical Writings are dark and obscure, therefore meddle not with them, but trust your Guides*: Whereas the Apostle, after he had told them what the Apostles saw and heard, he adds, *That they have a more sure Prophetical Word*, as the Rhemists translate it. How could that be *more sure* to them, unless

unless they were allowed to read, consider, and make use of it? (3.) *Because God hath given only some to be Apostles, some Prophets, other some Evangelists, and other some Pastors and Doctors, Eph. 4. 11.* Doth it hence follow that the People are not to read the Scriptures? In the Universities, Tutors are appointed to interpret *Aristotle* to their Pupils; doth it hence follow that they are not to read *Aristotle* themselves; it is, no doubt, a mighty Advantage to have such Infallible Interpreters as the *Apostles* and *Prophets*; and all Christians are bound to follow their Sense, where they have delivered it. But suppose the Question be about the Sense of these Interpreters; must their Books not be looked into, because of the danger of Error? This Reason will still hold against those who go about to deliver their Sense; and so on, till by this Method of Reasoning, all sorts of Books and Interpretations be rejected; unless any such can be found out, which is not liable to be abused or misunderstood. And if there be any such to be had, they are much to blame who do not discover it. But as yet we see no Remedy for two things in Mankind, a proneness to Sin, and to Mistake. But of all things, we ought not to take away from them one of the best Means to prevent both, *viz.* a diligent, and careful, and humble reading the Holy Scriptures.

But, 3. He denies that all Persons are forbid to read the Scriptures, Pag. 21.
but only such as have no License, and good Testimony from their Curats: and therefore their design is not to preserve Ignorance in the People, but to prevent a blind ignorant presumption.

These are plausible Pretences to such as search no farther; but the Mystery of this Matter lies much deeper. It was, no doubt, the Design of the Church of *Rome* to keep the Bible wholly out of the hands of the People. But upon the Reformation they found it impossible; so many Translations being made into vulgar Languages; and therefore care was taken to have Translations made by some of their own Body; and since the People of better inclinations to Piety were not to be satisfied without the Bible; therefore they thought it the better way to permit certain Persons whom they could trust, to have a License to read it: And this was the true Reason of the Fourth Rule of the *Index Liber prohibet*, made in pursuance of the Order of the Council of *Trent*, and published by *Pius IV.* by which any one may see it was not an Original Permission out of any good Will to the Thing; but an aftergame to get the Bible out of the Hands of the people again: And therefore Absolution was to be denied to those who would not deliver them to their Ordinaries when they were called for: And the Regulars themselves were not to be permitted to have Bibles without a License: And as far as I can understand the Addition of *Clement VIII.* to that Fourth Rule, he withdraws any new Power of granting such Licenses; and saith they are contray to the *Command and Usage of that Church, which, he saith, is to be inviolably observed:* wherein I think he declares himself fully against such Licenses: And that Inferior Guides should grant them against the Command of the Head of the Church, is a thing not very agreeable to the Unity and Subordination they boast of.

Quod quidem inviolatè servandum est.
Clem. VIII.
ad Reg. 4.
Indicit Roman.

XI. Of Apocryphal Books.

6:1A.

Pag. 21.

WE do not charge the Church of Rome with making what Additions to Scripture they think good, as the Misrepresenter saith; but we charge them with taking into the Canon of Scripture such Books as were not received for Canonical by the Christian Church; as those Books himself mentions, viz. *Toby, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and Maccabees.*

Concil. Tri-
dent. Sess.
4. 8. Apr.
de Canon.
Script.

2. We do not only charge them with this, but with Anathematizing all those who do not upon this Declaration believe them to be Canonical; since they cannot but know, that these Books never were in the Jewish Canon, and were left out by many Christian Writers. And if the Church cannot add to the Scripture, and our Author thinks it damnable to do it; how can it make any Books Canonical, which were not so received by the Church? For the Scripture in this sense is the Canon; and therefore if it add to the Canon, it adds to the Scripture; i. e. it makes it necessary to believe some Books to be of infallible Authority, which were not believed to be so, either by the Jewish or Christian Church, as appears by abundant Testimonies to that purpose produced by a Learned Bishop of this Church; which ought to have been considered by the Representer, that he might not have talked so crudely about this Matter.

Bp. Cosin's
Scholastical
History of
the Canon
of Scrip-
ture.

But however, I must consider what he saith;

Greg. Na-
zianzen. in
Carmin.
2 vol. p. 98.
Orat. de
Maccab.
vol. 1.
p. 398.

1. He produces the Testimonies of Greg. Nazianzen, who is expressly against him, and declares but Twenty two Books in the Canon of the Old Testament; but how doth he prove that he thought these Books Canonical? He quotes his *Oration on the Maccabees*; where I can find nothing like it; and instead of it he expressly follows, as he declares, the Book of *Josephus*, of the Authority of Reason concerning them. So that if this proves any thing, it proves *Josephus* his Book Canonical, and not the *Maccabees*.

Ambros. de
Jacob. &
Vita Erat.
l. 2. c. 10,
11, 12.
Cocci. Thes.
Cathol. l. 6.
A8. 18.
Scholastical
History,

2. He adds the Testimony of St. Ambrose, who in the place he refers to, enlarges on the Story of the *Maccabees*, but saith nothing of the Authority of the Book. And even Coccius himself grants, that of old Melito Sardensis, Amphilocheus, Greg. Nazianzen, the Council of Laodicea, St. Hierom, Ruffinus, and Gregory the Great, did not own the Book of *Maccabees* for Canonical.

n. 83.
Euseb. l. 5.
c. 24.
Orig. Pref.
in Psal.
Athan. in
Synopsi.
Hilar. Pref.
in Psal.
S. Cyril.
Catech. 4.
Epiph. bat.
8. 76. Basil.
Philocal.
c. 3. Am-
phil. Epist.
Canon. ad
S. Iren.
Chryl.
Hom. 4. in
Gen. Scho-
last. Hist.
71.

3. Innocentius ad Exuperium speaks more to his purpose. And if that Decretal Epistle be allowed, against which Bishop Cosins hath made considerable Objections; then it must be granted, that these Books were then in the Roman Canon: but that they were not received by the Universal Church, appears evidently by the Canon of the Council of Laodicea, c. 60. wherein these Books are left out; and this was received in the Code of the Universal Church; which was as clear a Proof of the Canon then generally received, as can be expected. It is true, the Council of Carthage took them in; and St. Augustine seems to be of the same Opinion: But on the other side, they are left out by Melito Bishop of Sardis, who lived near the Apostles times; Origen, Athanasius, S. Hilary, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, St. Basil, Amphilocheus, St. Chrysostom, and especially St. Jerom, who hath laboured in this point so much, that no fewer than thirteen places are produced out of him to this purpose, by the fore-mentioned Learned Bishop of our Church, who clearly proves there was no Tradition for the Canon of the Council of Trent in any one Age of the Christian Church. But our Author goes on. 4. It

4. *It is of little concern to him, whether these Books were ever in the Hebrew Copy.* I would only ask whether it be of any concern to him, whether they were divinely inspired or not? He saith, *It is damnable to add to the Scripture*: by the Scripture we mean Books written by Divine Inspiration. Can the Church make Books to be so written, which were not so written? If not, then all it hath to do, is to deliver by Tradition what was so, and what not. Whence should they have this Tradition, but from the *Jews*? and they owned no Divine Inspiration after the time of *Malachy*. How then should there be any Books so written after that time? And he that saith in this Matter, as he doth, *It is of little concern to him whether they were in the Hebrew Canon*, doth little concern himself what he ought to believe, and what not, in this matter.

5. *Since the Churches Declaration*, he saith, *no Catholicks ever doubt-* P. 23.
ed. What doth he mean by the Church's Declaration, that of *Innocent*, and the Council of *Carthage*? Then the same Bishop hath shewed him, that since that time, there have been very many, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, of another Opinion. And a little before the Council of *Trent*, *Catharinus* saith, *That a Friend of his, and a Brother in Christ,* *Cathar. Ad-*
derided him as one that wanted Learning, for daring to assert these Books *ver. Cajet.*
were within the Canon of Scripture; and it is plain, *Cardinal Cajetan* *p. 48. ed.*
could never be persuaded of it: But if he means since the Council of *Trent*, then we are returned to our Difficulty, how such a Council can make any Books Canonical, which were not received for such by the Catholick Church before? For then they do not declare the Canon, but create it. *Paris 1539.*

4. 2. 8.

XII. Of the Vulgar Edition of the Bible.

1. **WE** do not dispute about the *Vulgar Edition*, whether it may not P. 24, 25.
be preferr'd before modern *Latin Editions*, because of its great *Antiquity* in some parts of it, and its general Reception since the time of *Greg. I.* But our dispute is, Whether it be made so authentick since the Council of *Trent*, that no Appeals are to be made to the Originals, *i. e.* Whether that Council by its Authority could make a Version equal to the Originals out of which it was made? Especially since at the time of that Decree, the *Vulgar Edition* was confessed to be full of Errors and Corruptions by *Sixtus V.* who saith he took infinite pains to correct them, and yet left very many behind, as appeared by *Clement VIII.* *In hac Vul-*
who corrected his *Bibles* in very many places, and grants some faults *gata Editi-*
were left uncorrected still. Now, how was it possible for the Council *one visa*
of *Trent* to declare that Edition Authentick, which was afterwards so *sunt non-*
much corrected? And, whether was the correct Edition of *Sixtus V.* *nulla mu-*
Authentick or not, being made in pursuance of the Decree of the Coun- *tanda, qua*
cil? If not, how comes *Clement* his Edition to be made Authentick, *consulso*
when the other was not, since there may be Corruptions found in that, *mutata non*
as well as the other; and no one can tell, but it may be reviewed and *sunt. Clem.*
corrected still; as some of their own Writers confess *it stands in need* *VIII. in*
of it? *Bulla.*

2. Our Controversy is not so much about the Authority of the *Vul-* Nat. Alex-
gar Latin, above other *Latin Versions* to those who understand them; and. *dissert.*
but *de vulg.*
vers. quast. 6

- P. 26. but whether none else but the Latin Version must be used by those who understand it not? And here our *Representer* saith, that *he is commanded not to read any of these Translations*, (speaking of *Tindals*, and that in *Queen Elizabeth's* time) *but only that which is recommended to him by the Church*. If this relate to the *Vulgar Latin*, then we are to seek, why the Common People should have none to read, but what they cannot understand; if to *Translations of their own*, then we doubt not to make it appear, that our Translation allowed amongst us, is more exact and agreeable than any they can put into their hands.

XIII. Of the Scripture as a Rule of Faith.

166:2B

- P. 27. **T**HE only thing insisted on here, is, *That it is not the words, but the sense of Scripture is the Rule; and that this sense is not to be taken from Mens private Fancies, which are various and uncertain; and therefore where there is no security from Errors, there is nothing capable of being a Rule.*

To clear this, we must consider,

1. That it is not necessary to the making of a Rule, to prevent any possibility of mistake, but that it be such that they cannot mistake without their own fault. For Certainty in it self, and Sufficiency for the use of others, are all the necessary Properties of a Rule; but after all, it's possible for Men not to apply the Rule aright, and then They are to be blamed, and not the Rule.

2. If no Men can be certain of the right Sense of Scripture, then it is not plain in necessary things; which is contrary to the design of it, and to the clearest Testimonies of Antiquity, and to the common sense of all Christians, who never doubted or disputed the Sense of some things revealed therein; as the Unity of the Godhead, the making of the World by him, the Deluge, the History of the Patriarchs, the Captivity of the *Jews*, the coming of the *Messias*, his sending his Apostles, his coming again to Judgment, &c. No Man who reads such things in Scripture, can have any doubt about the sense and meaning of the Words,

3. Where the Sense is dubious, we do not allow any Man to put what Sense he pleases upon them; but we say, there are certain means, whereby he may either attain to the true Sense, or not be damned if he do not. And the first thing every Man is to regard, is not his security from being deceived, but from being damned. For Truth is made known in order to Salvation: If therefore I am sure to attain the chief end, I am not so much concerned, as to the possibility of Errors, as that I be not deceived by my own fault. We do not therefore leave Men *either to follow their own fancy, or to interpret Scripture by it*; but we say, They are bound upon pain of Damnation to seek the Truth sincerely, and to use the best means in order to it; and if they do this, they either will not err, or their Errors will not be their Crime.

XIV. Of

9:2:A.

XIV. Of the Interpretation of Scripture.

1. **T**HE Question is not, Whether Men are not bound to make use of the best means for the right Interpretation of Scripture, by Reading, Meditation, Prayer, Advice, a humble and teachable Temper, &c. i. e. all the proper means fit for such an end? but whether after all these, there be a necessity of submitting to some Infallible Judge, in order to the attaining the certain Sense of Scripture?

2. The Question is not, Whether we ought not to have a mighty regard to the Sense of the whole Christian Church in all Ages since the Apostles, which we profess to have? but, Whether the *present Roman Church*, as it stands divided from other Communions, hath such a Right and Authority to interpret Scripture, that we are bound to believe that to be the Infallible Sense of Scripture which she delivers?

And here I cannot but take notice how strangely this matter is here misrepresented: for the Case is put,

1. *As if every one who rejects their pretence of Infallibility, had nothing to guide him but his own private Fancy in the Interpretation of Scripture.* P. 29.

2. *As if we rejected the Sense put upon Scripture by the whole Community of Christians in all Ages since the Apostles times.* Whereas we appeal in the matters in difference between us, to this universal Sense of the Christian Church, and are verily persuaded they cannot make it out in any one Point wherein we differ from them. And themselves cannot deny, that in several we have plainly the consent of the first Ages, as far as appears by the Books remaining, on our side; as in the Worship of Images, Invocation of Saints, Papal Supremacy, Communion in both kinds, Prayer and Scripture in known Tongues; and I may safely add, the Sufficiency of the Scripture, Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, Publick Communions, Solitary Masses, to name no more.

But here lies the Artifice; We must not pretend to be capable of judging either of Scripture, or Tradition; but we must trust their Judgment what is the sense of Scripture, and what hath been the Practice of the Church in all Ages, although their own Writers confess the contrary: which is very hard.

But he seems to argue for such a submission to the Church; 1. *Because we receive the Book of Scripture from her; therefore from her we are to receive the sense of the Book.* An admirable Argument! We receive the *Old Testament* from the *Jews*; therefore from them we are to receive the sense of the *Old Testament*, and so we are to reject the true *Messias*. But this is not all: If by the Church, they mean the Church of *Rome* in distinction from others, we deny it: If they mean the whole Christian Church, we grant it; but then the force of it is quite lost. But why is it not possible for the Church of *Rome* to keep these Writings, and deliver them to others, which make against her self? Do not Persons in Law-Suits often produce Deeds which make against them? But there is yet a farther Reason; it was not possible for the Church of *Rome* to make away these Writings, being so universally spread.

2. *Because the Church puts the difference between true and false Books, therefore that must be trusted for the true sense of them.* Which is just as if one should argue, The Clerks of the Rolls are to give an account

Controv. 5.
Qu. 4.
art. 2.

to the Court of true Records, therefore they are to sit on the Bench, and to give Judgment in all Causes. The Church is only to declare what it finds as to Canonical Books; but hath no Power to make any Book Canonical which was not before received for such. But I confess *Stapleton* saith, the Church if it please may make *Hermas* his *Pastor*, and *Clement* his *Constitutions* Canonical: but I do not think our Author will therein follow him. A

XV. Of Tradition.

P. 30, 31.

1. **T**HE Question is not about *Human Traditions* supplying the Defects of *Scripture*, as he misrepresents it; but whether there be an unwritten Word, which we are equally bound to receive with the Written Word: Although these things which pass under that Name, are really but *Human Traditions*; yet we do not deny that they pretend them to be of Divine Original.

2 Theff. 2.
13.

2. We do not deny, but the *Apostles* might deliver such things by Word as well as by *Epistle*, which their *Disciples* were bound to believe and keep: but we think there is some difference to be made between what we certainly know they delivered in Writing, and what it is now impossible for us to know; viz. what they delivered by word without writing.

P. 31.

3. We see no ground why any one should believe any Doctrine with a *stedfast and Divine Faith*, which is not bottom'd on the Written Word; for then his Faith must be built on the Testimony of the Church as Divine and Infallible, or else his Faith cannot be Divine. But it is impossible to prove it to be Divine and Infallible, but by the Written Word; and therefore, as it is not reasonable that he should believe the Written Word by such a Divine Testimony of the Church; so if any particular Doctrine may be received on the Authority of the Church without the Written Word, then all Articles of Faith may, and so there would be no need of the Written Word.

P. 32.

4. The Faith of Christians doth no otherwise stand upon the Foundation of the Church's Tradition, than as it delivers down to us the Books of Scripture; but we acknowledge the general Sense of the Christian Church to be a very great help for understanding the true sense of Scripture; and we do not reject any thing so delivered; but what is all this to the Church of Rome? But this is still the way of true Representing.

XVI. Of Councils.

P. 33.

1. **W**E are glad to find so good a Resolution as seems to be expressed in these words, viz. That he is obliged to believe nothing besides that which Christ taught, and his Apostles; and if any thing contrary to this should be defined, and commanded to be believed, even by Ten Thousand Councils, he believes it damnable in any one to receive it, and by such Decrees to make Additions to his Creed. This seems to be a very good saying, and it is pity any thing else should overthrow it. But here lies the Misrepresenting; he will believe what Christ and his Apostles taught, from the Definitions of Councils, and so all this goodly

Fabrick falls to nothing; for it is but as if one should say, If *Aristotle* should falsely deliver *Plato's* sense, I will never believe him, but I am resolved to take *Plato's* sense only from *Aristotle's* words. So here, he first declares he will take the Faith of Christ from the Church; and then he saith, if the Church Representative should contradict the Faith of Christ, he would never believe it. We dispute not with them, the Right and Necessity of General Councils, (upon great occasions) if they be truly so, rightfully called, lawfully assembled, and fairly managed; which have been, and may be of great use to the Christian World, for setting the Faith, healing the Breaches of Christendom, and reforming Abuses. And we farther say, that the Decrees of such Councils ought to be submitted to, where they proceed upon certain Grounds of Faith, and not upon unwritten Traditions; Which was the fatal stumbling at the Threshold in the Council of *Trent*, and was not to be recovered afterwards; for their setting up Traditions equally with the Written Word, made it easie for them to define, and as easie for all others to reject their Definitions, in case there had not been so many other Objections against the Proceedings of that Council. And so all our Dispute concerning this matter is taken off from the general Notion, and runs into the particular Debate concerning the Qualifications and Proceedings of some which were called Free, General Councils, but were neither General, nor Free, and therefore could not deliver the sense of the Catholick Church, which our Author requires them to do.

112.2C

XVII. Of Infallibility in the Church.

1. HE doth not pretend this belongs to the Pastors and Prelates of his Church, who may fall, he saith, into Heresie and Schism; but that the whole Church is secured by Divine Promises from all Error and Danger of Prevarication; which he proves from the Promises of the New Testament; *Mat. 16. 18. — 28. 20. John 14. 16, 26.* But however the former seems to take away Infallibility from the Guides of the Church, yet that this is to be understood of them separately, appears by what follows.

2. The like Assistance of the Holy Ghost he believes to be in all General Councils, which is the Church Representative; by which they are specially protected from all Error in all definitions and declarations in matters of Faith.

Now here are two sorts of Infallibility tacked to one another by vertue of these general Promises, which ought more distinctly to be considered.

1. To preserve Christ's Church so as it shall never cease to be a Church, is one thing; to preserve it from all Error is another: The former answers the End of Christ's Promises, as to the Duration of the Church; and the latter is not implied in them.

2. The promise of teaching them all Truth, *John 16. 13.* is not made to the whole Church, but to the Apostles: And their case was so peculiar and extraordinary, that there can be no just inference from the assistance promised to them, of what the Church would enjoy in all Ages.

Page 38.

133. If the diffusive Church have no infallible Assistance prebided, then no infallible Assistance can from thence be proved for the Church representative; so that some particular Promises to the Guides of the Church assembled together, are necessary to prove the Infallibility of Councils. 134. It by no means proves following Councils to be infallible, because the Apostles said, *Acts 15. 28. It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, that we should lay no burden upon your necks, but that we might remember the words of the Lord, saying, Every man keep his own conscience to God.* Our Author hath no doubt, but that this may be prefixed to all determinations in point of Faith, resolved on by any General Council lawfully assembled since that time, to be held to the world's end. But what Reason he had for not doubting in this matter, I cannot see; for the Assistance, who saith, being to extend as far as the Promise. But shall Assistance imply Infallibility? Then there must be good store, as long as the Promises of Divine Grace hold good. But this Assistance of Councils is very different from the Assistance of Grace, for the Church may subsist without Councils, but cannot without Grace. What General Council was there from the meeting, *Act 15* to the Council of Nice? Were not Christ's Promises fulfilled to his Church all that time, when it increased in all parts against the most violent Opposition?

Page 39.

135. No Party of Reason from the Jewish Church can be sufficient Proof for Infallibility in the Christians. But our Author argues thus, If God's special Assistance was never wanting to the Church of the Jews, so as to let it fail in the truth of its Doctrine, or its Authority. Why should not he believe the same of the Church of Christ, which is built on better Promises? What special Assistance was it which Israel had, when it is said, that for a long time Israel had been without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without Law? And as to Judah, was there no failing in point of Doctrine in our Saviour's time? It is true, they had the Law entire, and that was all that was good among them, for their Teachers had corrupted themselves and the People, and made the Law of no effect among them. If there were Infallibility any where, it must be in the High Priest and Sanhedrim; but is it possible for any Christian to think them infallible, when they were so grossly mistaken about the main Article of their Faith as to the Messiah, and pronounced him worthy of death? Is not this a fine Argument for the Infallibility of the Guides of the Christian Church? But the Church of Christ hath better Promises: No doubt of it, greater Promises of Grace and Mercy in this World, and in that to come: but what is all this to Infallibility in Councils?

Page 39.

136. Christ's command of Obedience to those who sat in Moses's Chair, (*Mat. 23. 2.*) doth not prove the Infallibility of those who sat there. Yet this is alledged to that purpose, and that men ought not to doubt of the reasonableness of the Commands of their Superiors. But St. Chrysostom saith, our Saviour speaks of the things commanded by the Law of Moses. *Per Cathedram Doctrinam Legis ostendit*, saith St. Jerom: Not in their own Doctrine, but that of Moses, saith Isidore; and so Hilary and Theophylact. Maldonate confesseth, our Saviour's Words are to be understood, not of their own Doctrine, but of that of the Law; and therefore he yields the Obedience here required to be restrained to that; All things, saith Cajetan, which they teach out of Moses's Chair: Not all their Doctrines, but as far as they were conformable to the Laws, saith Ferrus. Now can any one hence infer, that no men ought to dispute any Commands of Superiors, when it is supposed, that there is a Rule and Standard for them to speak according to; and our Saviour elsewhere doth suppose these very Men to teach things contrary to the Law, as in the

Chrysost. in
Mat. Hom.
72. Hierom.
in loc. Ca.
ten. Gr. in
loc.
Hilar. Ca.
24.
Theophylact
in loc.

the Case of *Corham*. Would our Saviour contradict himself, or require a blind Obedience in things repugnant to the Law? We do not deny a due submission to our Superiors in the Church; yea, we allow them a Power to determine things not forbidden; and think Obedience due in such things by virtue of their Authority; but yet this is far enough from Infallibility, on an unlimited implicit Obedience, which would overthrow the force of all our Saviour's Reasonings against the Scribes and Pharisees, as to their misinterpreting the Law, and the superstitious Practices they imposed upon the People.

XVIII. Of the P O P E.

1. **W**E do not charge them with *believing the Pope to be God*; which it seems himself did, if we believe the *Misrepresenter* in his Preface; but there is some reason to doubt whether they do not at some times give him greater Honour than becomes a Man. I instance in the Adoration after his Election, when the new Pope is placed upon the Altar to receive the Submissions of the Cardinals; but the Altar, themselves do confess to be sacred to God alone: And there they profess to worship Jesus Christ, as present in the Host. This therefore looks too much like assuming the place of Christ, and not becoming the distance between God and Man.

2. The Question is, *Whether Christ hath appointed the Pope or Bishop of Rome to be Pastor, Governour, and Head of his Church under him?* This, he saith, he believes, and this he knows we deny, and therefore had reason to expect some proof of it. But instead thereof he tells us *how they look on themselves as obliged to shew him the respect due to his Place*, which he knows is not the matter in question. Two things however he saith, which seem to justify his Title.

1. *He is the Successor of St. Peter, to whom Christ committed the care of his Flock.* But how far is this from proving the Pope to be Head of the Church under Christ? For how does it appear that Christ ever made St. Peter Head of the Church, or committed his Flock to him, in contradistinction to the rest of the Apostles? This is so far from being evident from Scripture, that the Learned Men of their Church are ashamed of the Places commonly produced for it; it being impossible ever to justify the sense of them according to their own Rules of interpreting Scripture, viz. by the unanimous consent of the Fathers:

For, 1. *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*, is interpreted by many of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, of St. Peter's Confession, and not of his Person; so by S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, S. Augustin, S. Basil of Seleucia, S. Hilary, S. Gregory Nyssen, and Theodoret; all great and considerable Persons in the Christian Church, whose Words are plain and full to that purpose; and so they can never produce the unanimous consent of the Fathers for S. Peter's Supremacy out of these words. 2. *And unto thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, are interpreted by the Fathers, of S. Peter in common with the other Apostles; so *Origen, S. Cyprian, S. Hilary, S. Hierom, and S. Augustin,

Joh. 124. Basil. Seleuc. Orat. 25. ad fin. Hilary. de Trinit. l. 6. Greg. Nyssen, de Advent. Domini cap. ult. Theodoret Epist. 77. 146. Mat. 16. 19. * Orig. Comment. in Mat. Gr. Lat. p. 275. Cyprian. de Unit. Ecclesiz. Hilary. de Trinit. l. 6. Hier. c. Jo. vin. l. 1. c. 14. in Mat. 16. Aug. in Joh. Tr. 118, 124. In Epist. Joh. To. 10.

Moyens
sur & les
nestes, &c.
p. 34, &c.
Entretiens
de Philaleth
& Phileren.
p. 121. Joh.
Launoi. Ep.
part 5.
Reim. For-
mentino,
& Part. 2.
Ep. 5. P.
47, &c.

Page 42:

as they are all owned by some Members of the Roman Communion. And, 3. For these Words, *Feed my Sheep*, a late learned Doctor of the Sorbon shews, that if they prove anything peculiar to S. Peter, they must prove him sole Pastor of the Church, which was the thing S. Gregory disputed against so warmly. But that there was nothing peculiar to S. Peter, above or beyond the rest of the Apostles, he shews at large from S. Chrysostom, S. Cyril, S. Augustin, and others, to whom I refer the Reader, and to the former Authors. But suppose it were made to appear, *That S. Peter was Head of the Church*, How doth the Bishop of Rome's Succession in that Headship shew it self? To that he saith 2. *That there hath been a visible succession of above Two hundred and fifty Bishops, acknowledged as such in all past Ages by the Christian World.* As such: What is that? As Bishops of Rome. That is not of weight enough to put it upon tryal; as *Heads of the Catholick Church*? That he knows is not only denied by us, but by all the Greek, Armenian, Nestorian, Abyssin Churches; so that we dare say, it was never allowed in any one Age of the Christian Church: but we need not insist on the proof of this, since the late mentioned Authors of the Roman Communion have taken so great pains, not only to prove the Popes Supremacy to be an encroachment and usurpation in the Church, but that the laying it aside is necessary to the Peace and Unity of it. And until the Divine Institution of the Papal Supremacy be proved, it is to no purpose to debate *what manner of Assistance is promised to the Pope in his Decrees.* Our Author is willing to decline the debate about his *personal Infallibility*, as a matter of Opinion, and not of Faith; and yet he saith, *he doubts not but God doth grant a special Assistance to the High-Priest, for the good of the whole Flock, under the New Law, as he did under the Old, and produces the Instance of Caiaphas, Job. 11. 51.* This is a very surprizing way of reasoning; for if his Arguments be good from Scripture, he must hold the Pope's *personal Infallibility* as a matter of Faith; and yet one would hardly think he should build an Article of Faith on the instance of Caiaphas: For what consequence can be drawn from God's overruling the mind of a very bad man, when he was carrying on a most wicked design, to utter such words, which in the event proved true in another sense than he meant them, that therefore God will give a special Assistance to the Pope in determining matters of Faith? Was not Caiaphas himself the man who proposed the taking away the Life of Christ at that time? Was he assisted in that Council? Did not he determine afterwards Christ to be guilty of blasphemy, and therefore worthy of death? And is not this a rare Infallibility which is supposed to be consistent with a Decree to crucifie Christ? And doth he in earnest think such Orders are to be obeyed, whether the supreme Pastor be infallible or not? For so he concludes, *That his Sentence is to be obeyed, whether he be infallible or no.*

140-2B

XIX. Of Dispensations.

HERE the Misrepresenter saith, That a Papist believes that the Pope hath Authority to dispense with the Laws of God, and absolve any one from the Obligation of keeping the Commandments. On the other side, the Representer affirms, *That the Pope has no Authority to dispense with the Law of God; and that there's no power upon Earth*

can absolve any one from the obligation of keeping the Commandments: This matter is not to be determined by the ones affirming, and the others denying: but by finding out, if possible, the true sense of the Church of Rome about this matter. And there are Three Opinions about it.

1. Of those who assert, That the Pope hath a Power of dispensing in any Divine Law, except the Articles of Faith. The Gloss upon the Canon Law saith, That where the Text seems to imply, that the Pope cannot dispense against the Apostle, it is to be understood of Articles of Faith. And Panormitan saith, This Exposition pleases him well; for the Pope may dispense in all other things: *contra Apostolum dispensat*, saith the Gloss on the Decree: And the Roman Editors in the Margin, refer to 34. Dist. c. Lector to prove it: And there indeed the Gloss is very plain in the case, *sic ergo Papa dispensat contra Apostolum*: And the Roman Correctors there justify it, and say it is no absurd Doctrine as to positive Institutions; but the former notable Gloss, as Panormitan calls it, sets down the particulars wherein the Pope may dispense.

De Concess. Præbend. c. proposuit. Abb. c. pro- posuit de 2. Conc. Præbend. c. 19. Q. 6. c. Auctoritate. Sum. Ange- lic. v. dis- pensatio.

1. Against the Apostles and their Canons. 2. Against the Old Testament. 3. In Vows. 4. In Oaths. The Summa Angelica saith, the Pope may dispense as to all the Precepts of the Old Testament. And Calvinus finds this Power upon the plenitude of the Pope's Power, according to that Expression in the Decretal mentioned, that he can, *ex plenitudine Potestatis de Jure supra Jus dispensare*; and without such a Power, he saith, God would not have taken that care of his Church, which was to be expected from his Wisdom. Jacobatus brings several Instances of this Power in the Pope, and refers to the Speculator for more. Jac. Almain saith, That all the Canonists are of Opinion, that the Pope may dispense against the Apostle: and many of their Divines, but not all: For,

Jacobat. de Conciliis. l. 5. p. 215. Almain. de potest Ec- clesiaz, c. 13.

2. Some of their Divines held that the Pope could not dispense with the Law of God, as that implies a proper relaxation of the Law, but could only Authoritatively declare that the Law did not oblige in such a particular case, because an Inferior could not take away the force of a Superior's Law, and otherwise there would be no fixed and immutable Rule in the Church; and if the Pope might dispense in one Law of God, he might dispense in the rest. And of this Opinion were some of the most eminent School-Divines, as Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Major, Soto, and Catharinus, who at large debates this Question, and denies that the Pope hath any Power to dispense with God's Law: But then he adds, that the Pope hath a kind of Prophetical Power to declare in what Cases the Law doth oblige, and in what not; which he parallels with the power of declaring the Canon of Scripture; and this he doth not by his own Authority, but by God's; He confesseth the Pope cannot dispense with those Precepts which are of themselves indispensable; nor alter the Sacraments; but then, saith he, there are some Divine Laws, which have a general force, but in particular cases may be dispensed with; and in these cases the Law is to be relaxed, so that the Relaxation seems to come from God himself: But he confesses this power is not to be often made use of; so that he makes this power to be no Act of Jurisdiction, but of Prophetical Interpretation, as he calls it; and he brings the instance of Caiaphas to this purpose: And he adds, that the difference between the Divines and Canonists was but in Terms; for the Canonists were in the right as to the power, and the Divines in the manner of explaining it.

Catharin. c. Cajetan. 6. p. 524.

3. Others

g. Others have thought this too loose a way of explaining the Pope's power, and therefore they say, *That the Pope hath not a bare declaratory Power, but a real Power of dispensing in a proper sense in particular Cases*: For say they, the other is no act of Jurisdiction, but of Discretion, and may belong to other men as well as to the Pope; but this they look on, as more agreeable to the Pope's Authority and Commission; and a bare declaratory power would not be sufficient for the Church's Necessity; as Sanchez shews at large, and quotes many Authors for this Opinion; and Sayr more; and he saith *the Practice of the Church cannot be justified without it*. Which Suarez much insists upon; and without it, he saith, *the Church hath fallen into intolerable Errors*; and it is evident, he saith, *the Church hath granted real Dispensations, and not mere Declarations*. And he founds it upon Christ's promise to Peter, *To thee will I give the Keys, and the charge to him, Feed my Sheep*. But then he explains this Opinion, by saying that it is no formal Dispensation with the Law of God, but the matter of the Law is changed or taken away.

Thus I have briefly laid together the different Opinions in the Church of Rome about this power of dispensing with the Law of God, from which it appears, that they do all consent in the thing, but differ only in the manner of explaining it.

And I am therefore afraid our *Representer* is a very unstudied Divine, and doth not well understand their own Doctrine, or he would never have talked so boldly and unskilfully in this matter.

As to what he pretends, that *their Church teaches that every Lye is a Sin, &c.* it doth not reach the case; For the Question is not, Whether their Church teach men to lye, but, Whether there be not such a Power in the Church, as by altering the Nature of things, may not make that not to be a Lye, which otherwise would be one: As their Church teaches that Men ought not to break their Vows; yet no one among them questions, but the Pope may dissolve the Obligation of a Vow altho' it be made to God himself. Let him shew then, how the Pope comes to have a power to release a Vow made to God, and not to have a power to release the Obligation to veracity among men:

Page 45. Again, We do not charge them with delivering any such Doctrine, *That men may have Dispensations to lye and forswear themselves at pleasure*; for we know this Dispensing power is to be kept up as a great Mystery, and not to be made use of, but upon weighty and urgent causes, of great consequence and benefit to the Church, as their Doctors declare. But as to all matters of fact which he alludes to, I have nothing to say to them; for our debate is only, whether there be such a power of Dispensation allowed in the Church of Rome, or not?

144:1B

XX. Of the Deposing Power.

TO bring this matter into as narrow a compass as may be, I shall first take notice of his Concessions, which will save us a labour of proofs.

Page 46.

1. He yields *That the Deposing and King-killing power hath been maintained by some Canonists and Divines of his Church, and that it is in their Opinion lawful, and annexed to the Papal Chair*.

2. That

Q2. That some Popes have endeavoured to act according to this Power. But then he denies that this Doctrine appertains to the Faith of his Church, and is to be believed by all of that Communion. And more than that, he saith, The affirming of it is a malicious calumny, a downright falsity.

Let us now calmly debate the matter, Whether according to the received principles of the Church of Rome, this be only a particular Opinion of some Popes and Divines or be to be received as a matter of Faith. The Question is not,

Whether those who deny it, do account it an Article of Faith; for we know they do not: But whether upon the principles of the Church of Rome they are not bound to do it.

I shall only, to avoid cavilling, proceed upon the principles owned by our Author himself, viz.

1. That the sense of Scripture, as understood by the community of Christians in all Ages since the Apostles, is to be taken from the present Church. Pag. 29.

2. That by the present Church he understands the Pastors and Prelates assembled in Councils, who are appointed by Christ and his Apostles for the decision of controversies; and that they have infallible assistance. Pag. 34.

3. That the Pope as the Head of the Church, hath a particular Assistance promised him, with a special regard to his Office and Function. P. 40, 41.

If therefore it appear that Popes and Councils have declared this Deposing Doctrine, and they have received other things as Articles of Faith upon the same Declarations, Why should they then stick at yielding this to be an Article of Faith, as well as the other?

It is not denied, that I can find, that Popes and Councils for several Ages have asserted and exercised the Deposing power; but it is alledged against these Decrees and Acts, 1. That they were not grounded upon Universal Tradition. 2. That they had not Universal Reception.

Now, if these be sufficient to overthrow the Definitions of Councils, let us consider the consequences of it.

1. Then every Man is left to examine the Decrees of Councils, whether they are to be embraced or not; for he is to judge whether they are founded on Universal Tradition; and so he is not to take the sense of the present Church for his Guide, but the Universal Church from Christ's time: which overthrows a Fundamental principle of the Roman Church.

2. Then he must reject the pretended Infallibility in the Guides of the Church, if they could so notoriously err in a matter of so great consequence to the peace of Christendom as this was; and consequently their authority could not be sufficient to declare any Articles of Faith, and so all persons must be left at liberty to believe as they see cause, notwithstanding the Definitions made by Popes and Councils.

3. Then he must believe the Guides of the Roman Church to have been mistaken, not once or twice, but to have persisted in it for Five hundred years: which must take away, not only infallibility, but any kind of Reverence to the authority of it. For whatever may be said as to those who have depended on Princes, or favour their parties against the Guides of the Church, it cannot be denied that for so long time

Discussio
Decreti
Magni Con-
cil. Lateran.
p. 89.

p. 90, &c.

time the leading party in that Church did assert and maintain the Deposing power; and therefore *Lessius* truly understood this matter, when he said, *That there was scarce any Article of the Christian Faith, the denial whereof was more dangerous to the Church, or did precipitate Men more into Heresie and Hatred of the Church, than this of the Deposing Power; for, he says, they could not maintain their Churches Authority without it.*

And he reckons up these ill Consequences of denying it.

1. That the Roman Church hath erred for at least five hundred years, in a matter fundamental as to Government, and of great Moment: Which is worse than an Error about Sacraments, as Penance, Extream Unction, &c. and yet those who deny the Church can err in one, hold that it hath erred in a greater matter.

2. That it hath not only erred, but voluntarily and out of Ambition, perverting, out of design, the Doctrine of the Primitive Church and Fathers concerning the Power of the Church, and bringing in another contrary to it, against the Right and Authority of Princes; which were a grievous sin.

3. That it made knowingly, unrighteous Decrees, to draw persons from their Allegiance to Princes; and so they became the causes of many Seditions and Rebellions, and all the ill consequences of them, under a shew of Piety and Religion.

4. That the Churches Decrees, Commands, Judgments and Censures may be safely contemned as Null, and containing intolerable Errors. And that it may require such things which good Subjects are bound to disobey.

5. That *Gregory VII.* in the Canon *Nos Sanctorum*, &c. *Urban II.* *Gregory IX.* the Councils of *Lateran* under *Alex. III.* and *Innocent III.* the Councils of *Lyon*, of *Vienna*, of *Constance*, of *Lateran* under *Leo X.* and of *Trent*, have all grievously and enormously erred about this matter; For that it was the Doctrine of them all, he shews at large; and so Seven General Councils lose their Infallibility at one blow.

6. That the Gates of Hell have prevailed against the Church: For the true Church could never teach such pernicious Doctrine as this must be, if it be not true. And if it erred in this, it might as well err in any other Doctrine, and so Men are not bound to believe or obey it.

7. That Princes and all Laymen have just Cause to withdraw from their Church; because it shewed it self to be governed by a spirit of Ambition, and not by the Spirit of God; and not only so, but they may justly prosecute all that maintain a Doctrine so pernicious to Government, if it be not true.

Let us now see what our Author saith to clear this from being a Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*.

1. That for the few Authors that are abettors of this Doctrine, there are of his Communion Three times the number that publicly disown all such Authority.

If this be true, it is not much for the Reputation of their Church, That there should be such a number of those who are liable to all these dreadful consequences, which *Lessius* urges upon the deniers of it: But is it possible to believe there should be so few followers of so many Popes, and Seven General Councils, owned for such by the disowners of

of this Doctrine, except the *Lateran* under *Leo X*? The poor *Eastern* Christians are condemned for *Hereticks* by the Church of *Rome*, for refusing to submit to the Decrees of one General Council, either that of *Ephesus*, or of *Chalcedon*; and they plead for themselves, That there was a misinterpretation of their meaning, or not right understanding one another about the difference of *Nature* and *Person*, which occasioned those Decrees. I would fain know, whether those Churches which do not embrace the Decrees of those Councils, are in a state of *Heresie* or not? If they be, then what must we think of such who reject the Decrees of Seven General Councils, one after another, and give far less probable accounts of the Proceedings of those Councils in their Definitions, than the other do.

Discuss.
Discuss.
Part 3.
Sect. 3.
P. 1.
Philip. 2
SS. Trinir.
Itiner. Ori-
ent. l. 5.
c. 5. Clem.
Galan. Cori-
cil. Eccl.
Arm. Qu. 2.
SS. 3.
P. 92.

2. He saith, *Those who have condemned it, have not been in the least suspected of their Religion, or of denying any Article of Faith.* Let any one judge of this by *Lessius* his Consequences: And the Author of the first Treatise against the Oath of Allegiance saith in plain Terms, *That the Opinion that the Pope hath no such Power, is erroneous in Faith, as well as temerarious and impious*; And he proves it by this substantial argument; because they who hold it, must suppose that the Church hath been for some time in a damnable Error of Belief, and Sin of Practice: And he not only proves that it was defined by Popes and Councils, but for a long time universally received; and that no one Author can be produced before *Calvin's* time, that denied this Power absolutely, or in any case whatsoever. But a few Authors that are Abettors of it, saith our Representer: Not one total Dissenter for a long time, saith the other: And which of these is the true Representer? The deniers of it not in the least suspected of their Religion, saith one: Their Opinion is erroneous in Faith, temerarious and impious, saith the other. And a Professor of *Lovain*, now living, hath undertaken to shew, that the number is far greater of those who assert this Doctrine, than of those who deny it.

Jesuits
Loyalty,
first Treas-
ure, p. 1. &c.

3. If we charge their Church with this Opinion, may not they as well charge ours with the like; since Propositions as dangerous were condemned at *Oxford*, July 26. 1683. as held not by *Jesuits*, but by some among our selves? This is the force of his Reasoning: But we must desire the Reader to consider the great disparity of the case. We cannot deny, that there have been men of ill Minds, and disloyal Principles, Factious and Disobedient, Enemies to the Government, both in Church and State; but have these Men ever had that countenance from the Doctrines of the Guides of our Church, which the deposing Doctrine hath had in the Church of *Rome*? To make the case parallel, he must suppose our Houses of Convocation to have several times declared these damnable Doctrines, and given Encouragement to Rebels to proceed against their Kings, and the University of *Oxford* to have condemned them; for this is truly the case in the Church of *Rome*; the Popes and Councils have owned, and approved, and acted by the Deposing Principle: but the Universities of *France*, of late years, have condemned it. How come the Principles of the Regicides among us to be parallel'd with this Doctrine, when the Principles of our Church are so directly contrary to them; and our Houses of Convocation would as readily condemn any such damnable Doctrines, as the University of *Oxford*? And all the World knows how repugnant such Principles are to those of the Church

P. 47, 48:
Auctoritas
Sedis Apo-
stolica vin-
dicata ad-
versus Na-
tal. Alex-
and. per
Franciscum
Engbium Co-
lon. A. D.
1684.

of England; and none can be Rebels to their Prince, but they must be false to our Church.

As to the personal Loyalty of many persons in that Church, as I have no Reason to question it, so it is not proper for me to debate it, if I did; since our business is not concerning Persons, but Doctrines; and it was of old observed concerning the *Epicureans*, That though their principles did overthrow any true Friendship, yet many of them made excellent Friends.

XXI. Of Communion in One Kind.

§ 2. 2. R

FOR our better proceeding in this Controversie, I shall set down the State of it as clearly as I can.

1. The Question is not, Whether the first Institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist by Jesus Christ, were in one Kind, or two: for all confess it was under both Kinds.

2. It is not, Whether both Kinds are not still necessary for the due Celebration of it; for it is granted that both Kinds are necessary to be upon the Altar, or else there could be no complete Sacrifice.

3. It is not, Whether the people may be wholly excluded from both Kinds, and so the Sacrifice only remain: for they grant that the people are bound to communicate in one Kind.

4. It is not concerning any peculiar and extraordinary Cases, where no Wine is to be had, or there be a particular Aversion to it, or any such thing, where positive Institutions may be reasonably presumed to have no force: But concerning the publick and solemn Celebration, and participation of it in the Christian Church.

5. It is not concerning the mere disuse or neglect of it, But concerning the lawfulness of Excluding the people from both Kinds, by the Churches prohibition, notwithstanding the Institution of it by Christ in both Kinds, with a command to keep up the Celebration of it to his second coming.

Here now consists the point in Controversie, Whether the Church being obliged to keep up the Institution in both Kinds, be not equally obliged to distribute both as our Saviour did, to as many as partake of it? Our Author not denying the Institution, or the continuance of it, saith, *Our Saviour left it indifferent to receive it in one Kind, or both.* And that is the point to be examined.

1. He saith, *Christ delivered it to his Apostles, who only were then present, and whom he made Priests just before: yet he gave no command that it should be so received by all the Faithful.*

But were not the Apostles all the Faithful then present? I pray in what capacity did they then receive it? As Priests? How did they receive the Bread before the *hoc facite*? As Priests or as Faithful? It is ridiculous to suppose the *hoc facite* changed their capacity; and if it did, it only relates to consecrating, and not to receiving: but if Christ gave it only to the Apostles as Priests; then for all that I can see, the People are not at all concerned in one kind or other; but it was intended only for Priests: If the people be concerned, how came they to be so? Where is there any command but what refers to the first Institution? And it had been more plausible, according to this Answer, to ex-

clude

clude the People wholly, than to admit them to one Kind, and to debar them the other.

2. *Christ attributes the obtaining Life Everlasting, the end of the Institution, sometimes to receiving under both Kinds, sometimes under one,* John 6. 51, 57, 58. He could not easily have thought of any thing more against himself; for our Saviour there makes it as necessary to drink his Blood, as to eat his Flesh, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*: If this be understood of the Sacrament, as he saith, How is it possible for him to make the Cup indifferent? Unless it be indifferent whether the People be saved or not.

3. *Christ himself administred the Sacrament to some of his Disciples under one kind only,* Luke 24. 30. But is he sure Christ did then administer the Sacrament to them? Or that if he did, the Cup was not implied, since breaking of Bread, when taken for an ordinary Meal in Scripture, doth not exclude drinking at it? But St. Augustin he saith, (l. 49. *de Consensu Evangel.*) *understands that place of the Sacrament.* If he doth, it cannot be where he saith; for St. Augustin wrote but Four Books of that Subject: but l. 3. 25. he doth say something towards it; yet St. Augustin in another place supposes that these Disciples did both eat and drink. *The Disciples did not know him, but in the breaking of Bread; and truly he that doth not eat and drink Judgment to himself, doth in the breaking of Bread own Christ.* Where it is plain, that he applies both, to the breaking of Bread here spoken of. Tract. 2. in Epist. St. John.

4. He saith, *it was the Custom of the Primitive Christians to give it under one kind to Children, the Sick, and to Men in a Journey.* I would he had produced his Authorities to prove these things, for I can bring several to prove the direct contrary as to Children and sick Persons, and Travellers, and not only Ancient Writers, but the most Learned of their own Church. And therefore I cannot but wonder to find him saying, *This was attested by all Ancient Writers, and Modern Historians.* But I have ever found those have been most mistaken, who produce *all Writers and Historians*; when it may be, there is not one that speaks home to the business. At least, we have here none mentioned, and therefore none to examin; and it would be too hard a task to search *All*.

5. He adds to this extravagancy, in saying, *That Receiving in one or both kinds, was indifferent for the first Four hundred years*; when the contrary is so manifest, that the most ingenious of their own Writers confess it. If any Persons did carry home one kind (which is very questionable; for *Baronius* and *Albaspinaeus* say, they carried both kinds) to receive it in times of Persecution, at what season they thought fit afterwards; this ought not to be set up against the general and constant Rule of the Church; which is attested, not only by *Cassander* and such like, but even by *Salmero*, *Ruardus Tapperus*, and *Lindanus*, who make no scruple of saying, The publick Celebration in the Primitive Church was in both Kinds. But then, how is it possible for us to judge better, what they thought themselves bound to do, than what they constantly observed in all their publick Celebrations? The Church is not accountable for the particular Fancies or Superstitions of Men; but what was observed in all publick Offices, we have reason to think the Church thought it self obliged so to do, out of regard to the Institution of Christ. And to shew how Universal this Observation was in the Church, those who give account of the *Eastern Church* say, That the *Greeks*,

Cotovic.
Itiner.
Hierosolo-
lymit. l. 2.
c. 6. Hist.
Critique,
p. 14.

Nestorians, Armenians, Maronites, Copheltes and Abyssins, do all observe it still, viz. That the publick Communicants do partake of both Kinds. And not one of all these Churches, but think themselves bound to observe it, out of regard to the Institution of Christ; and why then should any think the Primitive Church thought it indifferent?

6. *The first Precept of receiving under both Kinds, was given to the Faithful by Pope Leo, A. D. 443. and confirmed by Gelasius, A. D. 490.* This is a great mistake, for *Leo* gave no Precept about it; but only told the People how they might certainly discover the *Manichees*, for they would conform in other things, but they would not taste of the Wine: which argued, that all other Communicants did then partake in both Kinds. *Gelasius* not only confirms the Custom then used, but he saith, *That it is Sacrilege to divide that Holy Mystery.* And surely he did not account Sacrilege an Indifferent thing.

Page 52.

7. Lastly he saith, *That those who receive in one Kind, are truly partakers of the whole Sacrament.* This is a new way of Concomitancy; We used to hear of *Whole Christ* under either Species, and that *Whole Christ* was therefore received; but how comes it to be the whole Sacrament, which consists of two distinct Parts? And if it be a Sacrifice, the Blood must be separated from the Body, else the Blood of Christ is not considered as shed, and so the Notion of the Sacrifice will be lost: Which is our next Head.

XXII. Of the M A S S.

143.2.A.

UNDER this Head, which is thought of so great Consequence in the Roman Church, I expected a fuller Representation than I here find; as about the *Opus Operatum*, i. e. how far the mere Act is effectual: About their *Solitary Masses*, when no Person receives but the Priest; About the People having so little to do, or understand, in all the other parts of the *Mass*; About the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Mass*, how useful and important they are; About reconciling the present Canon of the *Mass*, with the present Practices; About offering up *Masses* for the honour of Saints. All which we find in the Council of *Trent*, but are omitted by our *Representer*; who speaks of the *Mass*, as tho' there were no Controversie about it, but only concerning the Sacrifice there supposed to be offered up, and which he is far from true Representing: For the Council of *Trent* not only affirms a true proper propitiatory Sacrifice to be there offered up for the quick and dead, but denounces *Anathema's* against those that deny it. So that the Question is not, Whether the Eucharist may not in the sense of Antiquity be allowed to be a Commemorative Sacrifice, as it takes in the whole Action: but whether in the *Mass* there be such a Representation made to God of Christ's Sacrifice, as to be it self a true and Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Quick and the Dead?

Sess. 22.
cap. 2.
cap. 1,
2, 3, &c.

Now, all that our *Representer* saith to the purpose, is,

Page 53:

1. *That Christ bequeathed his Body and Blood at his last Supper, under the Species of Bread and Wine, not only a Sacrament, but also a Sacrifice.* I had thought it had been more proper to have offered a Sacrifice, than to have bequeathed it. And this ought to have been proved, as the Foundation of this Sacrifice, viz. That Christ did at his last Supper offer up his Body and Blood, as a Propitiatory Sacrifice to God. And then what need his suffering on the Cross?

2. *He gave this in charge to his Apostles, as the first and chief Priests of*

of the New Testament, and to their Successors, to offer. But Where? When? and How? For we read nothing at all of it in Scripture. Christ indeed did bid them do the same thing he had there done in his last Supper. But did he then offer up himself, or not? If not, How can the Sacrifice be drawn from his Action; If he did, it is impossible to prove the necessity of his dying afterwards.

3. This Sacrifice was never questioned till of late years. We say, it was never determined to be a Propitiatory Sacrifice, till of late. We do not deny the Fathers interpreting Mal. 1. 11. of an Offering under the Gospel; but they generally understand it of Spiritual and Eucharistical Sacrifices; and although some of them, by way of Accommodation, do apply it to the Eucharist, yet not one of them doth make it a Propitiatory Sacrifice, which was the thing to be proved: For, we have no mind to dispute about Metaphorical Sacrifices, when the Council of Trent so positively decrees it to be a True, Proper, and Propitiatory Sacrifice.

96.2. XXXIII. OF PURGATORY.

Here our Author begins with proving from Scripture and Antiquity, and then undertakes to explain the Doctrine of Purgatory from substantial Reasons.

I. As to his Proof from Scripture.

1. Is that from 2 Maccab. c. 12. where he saith, Money was sent to Jerusalem, that Sacrifices might be offered for the slain; and 'tis recommended as a Holy Cogitation, to pray for the dead.

To this, which is the main foundation of Purgatory, I answer, 1. It can never prove such a Purgatory as our Author asserts; For he supposes a Sinner reconciled to God, as to eternal Punishment, before he be capable

of Purgatory; but here can be no such supposition; for these Men died in the sin of Achan, which was not known till their Bodies were found amongst the slain. Here was no Confession, or any sign of Repentance, and therefore if it proves any thing, it is deliverance from Eternal Punishment, and for such as dye in their Sins without any shew of Repentance.

2. We must distinguish the Fact of Judas from the interpretation of Jason, or his Epitomizer. The Fact of Judas was according to the strictness of the Law, which required in such Cases a Sin Offering; and that is all which the Greek implies. Ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα προσάγαγεῖν ὡσεὶ ἀμαρτίας θυσιάαν. And so Leo Allatius confesses all the

best Greek Copies agree; and he reckons Twelve of them. Now what doth this imply, but that Judas remembering the severe punishment of this Sin in the Case of Achan, upon the People, sent a Sin offering to Jerusalem? But saith Leo Allatius, It was the sin of those men that were slain. I grant it. But the Question is, Whether the Sin-offering respected the dead or the living? For the Law in such a Case required a

Sin-offering for the Congregation. And why should not we believe so punctual a Man for the Law, as Judas, did strictly observe it in this point? But the Author of the Book of Maccabees understands it of those that were slain. I do not deny it; but then.

3. We have no Reason to rely upon his Authority in this matter; which I shall make appear by a parallel Instance. He doth undoubtedly commend the Fact of Razias in Killing himself (2 Macc. 14. 42.) when he saith he did it, Ἐνθυμῶς like a brave Man; and if he had thought it a fault in him, he would never have given such a Character of it, but he would have added some-

thing

Leo Allat.
de Purgat.
p. 889.

Levit. 4. 13.

Bellar. de
Purgat. l. 1.
c. 8.

thing of Caution after it. And it is no great advantage to Purgatory, for him that commends Self-murder to have introduced it. The most probable account I can give of it is, That the *Alexandrian Jews*, of whose number *Jason of Cyrene* seems to have been, had taken in several of the Philosophical Opinions, especially the *Platonists*, into their Religion, as appears by *Philo*; and *Bellarmino* himself confesses, that *Plato* held a Purgatory: and they were ready to apply what related to the Law, to their Platonick Notions. So here the Law appointed a Sin-offering with respect to the Living; but *Jason* would needs have this refer to the dead; and then sets down his own Remark upon it, That it was a holy Cogitation to pray for the dead; as our Author renders it. If it were holy with respect to the Law, there must be some ground for it in the Law. And that we appeal to; and do not think any particular Fancies sufficient to introduce such a Novelty as this was, which had no Foundation either in the Law or the Prophets. And it would be strange for a new Doctrine to be set up, when the Spirit of Prophecy was ceased among them.

P. 55.

But *S. August.* held these Books for Canonical, and saith, they are so received by the Church, l. 18. de Civit. Dei. To answer this, it is sufficient to observe, not only the different Opinions of others before men-

Can. 1. 2.
c. 10. ad 4.

tioned as to these Books: But that as *Camus* notes, it was then lawful to doubt of their Authority: And he goes as low as *Gregory I.* whom he denies not to have rejected them. And I hope we may set the Authority of one against the other; especially when *St. Augustin* himself, be-

Aug. cont.
ad Epist.
Caudent
l. 2. c. 23.

ing pressed hard with the Fact of *Razias* confesses, 1. That the Jews have not the Book of Maccabees in their Canon, as they have the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to whom our Lord gave Testimony as to his Witnesses. Which is an evident Proof, he thought not these Books sufficient to ground a Doctrine upon, which was not found in the other.

2. That however this Book was not unprofitably received by the Church, if it be soberly read and heard. Which implies a greater Caution than *S. Augustin* would ever have given, concerning a Book he believed truly

De Purgat.
l. 1. c. 3.

Canonical. But saith *Bellarmino*, his meaning is only to keep men from imitating the Example of *Razias*; whereas that which they pressed *S. Augustin* with, was not merely the Fact, but the Character that is given of it. *Sanctarum Scripturarum Auctoritate laudatus est Razias*, are their very Words in *S. Augustin*. And therefore the caution relates to the Books, and not merely to his Example. And he lessens the Character given by the Author, when he saith, He chose to dye nobly; It had been better, saith he, to have dyed humbly. But the other is the Elogium given in the Heathen Histories, and better becomes brave Heathens, than true Martyrs. Can any one now think *S. Augustin* believed this Writer divinely inspired, or his Doctrine sufficient to ground a point of Faith upon? And I wonder they should not every jot as well commend Self-murder as an Heroical Act, as prove the Doctrine of Purgatory from these words of *Jason*, or his Epitomizer. For the Argument from the Authority of the Book, will hold as strongly for one as the other. And yet this is the *Achilles* for Purgatory; which *Natalis Alexander* (whom our Author follows in this matter) saith, is a Demonstrative Place against those that deny it. But I must proceed.

Natal. A-
lex. Sec. 4.
Diff. 4.

P. 56.

2. Purgatory is plainly intimated by our Saviour, Mat. 12. 32. Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. By which words, Christ evidently supposes, that some sins are forgiven in the world to come. I am so far from

from discerning this plain intimation, that I wonder how any came to think of it out of this place. Well! But doth it not hence follow, that Sins may be forgiven in the world to come? Not near so plainly, as that Sins will not be forgiven in the World to come. Not that particular Sin, but others may; How doth that appear? What intimation is there that any Sins not forgiven here, shall be forgiven there? Or that any Sins here remitted as to the Eternal Punishment, shall be there remitted as to the Temporal? And without such a kind of Remission, nothing can be inferred from hence. But if there be a Remission in another World, it can be neither in Heaven nor Hell, therefore it must be in Purgatory. But those who own a Remission of Sin in another World, say it will be on the Day of Judgment: For the actual Deliverance of the Just from Punishment, may be not improperly called the full Remission of their Sins. So S. Augustin, whom he quotes, plainly saith, *Si nulla remitterentur in iudicio illo novissimo*, &c. c. Julian, l. 6. c. 5. where it is evident S. Augustin takes this place to relate to the Day of Judgment; and so in the other, (*De Civit. Dei*, l. 21. c. 24.) But as he supposed a Remission, so he did a Purgation as by Fire in that day. *In illo iudicio penas quasdam purgatorias futuras*. *De Civitat. Dei*, l. 20. c. 25. And so he is to be understood on *Psal.* 37. to which he applies *1 Cor.* 3. 15. But our Author was very much out, when he saith S. Augustin applied *1 Pet.* 3. 15. to some place of temporal Chastisement in another World, when Bellarmine sets himself to confute S. Augustin about it, as understanding it of this World: And therefore he hath little cause to boast of St. Augustin's Authority about Purgatory, unless he had brought something more to the purpose out of him. His other Testimonies of Antiquity are not worth considering; which he borrows from *Natalis Alexander*: that of *Dionysius Areopag.* *Eccl. Hierarch.* c. 7. is a known Counterfeit, and Impertinent, relating to a Region of Rest and Happiness. And so do *Tertullian's* Oblations for the Dead, *De Cor. Milit.* c. 3. For they were Eucharistical, as appears by the ancient Liturgies, being made for the greatest Saints. St. Cyprian, Ep. 66. speaks of an Oblation for the Dead: and he there mentions the *Natalitia* of the Martyrs: but by comparing that with his *Epist.* 33. it will be found that he speaks of the Anniversary Commemoration of the Dead, which signifies nothing to Purgatory: for the best men were put into it: and St. Cyprian threatens it as a Punishment to be left out of the *Diptychs*: but surely it is none to escape Purgatory: *Arnobius* l. 4. only speaks of praying for the Dead, which we deny not to have been then used in the Church, not with respect to any temporary pains in Purgatory, but to the day of Judgment: And therein lies the true state of the Controversie, with respect to Antiquity: which is not, Whether any solemn prayers were not then made for the dead; but whether those prayers did relate to their deliverance out of a state of Punishment before the Day of Judgment. For whatever state Souls were then supposed to be in before the great Day, if there could be no deliverance till the Day of Judgment, it signifies nothing to the present Question.

As to the Vision of *Perpetua* concerning her Brother *Dinocrates* who died at Seven Years old, being baptized, it is hardly reconcilable to their own Doctrine, to suppose such a Soul in Purgatory: I will not deny that *Perpetua* did think she saw him in a worse condition: and thought likewise that by her Prayers she brought him into a better; for she saw him playing like little children: and then she awaked, and concluded that she had given him ease: but is it indeed come to this, that

such a Doctrine as Purgatory must be built on such a Foundation as this? I do not call in question the Acts of *Perpetua*, nor her sincerity in relating her Dream: but must the Church build her Doctrines upon the Dreams or Visions of Young Ladies, tho' very devout? for *Ubia Perpetua* was then but Twenty Two, as she saith her self. But none are to be blamed, who make use of the best supports their Cause will afford.

Pag. 57.

It is time now to see what strength of Reason he offers for Purgatory. 1. He saith, *When a sinner is reconciled to God, tho' the Eternal punishment due to his sins is always remitted, yet there sometimes remains a temporal penalty to be undergone; as in the case of the Israelites, and David.* But doth it hence follow, that there is a temporal penalty that must be undergone either here or hereafter, without which there will be no need of Purgatory? Who denies, that God in this Life, for example sake, may punish those whose sins he hath promised to remit as to another World? This is therefore a very slender Foundation.

2. *There are some sins of their own nature light and venial.* I will not dispute that; but suppose there be, must Men go then into Purgatory for mere Venial Sins? What a strange Doctrine doth this appear to any Man's Reason? That God should forgive the greater sins, and require so severe a punishment for sins in their own Nature venial, i. e. so inconsiderable in their Opinion that no man is bound to confess them; which do not interrupt a state of Grace; which require only an implicit detestation of them, which do not deserve eternal punishment; which may be remitted by Holy Water, or a Bishop's Blessing, as their Divines agree. 3. *That to all sins some penalty is due to the Justice of God.* And what follows from hence but the necessity of Christ's Satisfaction; but how doth it appear, that after the Expiation of Sin by Christ, and the remission of eternal punishment, there still remains a necessity of farther satisfaction for such a temporal penalty in another World? 4. *That generally speaking few men depart out of this Life, but either with the guilt of venial sins, or obnoxious to some temporal punishment;* No doubt all men are obnoxious by their sins to the punishment of another World; but that is not the point, but whether God hath declared, That altho' he remits the eternal punishment, he will not the temporal; and altho' he will forgive thousands of pounds, he will not the pence and farthings we owe to him: But if Mortal Sins be remitted as to the guilt, and Venial do not hinder a State of Grace, what room is there for vindictive Justice in Purgatory.

6. Th. part.
3. q. 87.
art. 3. in
cor. v. Mar-
fil. Column.
Hydragio-
log. Sect. 7.
c. 3. n. 32.
Sect. 3. c.
2. 11. 15.
29. c. 3. n.
1. Bell. de
Cultu Sanct.
l. 3. c. 7.
Sect. se-
cundo.

Yet this is the Doctrine which so much weight is laid upon; that *Bellarmino* saith. *They must go directly to Hell, who do not believe Purgatory.* If this be true, why was it not put into the Representation, that we might understand the danger of not believing so credible, so reasonable a Doctrine as this? But we believe it to be a much more dangerous thing to condemn others for not believing a Doctrine which hath so very slender a pretence either to Scripture or Reason.

De Purga-
torio l. 1.
c. 11. SS.
Hæc. sunt.

164.1.3

XXIV. Of Praying in an unknown Tongue.

THE Question in short is, Whether the Church Service, at which persons are bound to assist, ought not to be in a Language understood by those who are bound to assist?

Pl 59.

For our Author grants, *That a Papist is bound to assist at the Church-Service, and to hear Mass;* but he is not bound to understand the Words there spoken.

This

This is a plain state of the case; and one would have thought St. Paul's Discourse about Edification in the Church-Service and a known Tongue, and the Primitive practice, had deserved a little consideration, but not a Word is said to either of them; and the whole is so managed, as tho' there had been no Rule, or any appearance of practice to the contrary. But I must consider what he doth say,

1. *The Mass is a Sacrifice*: And what then? Have they no other Church-Service but the Mass? What then becomes of their Breviaries, Litanies, and all other Offices? But suppose the Priest's Office in the Mass, be to offer the Sacrifice; are there no Prayers in the Canon of the Mass, wherein the people are concerned? Why must not they understand what they are required to assist in Prayer for? If they have English Books, as he saith, to teach them every part and Ceremony of the Mass, why not as well the Prayers in the Mass, wherein they are to join? They tell us, *It is unseasonable then for the People to say their Beads, and other Devotions*: And I suppose as unseasonable to talk, or think of other matters. Why then should not they know what it is they are to do, and what Petitions they are then to make to God? Are there no Responses to be made? No Lessons to be read? No Creed to be professed? Doth not the Priest speak to the People to pray, and they answer him? Is there no Thanksgiving after the Communion which the people is concerned in? We are as much for *their Devout Affections* as they can be, but we think they are not hindered by understanding what they are about. We cannot but wonder, that any man should say, *That it nothing concerns his Devotion, that the Mass is in Latin*, if he understand it not. Is it no part of Devotion to join in the publick Prayers, not merely by rote, but from a due apprehension of the matter contained in them? He requires, *That they accompany the Priest in Prayer and Spirit*: And why not in understanding also? *But the Church hath so ordered it*: And that is the thing we complain of, as done against St. Paul, against the Primitive Church, against the natural sense of Mankind, who think it is fit for them to know what they do, especially in the Worship of God: *But it is to preserve Unity*: Methinks however Unity in Spirit and Understanding is better than without it: *There are other good Reasons*: I know not one good one; and if there were more, he would have produced them: *The greatest part is said in a low voice, that it is not possible he should bear it*: And to what purpose should it be spoken louder, if they are not to understand it? But why so low in publick? Yet the people might have Books, and join, if they understood what was said. But why should not the rest be understood, which is spoken as if it were.

P. 61.

P. 60.

P. 61.

2. As to other Offices, he saith, *He is taught, that he may perform them in a Language which he understands not, with great benefit to his Soul, and the acceptance of God, if at those occasions he endeavours to raise his thoughts to Heaven, and fix his heart upon his Maker*. But the Question is not, Whether a Man may not have devout Thoughts at that time, but whether he can perform his part in the publick Offices, with true Devotion, without Understanding? For the publick Offices of Devotion were designed for the uniting the Hearts and Desires of the people in the same things. It is not, Whether one Man may not pray for Heaven, and another for fair Weather, and another for pardon of his Sins, and a Fourth for Patience, and so on, in the same place, and at the same time, for all this might be done as well in a *silent Meeting*, where not a Word is spoken: But there being one Form of Praying for all to join together in, that with the united force of the whole Congregation, their

P. 62.

Petitions may go up to Heaven; The Matter now in dispute is, Whether it be not necessary in order to this united Devotion, that the people all know what they pray for? And one would think nothing need to be said to prove this: But what our Author adds in justification of this, overthrowes all publick Devotion; For he saith, *It is not necessary to have attention on the Words, or on the Sense of Prayers, but rather purely on God;* Which is to make all publick Forms unnecessary, and to turn all Devotion into *Prayer of Contemplation*: For if this be true, all Forms whatsoever are not only useless, but burdensome; and by the stinting the Spirit, do hinder the nimble flights of the Soul, in pure silence towards God: And this principle must lead men to *Enthusiasms*, and unintelligible Unions; and make them despise Forms as a mean and dull Dispensation.

But at last he saith, *A Petitioner may accompany his Petition with an earnest desire of obtaining it, tho' the Language in which it is written, be unknown to him.* Very true, if he indited the matter of the Petition, and trusted another to put it into that Language, which the Person to whom he makes it, doth understand, but not his own: But all Languages are alike to God's Infinite Wisdom, and so there can be no pretence on that account, to keep only to some particular Tongues, tho' unknown to the Party; and if it were so to all men, no man would have a Petition presented in a Language which he did not know: But in prayer to God, the design of it is not to acquaint him with something which he knew not, but to excite the hearts and affections of men to an earnest desire of the things which are fit for them to ask: Now let any man undertake to prove, that mens affections are as easily moved by words they do not understand, as by those they do: and I will give up this Cause.

XXV. Of the Second Commandment.

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THE Dispute about this is not, *whether the Second Commandment may be found in any of their Books, but by what Authority it comes to be left out in any:* As he confesses it is in *their short Catechisms and Manuals;* but not only in these, for I have now before me the Reformed Office of the Blessed Virgin, Printed at *Salamanca, A. D. 1588.* published by Order of *Pius V.* where it is so left out; And so in the English Office at *Antwerp, A. D. 1658.* I wish I had told us in what publick Office of their Church it is to be found: but himself pleads for the leaving it out, when he saith, *The People are in no danger of Superstition or Idolatry by it; since the First Commandment secures them from it; and there is nothing in this, but what is virtually contained in the First, and is rather an Explanation, than a new and distinct Precept.* But is this so plain and clear, that a Man's Conscience can never make any just and reasonable doubt concerning it? There is a terrible Sanction after it; and Men had need go upon very good Grounds in a matter of such moment. Hath God himself any where declared this to be only an Explication of the First Commandment? Have the Prophets, or Christ and his Apostles ever done it? How then can any Man's Conscience be safe in this matter? For it is not a trifling Controversie, whether it be a distinct Commandment, or an Explication of the First; but the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of the Worship of Images depends very much upon it: For if it be only an Explication of the First, then unless one takes Images to be Gods, their Worship is lawful, and so the Heathens were excused in it, who were not such Idiots; but if it be a new and distinct Precept, then the worship-

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ping any Image or Similitude, becomes a grievous Sin, and exposes Men to the Wrath of God, in that severe manner mentioned in the end of it. And it is a great confirmation that this is the true meaning of it, because all the Primitive Writers of the Christian Church, not only thought it a sin against this Commandment, but insisted upon the force of it against those Heathens who denied that they took their Images for Gods: And therefore this is a very insufficient Account of leaving out the *Second Commandment*.

52. 2. H.

XXVI. Of Mental Reservation

Under this Head he denies Two Things:

1. That they are ever taught to break Faith with Hereticks.
2. That their Church doth allow any Equivocations, or mental Reservations.

As to the former I am sincerely glad to find a Principle so destructive to all humane Society, so utterly disowned, when he saith, *He is taught to keep Faith with all sorts of People, of whatsoever Judgment or Persuasion they be; and to stand to his Word, and observe his Promise given, or made to any whatsoever.* And whatever Opinions and Practices there may have been of that kind formerly, we hope there will never be occasion given to revive that dispute.

2. As to the Second. We embrace his Declaration against it, and hope there is no Equivocation, or mental Reservation in it. But there are some things which must here be taken notice of:

1. He cannot deny that there are Authors in Communion with his Church, which may be charged with teaching another Doctrine; and those not a few, nor inconsiderable, who not only allow the Practice of mental Reservations and Equivocations, but say, with great confidence, it hath been received in the Roman Church for no less than Four hundred years; and that in some Cases they are still agreed in it. See *Parson's Treatise of Mitigation*, c. 7. §. 2, 3. c. 10. §. 1.

2. We do not deny, that *Innocent XI.* hath condemned Equivocations, and mental Reservations in Swearing, as *at least scandalous and pernicious in Practice*; and therefore we cannot charge the Pope with abetting this Doctrine. But we cannot but reflect on what our Author said about the deposing Doctrine, *That although Popes had believed it, and acted by it, yet the greater number opposed it.* And what shall we say in this Case, if the generality of their Casuists, in some Cases approve it, and think it no *Lie or Perjury*, as in that of *Confession*; but if it be really so in any one Case, then it may be some other fault; but it is not a *Lie or Perjury* in any other, when a Man doth not think himself bound to speak all he knows.

3. That as we highly commend the Pope's condemning such Doctrines and Practices now; so we have reason to think the contrary did not once want the encouragement and approbation of the *Roman See*. As may be found in the resolution of some Cases by *Pius V.* relating to some *Missionaries*, who were to be sent hither; and then it was declared, *That if they were summoned before our Judges, they might Sophisticè Jurare, & Sophisticè Respondere*; and that they were not bound to answer according to the intention of the Judges, but according to some true sense of their own, i. e. which was made true by the help of a mental Reservation. But it is very well, that now the very same things are condemned at Rome, as *scandalous and pernicious in practice*.

Apud G.
Abbot de
Mendacio,
&c. in Praef.
p. 6, &c.

XVII. Of a Death-Bed-Repentance.

452.0

WE have no difference with them about this matter, as far as they hold to these Points: 1. *That men are strictly obliged to work out their Salvation with fear and trembling in time of health.* 2. *That it is very dangerous to defer their Repentance to the last.* 3. *That if any are surprized, they ought in charity to have all possible assistance, to put them into the best way for their Salvation.*

But yet there may be some particular Doctrines owned in the Church of Rome, which may give men too much encouragement to put off true Repentance; as, 1. The easiness of being put into a state of Grace by the Sacrament of Penance; for which no more is required, *than removing the impediment*, as appears by the Council of Trent, Sess. 7. Can. 6. and afterwards it defines, *That bare Attrition doth sufficiently dispose a man to receive Grace in that Sacrament*, S. 14. c. 4. So that although a Man hath led a very bad Life, if he hath but this *Attrition* for his Sins when he doth confess them, he is put into a state of Grace by this Sacrament. And what can any Man expect more, and what can he do less? I do not mean a bare *natural Attrition*, the sufficiency whereof is condemned by *Innocent XI.* in the same Propositions, (Fifty seventh) but that which the Council of Trent calls *imperfect contrition*, i. e. a good motion in a man's mind to forsake his sins for fear of punishment, if really no more be required for a state of Grace but this, it is no wonder if men put off the doing of that which may be done at any time so easily by the help of a Priest.

2. The Treasure of the Church is another thing which is very apt to hinder mens speedy Repentance; for by that they believe there is a stock ready of so many Merits and Satisfactions of others, if duly applied to them by Indulgences, that they need not be at such pains to *work out their own Salvation with fear and trembling.* When a man by the Sacrament of Penance is put into a state of Grace, the eternal Punishment is discharged, and nothing remains but some temporal Pains; and to ease him of these he hath many helps, but especially the Treasure of the Church, which the Pope hath the dispensing of, as he is bound to believe; and by Indulgence he may easily get off some thousands of Years of Purgatory-Pains; and if these should fail him, there is another help yet left, which is leaving a stock for Prayers for his Soul when he dies; *which*, even our Author assures him, *are very available towards his speedier release out of Purgatory*, p. 58.

90:1.2

XXVIII. Of FASTING.

THE Question here is, Whether a Man doth not observe their Church's Command about Fasting, who forbears all forbidden things, but takes liberty in those which are not forbidden?

It is not, Whether they may not break the Commands of God, against *Gluttony* and *Drunkennes*: But whether they break the Law of the Church about Fasting? And notwithstanding what our Author hath said, I see no reason for the Affirmative. I do not deny, 1. That it is

2. That excesses on such days are more scandalous, because there is a pretence of Fasting. 3. That God's Command doth at all times forbid Intemperance. Which are

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21111

are the chief things he insists upon. But yet this doth not reach the point, which is about their Church's Command. For their Casuists distinguish Fasting into 1. *Natural*, which is total Abstinence: and this is required only in order to receive the Eucharist. 2. *Moral*, which is the same with Temperance, or Fasting for Health. 3. *Ecclesiastical*, which is defined by them to be, *An Abstinence from Food forbidden by the Church*. And if this Definition be true, it cannot be broken but by eating what the Church hath prohibited.

And therefore their Casuists, as far as I can find, are agreed in these things:

1. That a Man may eat a full Meal of what is not forbidden, and not break the Church's Precept of Fasting, provided Vespers be first said. And the later Casuists blame Covarruvias for making any scruple about it. If a Man's Excess comes to be a mortal sin; yet for all that, saith Reginaldus, He shall not be judged as a breaker of his Fast. Nay, Lessius goes farther, and saith, He doth not lose the merit of Fasting. *Quamvis aliquis multum excedat non solvit Jejunium*, saith Card. Tolet. And Paulus Zacchias saith, This is the common Opinion; and he thinks the Intention of the Church is sufficiently answered. And so doth Pasqualigus, in his Praxis of Fasting.

Reginald.
Praxis l. 4.
c. l. 4. n.
163. Less.
de Justit. l.
l. 4. c. 2.
Dub. 2. n.
10.
Instrum. Sa-
cred. l. 6.
c. 2. n. 4.
P. Zacch.
Qu. Medi-
co. legales,
l. 5. tit. 1.
Qu. 1. p. 29,
30, 31.
Pasqual. De-
cif. 120.
n. 5.
Dian. Sam.
v. Jejun.
n. 7.
Zach. Pas-
qualigi.
Praxis Jeju-
ni Eccles.
Decif. 116.
n. 3. Dec.
117. 1, 2, 3.
Decif. 119.
n. 2.
Decif. 86.
n. 34.
Less. ubi.
supr. n. 11.
Tolet. ubi
sub. Regin.
ubi sup.
n. 185.

2. A Man may drink Wine, or other drink, as often as he pleaseth, without breaking his Fast. He may toties quoties bibere, saith Diana. Zach. Pasqualigus, who hath written most fully on this subject, shews, That it is the general Opinion, that no quantity of Wine, or other drink, tho' taken without any necessity, is a violation of the Precept of Fasting; no, not although the Wine be taken for nourishment, because the Church doth not forbid it; but this last, he saith, is not the general, but the more probable Opinion.

3. A Man may eat something when he drinks, to prevent its doing him hurt; besides his good Meal, he may take what quantity he pleases of Sweet-meats, or Fruit; he may have a good Refection at Night, and yet not break this strict Precept of Fasting: For the eating as often as one drinks, it is the common Opinion, saith the same Casuist, (who was no Jesuit) That it is not forbidden, because it is taken by way of a Medicine; and he quotes a great number of their Casuists for it. A Collation at Evening is allowed, saith he. And Lessius saith, There is no certain Rule for the quantity of it. And Card. Tolet saith, very large ones are allowed at Rome, by the Pope's Connivance; even in the Court of Rome, saith Reginaldus. And now I leave the Reader to judge of the severity of Fasting required in the Church of Rome.

XXIX. Of Divisions and Schisms in the Church.

TWO things he saith upon this Head.

1. That they are all agreed in matters of Faith.

2. That they only differ in some School-Points; from whence he infers, That they have no Schisms or Separations among them.

But that this is no just consequence, will appear by the Schisms and Separations among us, made by such who profess to agree in all matters of Faith. Yet let us see how he proves that they agree in all matters of Faith; Page 72.
because they agree to submit equally to the Determinations of the Church.

Now this very way evidently proves that they do not all agree, because they do not equally submit to the Church's Determinations. For,

1. Some say they are bound to submit to the Church's Determinations,

as

as it represents the Universal Church: Others say no; but as the Church's Power is virtually lodged in the Guides of it. Now this is a very material Difference: For if it be on the former Account, then not the Popes and Councils Declarations are to be regarded, but as they express the sense of the universal Church; and so the Majority of Votes, and Numbers in the Representative and Diffusive Church is chiefly to be regarded. And on this ground some reject the deposing Power, tho' plainly decreed by Popes and Councils; but they unhinge their Church's Authority by it. Now how is it possible for them to agree about matters of Faith, who differ fundamentally about the way how any things come to be matters of Faith? If they be decreed by Popes and Councils, say some; and so the deposing Power is become an Article of Faith. No such matter, say others, for a greater number in the diffusive Church oppose it, as in the *Gallican* Church, and elsewhere. Very well! But how then can these Parties be said to agree in matters of Faith, and an equal submission to the Determinations of the Church?

Some again say, That it is not the consent of the present Church can make any Article of Faith, but there must be an universal Tradition from the Apostles times. And so they tell us the deposing Power can never be an Article of Faith, because it wants the consent of all the Ages before *Gregory VII.* So that upon this ground there can be no Article of Faith which cannot be proved to be thus delivered down to us. Others again say, this is in effect to give up their Cause, knowing the impossibility of proving particular Points in this manner; and therefore they say, the present Church is wholly to be trusted for the sense of the foregoing.

Now these differences are still on foot in their Church, and from these do arise daily disputes about matters of Faith, and the Seat of Infallibility, whether in the Guides, or the Body of the Church; if the former, Whether in the Church Representative or Virtual? Whether the Personal Infallibility of the Pope be a matter of Faith or not? Our Author saith, Not; others say, Yes; and yet he saith, *they are agreed in matters of Faith*: So that by his own Confession, they differ about other things than mere School-Points.

But suppose they were agreed in Articles of Faith, can there be no Schisms or Divisions in their Church? What thinks he of all the Schisms between Popes and Popes? Of all the Schisms between the Popes and the Emperors Parties? Which were as notorious, and scandalous, and mischievous, as ever were in the World. What thinks he of the Schisms between the Bishops and the Regular Orders, which were as cross and peevish towards the Bishops and Secular Clergy, as our Dissenters themselves? And among the Regular Orders, what Heats and Contentions have been, *Not about the Practice of a devout Life*, I assure him, but about matters of Doctrine; and which both Parties severally plead to be matters of Faith? As in the noted Controversies of this last Age, about the immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the power of Grace, and the Pope's Personal Infallibility; and they cannot say they are as yet agreed about these things.

XXX. Of Friars and Nuns.

Our Dispute is not, About the lawfulness of retiring from the World by such Persons who are rendred unfit for doing service in it; and the more they spend their time in Devotion and Contemplation; so much the better.

But

But it lies in these Things,

1. Whether the Perfection of a Christian State of Life lies in being cloystered up from the World, or labouring to do good in it? For this was the great snare made use of, to draw Men into it, because they represented this as the most perfect State; whereas, according to the Doctrine and Example of Christ and his Apostles, the active Life of doing good, is far beyond it.

2. Whether, altho' such a retirement be allowed, it be a thing pleasing to God, to tie such Persons up by indispensable Vows, whatever their Circumstances may be, not to alter that State of Life; who either in Youth, or through Force, Passion, or Discontent, have entred into it? And this may be so much rather questioned, because those who assert the Pope may dispense, go upon this ground, because Circumstances may alter the obligation of a Vow; and when a greater good is to be attained, it ceaseth to oblige; which, to my apprehension, doth not prove the Pope's power to dispense, but the dispensible Nature of the Vows themselves.

3. Whether all things of this nature being liable, in continuance of time, to great degeneracy and corruptions; and the numbers of such Places being unserviceable either to Church or State, it be not in the power of the King and States of the Kingdom, to dissolve and reduce them to ways more suitable to the conveniences of both?

As to what he discourses about *Councils of Perfection, the Distractions of the World, the Corruptions of the best Things, &c.* they reach not the main Points, but are only general Topicks, which we are not concerned to debate.

§4. 2. P. XXXI. Of Wicked Principles and Practices.

THE Misrepresenter charges the Church of Rome with many horrid Practices, as the French and Irish Massacres, the Murders of two Kings of France, the Holy League, the Gun-powder-Treason, &c. and charges these as being done according to the Principles of that Church.

But in answer to this, he saith, 1. In general, *That the Doctrine of it is holy, teaching the Love of God and our Neighbour, and that none can be saved by Faith alone.* In which Doctrine we heartily concur with them. Page 77.

2. *That altho' many uncertain things pass for certain, and false for true, yet he cannot deny that all ranks and degrees of men have been corrupted among them, being scandalous in their Lives, wicked in their Designs, without the fear of God in their hearts, or care of their own Salvation.* This is a general Acknowledgment, but no particular Answer to the things objected. Page 79.

3. *That the whole Church is not to be charged for the sake of such Villanies.* Very true, unless some Doctrine owned in that Church gave encouragement to them: As suppose any should ever have fallen into Rebellion upon the belief of the deposing Power, is not that Doctrine chargeable with the Consequences of it? They are extremely to blame who charge a Church with what her Members do in direct opposition to her Doctrine; but it is quite another Case, when the main ground we alledge for their Actions is some allowed Principle in it. Page 81.

4. *They are not accountable for the Actions of every Bishop, Cardinal, or Pope; for they extend not their Faith beyond the Declaration of General Councils.* But suppose General Councils have declared such Doctrines, and Popes act but according to them; is not their Church then accountable for their Actions? Page 82.

5. *There is more praying and fasting, and receiving the Sacraments,* Page 83.

ments, more visiting the Prisoners, and the Sick, more Alms-giving in any of our neighbouring Popish Towns, as Paris, Antwerp, Gant, &c. than in any Ten Towns of the Reformation. And is there more Charity too? It doth not appear, if they be as ready to censure others, and admire themselves, as our Author, who so freely gives his Judgment about a matter it is impossible for him to know.

We see no Reason to admire or imitate the manner of their Praying, and Fasting, and receiving the Sacraments? for to pray without Understanding, to fast without Abstinence, to receive a maimed Sacrament, are things we do not envy them for; but altho' our Devotion be not so pompous, and full of shew, yet We may pray and fast in secret, according to our Saviour's Directions, far more than they do; however our People are mightily to blame if they do not understand what they pray for, if they do not receive more of the Sacrament than they; and we verily believe there are as great and remarkable Instances of true Charity among those of the Church of England, as among any People in the World.

3:29

XXXII. OF MIRACLES.

Page 83.

1. OUR Author saith, *He is not obliged to believe any one Miracle besides what is in Scripture.*

2. He sees no Reason to doubt the truth of many Miracles, which are attested by great numbers of Eye-witnesses, examined by Authority, and found upon Record, with all the Formalities due to such a Process.

Now, how can these two things stand together? Is not a Man obliged to believe a thing so well proved? And if his other Arguments prove any thing, it is, that he is bound to believe them. For he thinks there is as much Reason to believe Miracles still, as in the time of the old or new Law. If he can make this out, I see no reason why he should not be as well obliged to believe them now, as those recorded in Scripture. But I can see nothing like a Proof of this. And all Persons of Judgment in their own Church, do grant there is a great difference between the Necessity of Miracles for the first establishing a Religion, and afterwards. This is not only asserted by *Tostatus, Erasmus, Stella, Andradius*, and several others formerly; but the very late French Author I have several times mentioned, saith it in express Terms. And he confesses the great Impostures of modern Miracles, which, he saith, ought to be severely punished; and that none but Women and weak People think themselves bound to believe them. And he cannot understand what they are good for: Not to convert Hereticks; because not done among them: Not to prove there are no corruptions or errors among them, which is a thing incredible; with much more to that purpose; and so concludes with *Monsieur Paschal*, *That if they have no better use, we ought not to be amused with them.*

Moyens
Surs & Ho-
nestes.
&c. To. 2.
P. 149.

But Christ promised, that his Apostles should do greater Miracles than himself had done. And what then? Must therefore St. Francis, or St. Dominic, or St. Rosa, do as great as the Apostles had done? What Consequence can be drawn from the Apostles times to latter Ages? We do not dispute God's Omnipotency, or say his hand is shortned; but we must not from thence infer, that every thing which is called a Miracle is truly so; or to make use of God's Power, to justify the most incredible stories. Which is a way will serve as well for a false as a true Religion; and *Mahomet* might run to God's Omnipotency for cleaving the

Moon

Moon in two pieces, as well as others for removing a House over the Seas, or any thing of a like nature.

But, he saith, *their Miracles are not more ridiculous and absurd than some in the Old Testament.* Which I utterly deny; but I shall not run out into the examination of this Parallel, by shewing how very different the Nature, Design, and Authority of the Miracles he mentions, is from those which are believed in the Roman Church. And it had been but fitting, as he set down the Miracles of the *Old Testament*, so to have mentioned those of the *Roman Church* which were to vye with them; but this he was willing to forbear, for certain good Reasons. *If most of poor Man's impossibles be none to God*, as he concludes, yet every thing is not presently true which is not impossible; and by this way of Arguing, there can be nothing objected against the most absurd and idle Fictions of the Golden Legend, which all Men of Understanding among themselves, not only reject for want of Authority, but of Credibility.

§3:2.D.

XXXIII. Of Holy Water.

THE Misrepresenter charges him with approving superstitious uses of inanimate things, and attributing wonderful effects to them; as Holy Water, Candles, Oyl, Bread, &c.

In Answer, our Author 1. declares, *That the Papist truly Represented, utterly disapproves all sorts of Superstition.* But if he had designed to have represented truly, he ought to have told us what he meant by Superstition, and whether any Man who observes the Commands of the Church can be guilty of it. Page 86.

2. He saith, *That these things are particularly deputed by the Prayers and Blessing of the Priest to certain uses for God's Glory, and the Spiritual and Corporal Good of Christians:*

This is somewhat too general; but *Marsilius Columna*, Arch-bishop of *Salerno*, who hath taken most pains in this matter, sums them up; Hydragio-
log.

1. As to Spiritual, they are Seven. 1. To fright Devils. 2. To remit Venial sins. 3. To cure Distractions. 4. To elevate the Mind. 5. To dispose it for Devotion. 6. To obtain Grace. 7. To prepare for the Sacrament. Sect. 3.
c. 2. 12.
p. 45.

2. As to Corporal. 1. To cure Barrenness. 2. To multiply Goods. 3. To procure Health. 4. To purge the Air from pestilential Vapours.

And now, as our Author saith, *What Superstition in the use of it?* He names several things of God's own appointing to Parallel it? as the *Waters of Jealousie*, the *Shew-bread*, the *Tables of Stone*; but the first was miraculous, the other had no such effects that we ever heard of. *Elisba's Salt for sweetning the Water*, was undoubtedly a Miracle. Is the *Holy Water* so? As to the *Liver of the Fish for expelling the Devil*, in the Book of *Tobit*, he knows the Book is not owned for Canonical by us; and this very place is produced as an Argument against it; there being no Ground from Scripture, to attribute the Power of expelling Devils, to the Liver of a Fish, either naturally or symbolically: *Vallesius* offers at the only probable account of it, that it must be a Divine Power given to it, which the Angel *Raphael* did not discover; and yet it is somewhat hard to conceive, how this Liver should have such power to drive away any kind of Devil, as it is there expressed; unless by a Devil there, no more be meant than some violent Disease, which the Jews generally believed to arise from the possession of evil Spirits: But however here is an Angel supposed, who made this known to *Tobit*; but we find not *Raphael* to discover the virtue of Holy Water against Devils. Vallef. Sacr.
Philosoph.
c. 18.
p. 229.

M m m m

As

De Cultu
Sanct. l. 3.
c. 7.

As to *Christ using Clay to open the Eyes of the Blind*, it is very improperly applied, unless the same miraculous Power be supposed in it, which was in *Christ himself*: And so is the *Apostles laying on of Hands, and using Oyl for miraculous Cures*; unless the same Gift of Miracles be in every Priest which consecrates Holy Water, which was in the Apostles: And *Bellarmino himself confesses, That no infallible effect doth follow the use of Holy Water, because there is no Promise of God in the case, but only the prayers of the Church.* But these are sufficient to sanctifie the Water, saith our Author: And to what end? For all the spiritual and corporeal benefits before mentioned? Is no promise of God necessary for such purposes as those? How can any Church in the World dispose of God's Power without his Will? It may appoint significant and decent Ceremonies, but it can never appropriate Divine Effects to them; and to suppose any Divine Power in things which God never gave them, is in my Opinion, Superstitious; and to use them for such ends, is a superstitious use. *St. Cyril*, whom he quotes, speaks of the Consecration of the Water of Baptism, *Catech. 3.* *St. Augustine* only of a consecrated Bread, which the *Catechumens* had, (*De Peccat. Merit. & Remiss. l. 2. c. 26.*) but he attributes no Divine Effects to it. *Pope Alexander's Epistle* is a notorious Counterfeit. Those Passages of *Epiphanius, Theodoret, and St. Jerom*, all speak of miraculous effects; and those who had the power of Miracles, might sometimes do them with an external sign, and sometimes without, as the Apostles cured with anointing, and without: But this is no ground for consecrating Oyl by the Church, or Holy Water, for miraculous Effects. If these Effects which they attribute to *Holy Water*, be miraculous, then every Priest must have not only a power of Miracles himself, but of annexing it to the Water he consecrates; if they be supernatural, but not miraculous, then Holy Water must be made a Sacrament to produce these Effects *ex opere operato*; if neither one nor the other, I know not how to excuse the use of it from Superstition.

44. 2-2

XXXIV. Of breeding up People in Ignorance.

THE *Misrepresenter* charges them with this, on these Accounts.

Page 89.

1. By keeping their Mysteries of Iniquity from them. 2. By performing Divine Service in an unknown Tongue. 3. By an implicit Faith. To which the *Representer* answers, 1. *That they give encouragement to Learning*; and he instances in their Universities and Conventual Libraries; but what is all this to the common People? But their *Indices Expurgatorii, and prohibiting Books so severely*, which are not for their turn, (as we have lately seen in the new one of *Paris*) argues no great confidence of their cause, nor any hearty love to Learning: And if it could be rooted out of the World, their Church would fare the better in it; but if it cannot, they must have some to be able to deal with others in it. 2. As to the common People he saith, *They have Books enough to instruct them.* Is it so in *Spain* or *Italy*? But where they live among Hereticks, as we are called, the People must be a little better instructed to defend themselves, and to gain upon others. 3. *If the People did know their Church-Offices and Service, &c. they would not find such faults, since the Learned approve them.* Let them try the Experiment, and put the Bible and their Church-Offices every where into the Vulgar Tongues: But their severe Prohibitions shew how much they

Page 90.

they are of another Opinion : What made all that Rage in France against Voisin's Translation of the *Missal*? Such Proceedings of the Assembly of the Clergy against it; such complaints both to the King and the Pope against it, as tho' all were lost, if that were suffered? Such an Edict from the King, such a Prohibition from the Pope in such a Tragical Style about it? Such a Collection of Authors to be printed on purpose against it? Do these things shew, even in a Nation of so free a Temper, in Comparison, as the French, any mighty Inclination towards the encouraging this Knowledge in the People? And since that, what stirs have there been about the *Mons Te* flament? What Prohibitions by Bishops? besides a Bull from this very Pope against it. What vehement Opposition by others? So that many Volumes have already been written on the occasion of that Translation. And yet our Author would persuade us, That if we look abroad, we shall find wonderful care taken to keep the People from Ignorance; but we can discern much greater to keep them in it.

Collectio
Aurhorum
Vulg. Ver-
sionis dam-
nantium
Jussu ac
Mandato
Cleri Gal-
licani edita.
Lutet. Pa-
ris. 1661.

XXXV. Of the Uncharitableness of the Papists.

THE Misrepresenter, (as he is called) charges this Point home, Because they deny Salvation to those who believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith in the Apostles Creed, and lead virtuous and good Lives, if they be not of their Communion.

To this the Representer answers in plain terms, That this is nothing but what they have learnt from the mouth of Christ and his Apostles. And to this end he musters up all their sayings against Infidels, false Apostles, Gnosticks, Cerintbians, as though they were point-blank levelled against all that live out of the Communion of the Church of Rome.

But this is no Uncharitableness, but pure zeal, and the same the Primitive Church shewed against Hereticks, such as Marcion, Basilides, and Bardesanes, who were condemned in the first Age for denying the Resurrection of the dead, &c. What in the first Age! Methinks the Second had been early enough for them: But this is to let us see what Learning there is among you. But do we deny the Resurrection of the Dead? Or hold any one of the Heresies condemned by the Primitive Church? What then is our Fault, which can merit so severe a Sentence? We oppose the Church: What Church? The Primitive Apostolical Church? The Church in the time of the four General Councils? I do not think that will be said; but I am sure it can never be proved: What Church then? The present Church? Is it then damnable to oppose the present Church? But I pray let us know what you mean by it; The Universal Body of Christians in the World? No, no, abundance of them are Hereticks and Schismaticks, as well as we: i. e. All the Christians in the Eastern and Southern parts, who are not in Communion with the Church of Rome: So that two parts in three of Christians, are sent to Hell by this Principle; and yet it is no Uncharitableness. But suppose the Church of Rome be the only true Church, must men be damned presently for opposing its Doctrines? I pray think a little better on it, and you will change your Minds. Suppose a Man do not submit to the Guides of this Church in a matter of Doctrine declared by them; Must he be Damned? What if it be the Deposing Power? Yet his Principle is, If a Man do not hold the Faith entire, he is gone. But Popes and Councils have declared this to be a point of Faith; therefore if he doth not hold it, he must be damned. There is no way of answering this, but he must abate the severity of his Sentence against us. For upon the same

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Reason he questions that, we may question many more. And all his Arguments against us, will hold against himself; For, faith he, *he that disbelieves one Article of Catholick Faith, does in a manner disbelieve all.* Let him therefore look to it, as well as we. But he endeavours to prove the *Roman Catholick Church to be the true Church, by the ordinary Notes and Marks of the Church.* Although he is far enough from doing it; yet this will not do his business. For he must prove, that we are convinced that it is the true Church; and then indeed he may charge us with *Obstinate Opposition*, but not before. And it is a strange thing to me, that when their Divines say, that Infidels shall not be damned for their Infidelity, where the Gospel hath not been sufficiently proposed to them; and no Christian for not believing any Article of Faith till it be so proposed; that we must be damned for not believing the Articles of the *Roman Faith*, which never have been, and never can be sufficiently proposed to us. Methinks such Men should Study a little better their own Doctrine about the sufficient Proposal of matters of Faith, before they pass such uncharitable and unlearned Censures.

XXXVI. Of Ceremonies and Ordinances.

HIS Discourse on this Head is against those who refuse to obey their Superiors in things not expressed in Scripture, which is no part of our Controversy with them. But yet there are several things about their Ceremonies we are not satisfied in: As 1. The mighty Number of them, which have so much muffled up the Sacraments, that their true face cannot be discerned. 2. The Efficacy attributed to them, without any promise from God; whereas we own no more but decency and significance. 3. The Doctrine that goes along with them, not only of Obedience, but of Merit, and some have asserted the *Opus Operatum* of Ceremonies as well as Sacraments, when the Power of the Keys goes along with them; i.e. when there hath been some Act of the Church exercised about the Matter of them, as in the Consecration of Oyl, Salt, Bread, Ashes, Water, &c.

XXXVII. Of Innovations in matters of Faith.

THE Substance of his Discourse on this Head may be reduced to these things. 1. That the Church in every Age hath Power to declare what is necessary to be believed, with Anathema to those who Preach the Contrary; and so the Council of Trent, in declaring Transubstantiation, Purgatory, &c. to be necessary Articles, did no more than the Church had done before on like Occasions. 2. That if the Doctrines then defined had been Innovations, they must have met with great Opposition when they were introduced. 3. That those who charged those points to be Innovations, might as well have laid the scandal on any other Article of Faith which they retained.

These are things necessary to be examined, in order to the making good the charge of Innovation in matters of Faith, which we believe doth stand on very good grounds.

1. We are to consider, Whether the Council of Trent had equal Reason to define the necessity of these points, as the Council of Nice and Constantinople had to determine the point of the Trinity; or those of Ephesus and Chalcedon, the Truth of Christ's Incarnation. He doth not assert it to be in the Church's Power to make new Articles of Faith, as they do imply new Doctrines revealed; but he contends earnestly, that the Church hath a Power to declare the necessity of believing some

Points

Points which were not so declared before. And if the Necessity of believing doth depend upon the Church's Declaration, then he must assert, that it is in the Church's Power to make Points necessary to be believed which were not so; and consequently to make common Opinions to become Articles of Faith. But I hope we may have leave to inquire in this Case, since the Church pretends to no new Revelation of matters of Doctrine, therefore it can declare no more than it receives, and no otherwise than it receives. And so nothing can be made necessary to salvation but what God himself hath made so by his Revelation. So that they must go in their Declaration either upon Scripture, or Universal Tradition; but if they define any Doctrine to be necessary without these Grounds, they exceed their Commission, and there is no Reason to submit to their Decrees, or to believe their Declarations. To make this more plain by a known Instance: It is most certain, that several Popes and Councils have declared the Deposing Doctrine, and yet our Author saith, *It is no Article of Faith with him.* Why not, since the Popes and Councils have as evidently delivered it, as the Council of Trent hath done Purgatory, or Transubstantiation? But he may say, *There is no Anathema joined to it.* Suppose there be not; But why may it not be, as well as in the other Cases? And if it were, I would know, whether in his Conscience he would then believe it to be a necessary Article of Faith, though he believed it wanted Scripture and Tradition? If not, then he sees what this matter is brought to, viz. That although the Council of Trent declare these new Doctrines to be necessary to be believed; yet if their Declaration be not built on Scripture and Universal Tradition, we are not bound to receive it.

2. *As to the impossibility of Innovations coming in without notorious opposition,* I see no ground at all for it, where the alteration is not made at once, but proceeds gradually. He may as well prove it impossible for a Man to fall into a Dropsie or Hectick Fever, unless he can tell the punctual time when it began. And he may as well argue thus, Such a Man fell into a Fever upon a great Debauch, and the Physicians were presently sent for to advise about him; therefore the other Man hath no Chronical Distemper, because he had no Physicians when he was first Sick; as because Councils were called against some Heresies, and great Opposition made to them, therefore where there is not the like, there can be no Innovation. But I see no Reason why we should decline giving an Account, by what Degrees, and Steps, and upon what Occasions, and with what Opposition several of the Doctrines defined at Trent were brought in. For the matter is not so obscure as you would make it, as to most of the Points in difference between us. But that is too large a Task to be here undertaken.

3. There is no Colour for calling in Question the Articles of Faith received by us on the same Grounds that we reject those defined by the Council of Trent; for we have the Universal Consent of the Christian World for the Apostles Creed; and of the Four General Councils for the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; who never pretended to determine any Point to be necessary which was not revealed in Scripture; whose sense was delivered down by the Testimony of the Christian Church from the Apostles times. But the Council of Trent proceeded by a very different Rule; for it first set up an *Unwritten Word* to be a Rule of Faith, as well as the *Written*; which although it were necessary in order to their Decrees, was one of the greatest Innovations in the World; and the Foundation of all the rest, as they were there established.

An Answer to the CONCLUSION.

Pag. 119.

HAVING thus gone through the several Heads, which our Author complains have been so much *Misrepresented*; it is now fit to consider what he saith in his *Conclusion*, which he makes to answer his *Introduction*, by renewing therein his doleful Complaints of their being *Misrepresented just as Christ and his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians were*. I hope the former Discourse hath shewed their Doctrines and Practices are not so very like those of *Christ and his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians*, that their Cases should be made so parallel: but as in his Conclusion he hath summed up the substance of his *Representations*, so shall I therein follow his Method, only with this difference, that I shall in one Column set down his own *Representations* of Popery, and in the other the Reasons, in short, why we cannot embrace them.

Wherein Popery consists as Represented by this Author.

Our Reasons against it in the several Particulars.

1. **I**N using all external Acts of Adoration before Images, as *Kneeling, Praying, lifting up the Eyes, burning Candles, Incense, &c.* Not merely to worship the Objects before them, but to worship the Images themselves on the account of the Objects represented by them: or in his own Words, *Because the Honour that is exhibited to them, is referred to the Prototypes which they represent.* p. 3.

THOU shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, or any likeness of any thing in Heaven, or Earth, &c. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor Worship them. Which being the plain, clear, and express Words of the Divine Law, we dare not worship any Images, or Representations, lest we be found Transgressors of this Law. Especially since God herein hath declared himself a *jealous God*; and annexed so severe a Sanction to it. And since he that made the Law is only to interpret it, all the Distinctions in the World can never satisfy a Man's Conscience, unless it appear that God himself did either make or approve them. And if God allow the Worship of the thing Represented by the Representation, he would never have forbidden that Worship absolutely, which is unlawful only in a certain respect.

2. **I**n joyning the Saints in Heaven together with Christ in Intercession for us, and making Prayers on Earth to them on that Account. p. 5.

2. **W**e have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, 1 Joh. 2. 1. And one Mediator between God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus, 1 Tim. 2. 5. For Christ is entred into Heaven it self, now to appear in the Presence of God for us, Heb. 9. 24. And therefore we dare not make other Intercessors in Heaven besides him: and the distance between Heaven and us, breaks off all Communication between the Saints there, and us upon Earth; so that all Addresses to them now for their Prayers, are in a way

Papery as Represented.

3. *In allowing more Supplications to be used to the Blessed Virgin, than to Christ; For he denies it to be an idle Superstition, to repeat Ten Ave Maria's for one Pater Noster.*

4. *In giving Religious Honour and Respect to Relicks.* Such as placing them upon Altars, burning Wax-Candles before them, carrying them in Processions, to be seen, couched, or humbly kissed by the People: Which are the known and allowed Practices in the Church of Rome. p. 8.

5. *In adoring Christ as present in the Eucharist on the account of the Substance of Bread and Wine being changed into that Body of Christ which suffered on the Cross. P. 10.*

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a way very different from desiring others on Earth to pray for us: And if such Addresses are made in the solemn Offices of Divine Worship, they joyn the Creatures with the Creator in the Acts and Signs of Worship, which are due to God alone.

3. *Call upon me in the Day of Trouble, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorifie me, Psal. 50. 15.* When we pray to *Our Father in Heaven*, as our Saviour commanded us, we do but what both Natural and Christian Religion require us to do: But when Men pray to the Blessed Virgin for *Help and Protection now; and at the Hour of Death*, they attribute that to her, which belongs only to God, who is our *Helper and Defender*: And altho' Christ knew the *Dignity of his Mother* above all others, he never gives the least encouragement to make such Addresses to her: And to suppose her to have a share now in the Kingdom of Christ in Heaven, as a Copartner with him, is to advance a Creature to Divine Honour, and to overthrow the true Ground of Christ's Exaltation to his Kingdom in Heaven, which was, His suffering on the Cross for us.

4. *And no man knoweth of the Sepulchre of Moses unto this day, Deut. 34. 6.* Why should God hide the Body of Moses from the People, if he allowed giving Religious Honour and Respect to Relicks? Why should Hezekiah break in Pieces the Brazen Serpent, because the Children of Israel did burn Incense to it? 2 Kings 18. 4. Especially when it was a Type or Representation of Christ himself, and God had wrought many Miracles by it.

5. *Whom the Heaven must receive until the times of the Restitution of all things, Acts 3. 21.* And therefore in the Eucharist we adore him, as sitting on the right hand of God; but we dare not direct our Adoration to the Consecrated Host, which we believe to be the Substance of Bread and Wine, (tho' consecrated to a Di-

vine

Popery as Represented.

6. In believing the Substance of Bread and Wine by the Words of Consecration, to be changed into his own Body and Blood, the Species only or Accidents of Bread and Wine remaining as before. P. 10.

7. In making good Works to be truly meritorious of eternal Life. P. 13.

8. In making Confession of our Sins to a Priest, in order to Absolution. P. 14.

9. In the use of Indulgences for taking away the temporal Punishments of sin, remaining due after the guilt is remitted.

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vine Mystery), and therefore not a fit Object for our Adoration.

6. The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ? 1 Cor. 10. 16. This is spoken of the Bread after Consecration, and yet the Apostle supposes it to be Bread still, and the Communion of his Body is interpreted by the next words, *For we being many, are one Bread and one Body; for we are all Partakers of that one Bread*, v. 17. Which is very different from the Bread being chang'd into the very Body of Christ, which is an Opinion that hath no foundation in Scripture, and is repugnant to the common Principles of Reason, which God hath given us, and exposes Christian Religion to the reproach and contempt of Jews, Turks, and Infidels.

7. When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, *We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do*, St. Luke 17. 10. And therefore in no sense can our best Works be truly meritorious of eternal Life: Which consisting in the enjoyment of God, it is impossible there should be any just Proportion, or due Commensuration between our best Actions, and such a Reward.

8. And the Son said unto him, *Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and in thy sight*, St. Luke 15. 21.

Where Confession to God is required, because the Offence is against him, but it is impossible for any Man upon earth to forgive those whom God doth not forgive: And he alone can appoint the necessary Conditions of Pardon, among which true Contrition and Repentance is fully declared, but Confession to a Priest, tho' it may be useful for the ease of the Penitent, is no where in Scripture made necessary for the forgiveness of sin.

9. I said, *I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin*, Ps. 32. 5.

If God doth fully forgive the guilt of sin, there remains no Obligation to

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10. In supposing that penitent Sinners may in some measure satisfy by Prayer, Fasting, Alms, &c. for the temporal pain, which by order of God's Justice sometimes remains due, after the guilt and the eternal pain are remitted. P. 17.

11. In thinking the Scripture not fit to be read generally by all, without licence, or in the vulgar Tongues. P. 19.

to punishment, for wherever that is the *guilt* remains: It is true, God, may not sometimes fully pardon; but he may reserve some temporal punishment here for his own honour, or the chastisement of a penitent Sinner: But then what have any men to do, to pretend that they can take off what God thinks fit to lay on? Can any *Indulgences* prevent pain or sickness, or sudden death? But if *Indulgences* be understood only with respect to *Canonical Penances*, they are a most notorious and inexcusable corruption of the Discipline of the ancient Church.

10. For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life, Rom. 5. 10. And therefore no satisfaction to the Justice of God is now required from us, for the expiation of any remainder of guilt. For if Christ's satisfaction were in it self sufficient for a total remission, and was so accepted by God, what Account then remains for the Sinner to discharge, if he performs the Conditions on his part? But we do not take away hereby the Duties of *Mortification, Prayer, Fasting, and Alms, &c.* but there is a difference to be made between the *Acts of Christian Duties*, and *Satisfaction to Divine Justice* for the guilt of Sin, either in whole or in part. And to think to join any Satisfaction of ours, together with Christ's, is like joining our hand with God's in creating or governing the World.

11. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another, &c. Col. 3. 16.

How could that dwell richly in them, which was not to be communicated to them, but with great caution? How could they teach and admonish one another in a Language not understood by them? The Scriptures of the *New Testament* were very early perverted; and if this reason were sufficient to keep them out of the

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12. In allowing the Books of Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Maccabees, to be Canonical. P. 21.

13. In preferring the vulgar Latin Edition of the Bible before any other, and not allowing any Translations into a Mother Tongue, to be ordinarily read. P. 24, 26.

14. In believing that the Scripture alone can be no Rule of Faith to any private or particular Person. P. 28.

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hands of the People, certainly they would never have been publish'd for common use, but as prudently dispensed then, as some think it necessary they should be now. But we esteem it a part of our duty, not to think our selves wiser than Christ or his Apostles, nor to deprive them of that unvaluable Treasure which our Saviour hath left to their use.

12. All Scripture is given by Inspiration of God, 2 Tim. 3. 16. Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, 2 Pet. 1. 21.

Therefore, where there is no Evidence of Divine Inspiration, those Books cannot be made Canonical: But the Jewish Church, To whom the Oracles of God were committed, never deliver'd these Books as any part of them, being written when Inspiration was ceased among them. And it is impossible for any Church in the World to make that to be divinely inspired, which was not so from the beginning.

13. But I say, Have they not heard? Yes verily, their sound went into all the Earth, and their Words unto the ends of the World, Rom. 10. 18.

Therefore the Intention of God was, that the Gospel should be understood by all Mankind, which it could never be, unless it were translated into their several Languages. But still the difference is to be observed, between the Originals and Translations; and no Church can make a Translation equal to the Original. But among Translations, those deserve the greatest esteem, which are done with the greatest Fidelity and Exactness. On which account our last Translation deserves a more particular regard by us, as being far more useful to our People, than the vulgar Latin, or any Translation made only from it.

14. Thy Word is a Lamp unto my Feet, and a Light unto my Path, Psal. 119. 105.

Which it could never be, unless it were sufficient for necessary direction in our way to Heaven. But we suppose

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ed in or unwritten Word; but it can be done by neither, without overthrowing the necessity of such an Infallibility in order to Divine Faith; because the Testimony on which the Church's Infallibility is proved, must be received only in a way of Credibility.

15. In relying upon the authority of the present Church for the sense of Scripture. P. 29.

in all great Assemblies the Spirit of God shall always go with the calling Voice, or the greater Number. 18. And the great some Apostles and some Prophecy, and some Evangelists, and some of the Body of Christ—will not all come in the Unity of the Faith, &c. Ephel. 4. 13. 14. 25. Now here being an account given of the Officers Christ appointed in his Church, in order to the Unity and Explanation of it, it had been unfaithfulness in the Apostles to have left out the Head of it, in case Christ had appointed any.

16. In receiving and believing the Church's Traditions as the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, and assenting to them with Divine Faith, just as he doth to the Bible. P. 31, 32.

Which is impossible to conceive should have been left out in the Apostolical writings upon so many occasions of mentioning it, if ever Christ had instituted a Headship in the Church, and given it to St. Peter, and his Successors in the See of Rome. 19. For as often as ye shall hear the voice of the Church, ye shall hear the voice of the Father, &c. 10. 11. 12. The Apostle speaking to all Christians, and plainly shewing, that the Institution of Christ was, That all should partake of both kinds, and so to continue to do as long as this Sacrament was to flow forth the Death of Christ: and till his Second coming.

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pose Persons to make use of the best means for understanding it, and to be duely qualified for following its Directions, without which, the best Rule in the World can never attain its End. And if the Scripture have all the due Properties of a Rule of Faith, it is unconceivable why it should be denied to be so; unless Men find they cannot justify their Doctrines and Practices by it, and therefore are forced to make Tradition equal in authority with it.

15. Wo unto you Lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge, ye entred not in your selves, and them that were entring in, ye hindred, St. Luke 11. 52.

From whence it follows, that the present Guides of the Church may be so far from giving the true sense of Scripture, that they may be the chief means to hinder Men from right understanding it. Which Argument is of greater force, because those who plead for the Infallibility of the Guides of the present Church, do urge the Promises made to the Jewish Church at that time; as our Author doth from those who sat in the Chair of Moses, and from Caiaphas his Prophecy.

16. We have also a more sure word of Prophecie, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, 2 Pet. 1. 19.

And yet here the Apostle speaks of something deliver'd by the Testimony of those who were with Christ in the Holy-Mount; from whence we infer, that it was not the design of Christ to leave us to any vocal Testimony, but to refer us to the written Word, as the most certain Foundation of Faith. And it is not any Persons assuming the Title of the Catholick Church to themselves, can give them authority to impose any Traditions on the Faith of Christians, or require them to be believ'd, equally with the written Word. For before any Traditions can be assented to with Divine Faith, the Church's Authority must be proved to be Divine and infallible, either by a writ-

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17. In believing that the Present Guides of the Church being assembled in Councils for preserving the Unity of the Church, have an Infalible Assistance in their Decrees. P. 38.

18. In believing the Pope to be the Supreme head of the Church under Christ, being Successor to S. Peter, to whom he committed the care of his Flock. P. 40, 41.

19. In believing that Communion in both Kinds is an indifferent thing; and was so held for the first four hundred years after Christ; and that the first Precept for Receiving under both Kinds, was given to the Faithful by Pope Leo I. and confirmed by Pope Gelasius. P. 51.

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ten or unwritten Word; but it can be done by neither, without overthrowing the necessity of such an Infallibility in order to Divine Faith; because the Testimony on which the Churches Infallibility is proved, must be received only in a way of Credibility.

17. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things to draw away Disciples after them. Acts 20, 30.

Which being spoken of the Guides of the Christian Church, without Limitation of Number, a possibility of Error is implied in any Assembly of them; unless there were some other Promises which did assure us, That in all great Assemblies the Spirit of God shall always go with the casting Voice, or the greater Number.

18. And he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers—for the edifying of the Body of Christ—till we all come in the Unity of the Faith, &c. Ephes. 4. 13, 14, 15.

Now here being an account given of the Officers Christ appointed in his Church, in order to the Unity and Edification of it, it had been unfaithfulness in the Apostle to have left out the Head of it, in case Christ had appointed any. Because this were of more consequence than all the rest; being declared necessary to Salvation to be in subjection to him. But neither this Apostle, nor S. Peter himself give the least intimation of it. Which it is impossible to conceive should have been left out in the Apostolical writings upon so many occasions of mentioning it, if ever Christ had instituted a Headship in the Church, and given it to St. Peter and his Successors in the See of Rome.

19. For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come, 1 Cor. 15. 26.

The Apostle speaking to all Communicants, plainly shews, that the Institution of Christ was, That all should partake of both Kinds, and so to continue to do as long as this Sacrament was to shew forth the Death of Christ, viz. till his Second com-

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ing. And there is no colour for asserting the Christian Church ever looked on observing Christ's Institution in this matter as an indifferent thing; no not for a thousand years after Christ. Altho' the Practice and the Obligation are two things, yet when the Practice was so agreeable to the Institution, and continued so long in the Church; it is hardly possible for us to prove the sense of the Obligation by a better way than by the continuance of the Practice. And if some Traditions must be thought binding, and far from being indifferent, which want all that Evidence which this practice carries along with it, How unreasonable is it in this Case to allow the Practice, and to deny the Obligation?

20. *And whom he justified, them he also glorified, Rom. 8. 30.*

But whom God justifies, they have the Remission of their Sins as to Eternal Punishment. And if those who are thus justified, must be glorified, what place is there for Purgatory? For there is not the least intimation of any other state of Punishment that any who are justified must pass through before they are admitted to Glory. We grant they may, notwithstanding, pass through many intermediate tryals in this World; but we say, where there is Justification, there is no *Condemnation*; but where any part of guilt remains unremitted, there is a *Condemnation* remaining so far as the punishment extends. And so this distinction as to Eternal and Temporal Pains, as it is made the Foundation of Purgatory, is wholly groundless; and therefore the Doctrine built upon it can have no Foundation in Scripture or Reason.

21. *I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the Understanding also, 1 Cor. 14. 15.*

What need this *Praying with the Understanding*, if there were no necessity of attending to the sense of prayers? For then *praying with the Spirit* were all that was required: For that supposes

20. *In believing that the Doctrine of Purgatory is founded on Scripture, Authority, and Reason. P. 54, &c.*

21. *In believing that to the saying of Prayers well and devoutly, it is not necessary to have attention on the Words, or on the Sense of Prayers. P. 62.*

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And there is no colour for setting the Christian Church ever looked on observing Christ's Institution in this matter as an indifferent thing; no not for a thousand years after Christ. Altho' the Practice and the Obligation are two things, yet when the Practice was to agree-

22. *In believing that none out of the Communion of the Church of Rome can be saved; and that it is no uncharitableness to think so.* P. 92.

And if some Traditions must be thought binding, and far from being indifferent, which want all that Evidence which this Practice carries along with it, how unreasonable is it in this Case to allow the Practice, and to deny the Obligation?

But whom God justifies, they have the Remission of their Sins as to Eternal Punishment. And if those

23. *In believing that the Church of Rome, in all the new Articles defined at Trent, hath made no Innovation in matters of Faith.* P. 107.

And to this point, as to the Foundation of the Church of Rome, as it is made the Foundation of Popery, is wholly groundless; and therefore the Doctrine of Popery can have no Foundation. And to this point, as to the Foundation of the Church of Rome, as it is made the Foundation of Popery, is wholly groundless; and therefore the Doctrine of Popery can have no Foundation.

THUS I have Represented that kind of Popery which our Author, (who complains so much of *Misrepresenting*) allows; and I have in short, set down how little ground we have to be fond of it; nay, to speak more plainly, it is that we can never yield to, without betraying the Truth, renouncing our Senses and Reason, wounding our Consciences, dishonouring God and his Holy Word and Sacraments, perverting the Doctrine of the Gospel as to Christ's Satisfaction, Intercession and Remission of Sins; depriving the People of the Means of Salvation which God himself hath appointed, and the Primitive Church observed, and damning those for whom Christ died.

Our Reasons against it.

supposes an attention of the Mind upon God. And I can hardly believe any Man that thinks with understanding, can justify praying without it: Especially when there are Exhortations and Invitations to the People to join in those Prayers, as it is plain there are in the Roman Offices.

22. Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every Nation, he that feareth God, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with him, Acts 10. 34, 35.

Whereby we perceive, that God doth not limit the possibility of Salvation under the Gospel to Communion with the See of Rome; for if St. Peter may be believed, the capacity of Salvation depends upon Mens fearing God and working Righteousness; and it is horrible Uncharitableness to exclude those from a possibility of Salvation, whom God doth not exclude from it.

23. That ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints, Jude v. 3.

Therefore all necessary Doctrines of Faith were at first delivered; and whatever Articles cannot be proved to have been delivered by the Apostles, can never be made necessary to be believed in order to Salvation. Which overthrows the additional Creed of Pius IV. after the Council of Trent; and puts them upon the necessity of proving the Universal Tradition of those Doctrines from the Apostolical Times: And when they do that, we may think better of them than at present we do; for as yet we can see neither Scripture, nor Reason, nor Antiquity for them.

We do now in the sincerity of our Hearts appeal to God and the World, That we have no design to *Misrepresent* them, or to make their Doctrines and Practices appear worse than they are: But take them with all the Advantages even this Author hath set them out with; we dare appeal to the Judgments and Consciences of any impartial men, whether (the Scripture being allowed on both sides) our Doctrines be not far more agreeable thereto than the *new Articles of Trent*, which are the very Life and Soul of Popery? Whether our Worship of God be not more suitable to the Divine Nature and Perfections, and the Manifestations of his Will, than the *worship of Images*, and *Invocation of Fellow Creatures*? Whether the plain Doctrine of the necessity of Repentance and sincere Obedience to the commands of Christ, do not tend more to promote Holiness in the World, than the *Sacrament of Penance*, as it is delivered and allowed to be practised in the Church of Rome, *i. e.* with the *easiness* and *efficacy* of *Absolution*, and getting off the remainders by *Indulgences*, *Satisfactions* of others, and *Prayers for the dead*? Whether it be not more according to the Institution of Christ to have the *Communion in both Kinds*, and to have *Prayers and the Scriptures in a Language which the People understand*? And lastly, whether there be not more of *Christian charity* in believing and hoping the best of those vast Bodies of Christians, who live out of the Communion of the Church of Rome, in the *Eastern, Southern, Western, and Northern* Parts, than to pronounce them all incapable of Salvation on that Account? And therefore out of regard to God and the Holy Religion of our Blessed Saviour; out of regard to the Salvation of our own and other Souls, we cannot but very much prefer the Communion of our own Church, before that of the Church of Rome.

But before I conclude all, I must take some notice of his *Anathemas*: And here I am as much unsatisfied, as in any other part of his Book, and that for these Reasons.

1. Because he hath no manner of Authority to make them, suppose they were meant never so sincerely: And if we should ever object them to any others of that Church, they would presently say, *What had he to do to make Anathemas? It belongs only to the Church and the General Councils to pronounce Anathemas, and not to any private Person whatsoever.* So that if he would have published *Anathemas* with Authority, he ought to have printed those of the Council of Trent, *viz.* such as these,

Cursed is he that doth not allow the Worship of Images.

Cursed is he that saith Saints are not to be Invoked.

Cursed is he that doth not believe Transubstantiation, Purgatory, &c.

2. Because he leaves out an *Anathema* in a very material point, *viz.* *As to the Deposing Doctrine.* We do freely, and from our Hearts *Anathematize* all such Doctrines as tend to dissolve the Bonds of Allegiance to our Sovereign, on any pretence whatsoever. Why was this past over by him, without any kind of *Anathema*? Since he seems to approve the *Oxford Censures*, P. 48. Why did he not here shew his zeal against all such dangerous Doctrines? If the *Deposing Doctrine* be falsely charged upon their Church, let us but once see it *Anathematized* by publick Authority of their Church, and we have done: But instead thereof, we find in a Book very lately published with great Approbations, by a present *Professor* at *Lovain*, *Fr. D'Engbien*, all the Censures on the other side censured and despised, and the holding the Negative as to the *Deposing Doctrine*, is declared by him to be *Herésie, or next to Herésie*: The Censure of the *Sorbon* against *Sanctarellus*, he saith, *was only done by a Faction; and that of Sixty Eight Doctors, there were but Eighteen present; and the late Cen-*

Auctoritas
Sedis Apo-
stolicæ in
Reges p.
374. 408.
ad 430.

sure

B. 549. *sure of the Sorbon, he saith, was condemned by the Inquisition at Toledo Jan. 10. 1683. as erroneous and Schismatical; and so by the Clergy of Hungary, Oct. 24. 1682.*

We do not question but there are Divines that oppose it; but we fear there are too many who do not; and we find they boast of their own numbers, and despise the rest as an inconsiderable Party: This we do not *Misrepresent* them in, for their most approved Books do shew it.

However, we do not question, but there are several worthy and Loyal Gentlemen of that Religion, of *different Principles and Practices*: And it is pity such be not distinguished from those who will not renounce a Doctrine so dangerous in the Consequences of it.

3. Because the *Anathemas* he hath set down, are not Penned so plainly and clearly, as to give any real Satisfaction: but with so much Art and Sophistry, as if they were intended to beguile weak and unwary Readers, who see not into the depth of these things, and therefore may think he hath done great matters in his *Anathemas*, which if they be strictly examined, they come to little or nothing; as,

1. *Cursed is he that commits Idolatry.* An unwary Reader would think herein he disowned all real Idolatry; but he doth not curse any thing as Idolatry, but what himself thinks to be so. So again, *Cursed is he* (not that gives Divine Worship to Images, but) *that prays to Images, or Relicks as Gods, or Worships them for Gods.* So that if he doth not take the Images themselves for Gods, he is safe enough from his own *Anathema*.

7. *Cursed is every Goddess Worshipper, i. e.* That believes the Blessed Virgin not to be a Creature. And so they escape all the force of this *Anathema*. *Cursed is he that Honours her, or puts his trust in her more than in God.* So that if they honour her and trust in her but just as much as in God, they are safe enough; Or *that believes her to be above her Son*: But no *Anathema* to such as suppose her to be equal to him.

3. *Cursed is he that believes the Saints in Heaven to be his Redeemer, that prays to them as such.* What if men pray to them as their *Spiritual Guardians and Protectors*? Is not this giving God's Honour to them? Doth this deserve no *Anathema*.

4. *Cursed is he that worships any breaden God, or makes Gods of the empty Elements of Bread and Wine: viz.* That supposes them to be *nothing but Bread and Wine*, and yet supposes them to be *Gods* too. Doth not this look like Nonsense? And yet I am afraid our Author would think it a severe *Anathema* in this matter, to say, *Cursed is he who believes Nonsense and Contradictions.*

It will be needless to set down more, since I have endeavoured by clear stating the several Controversies, to prevent the Readers being imposed upon by deceitful *Anathemas*. And yet after all he saith,

Cursed are we, if in answering and saying Amen to any of these Curses, we use any Equivocations or Mental Reservations, or do not assent to them in the common and obvious use of the Words.

But there may be no Equivocation in the very Words, and yet there may be a great one in the intention and design of them: There may be none in saying *Amen* to the Curses so worded; but if he would have prevented all suspicion of Equivocation, he ought to have put it thus,

Cursed are we if we have not fairly and ingenuously expressed the whole Meaning of our Church as to the Points condemned in these Anathemas; or if we have by them designed to deceive the People: And then I doubt he would not so readily have said *Amen*.

THE
DOCTRINE
OF THE
TRINITY
AND
Transubstantiation
COMPARED,
AS TO
SCRIPTURE, REASON, and TRADITION.
IN A
DIALOGUE
BETWEEN A
PROTESTANT and a PAPIST.

43:1D

The First PART.

Wherein an ANSWER is given to the late Proofs of the Antiquity of *Transubstantiation*, in the Books called *Consensus Veterum*, and *Nubes Testium*, &c.

Pr. I Remember your last Words at parting were, *Farewel; and God give his Holy Spirit to instruct you.* Which have run much in my Mind: For if the *Holy Spirit instruct us*, what need is there of an *Infallible Church*? I hope those were not only words of course with you.

Pa. No; but I meant that the *Holy Spirit should instruct you*, about the Authority of the Church.

O o o o

Pr. Was

Pr. Was this indeed your meaning? Then you would have me believe the Church infallible, because the *Holy Spirit*, which is *infallible*, will instruct me about it, if I seek his *Directions*.

P. Yes.

Pr. But then I have no reason to believe it; for the *Holy Spirit*, after my seeking his *Instructions*, teaches me otherwise. And if the *Holy Spirit* is infallible, which way soever it teaches, then I am *infallibly sure* there is no such thing as *Infallibility* in what you call the *Catholic Church*.

P. Come, come, you make too much of a sudden Expression at parting; I pray let us return to our main business, which is to shew, that there is *the same Ground from Scripture, Reason, and Tradition*, to believe *Transubstantiation*, as there is to believe the *Trinity*. And this I affirm again, after reading the *Answers* to the former *Dialogue*; and I now come somewhat better prepared to make it out.

Pr. So you had need. And I hope I shall be able not only to defend the contrary, but to make it evident to you, that there is a mighty difference in these two Doctrines, as to *Scripture, Reason, and Tradition*. But I pray keep close to the Point, for I hate impertinent trifling in a Debate of such consequence.

P. I must confess, I over-shot my self a little in the former Dialogue, when I offer'd to prove the Doctrine of the *Trinity unreasonable and absurd*: For no Church can make such a Doctrine, which is unreasonable and absurd in it self, not to be so to me: No Church can make *three and one to be the same, if they be repugnant in themselves*. But my meaning was, that Mens Disputes about these things will never be ended, till they submit to the *Authority of the Church*.

Pr. And then they may believe *three, or three hundred Persons* in the *Trinity*, as the Church pleases. Is that your meaning?

P. No. But I said, to my *carnal Reason* it would appear so; but not to my Reason as under the conduct of an *infallible Guide*.

Pr. Then an *infallible Guide* can make *three hundred to be but three*, which is a notable trick of *Infallibility*.

P. No; I tell you that I meant only that we are not to follow *Carnal Reason*, but the *Church's Authority*, i. e. we are not to search into Mysteries above Reason, but only believe what the Church delivers. And I intend now to argue the Point somewhat closely with you. Do you believe that there are any Mysteries in the Christian Doctrine above Reason, or not? if not, you must reject the *Trinity*; if you do, then you have no ground for rejecting *Transubstantiation*, because it is above Reason.

Pr. You clearly mistake us; and I perceive were very little acquainted with our Doctrine; for we do not reject any Doctrine concerning God, merely because it is above our Reason, when it is otherwise clearly proved from Scripture. For then we own our selves bound to submit in matters of Divine Revelation concerning an infinite Being, though they be above our Capacity to comprehend them. But in matters of a *finite Nature*, which are far more easie for us to conceive, and which depend upon the evidence of Sense, we may justly reject any Doctrine which overthrows that Evidence, and is not barely above our Reason, but repugnant to it.

P. I do not well understand you.

Pr. So

Pr. So I believe; but I will endeavour to help your Understanding a little. And I pray consider these things:

1. That there is a great difference in our Conceptions of *Finite* and *Infinite* Beings. For, whatsoever is *Infinite*, is thereby owned to be above our Comprehension, otherwise it would not be Infinite. The Attributes of God, which are essential to him, as his Wisdom, Goodness and Power, must be understood by us, so far as to form a true Notion of that Being which is infinite; but then the *Infinity* of these Attributes is above our reach. And so his *infinite Duration*, which we call *Eternity*; his infinite Presence, which we call his *Immensify*; the *infinite Extent* of his *Knowledge*, as to future Contingencies; all these must be confessed to be *Mysteries*, not above our Reason, but above our Capacity. For we have great reason to own them, but we have not Faculties to comprehend them. We cannot believe a God, unless we hold him to be infinite in all Perfections; and if he be infinite, he must be incomprehensible; so that Religion must be overthrown, if something incomprehensible be not allowed. And as to finite Beings, so far as they run into what we call *Infinite*, they are so far out of our reach, as appears by the insuperable Difficulties about the infinite Divisibility of Quantity.

2. That we have certain Notions of some things in the visible World; both that they are, and that they have some Attributes essential to them. We daily converse with things visible and corporeal; and if we do not conceive something true and certain in our Minds about them, we live in a Dream, and have only Phantasms and Illusions about us. If we are certain that there are real Bodies, and not mere Appearances, there must be some certain way of conveying such Impressions to our Minds, from whence they may conclude, this is a Horse, and this a Man, and this is Flesh, and this Blood, and this is Wood, and this Stone; otherwise all certainty is gone, and we must turn mere Scepticks.

3. That in examining the sense of Scripture, we may make use of those certain Notions of visible things, which God and Nature have planted in us; otherwise we are not dealt with as reasonable Creatures. And therefore we must use those Faculties God hath given us, in reading and comparing Scriptures, and examining the sense that is offered by such Notions which are agreeable to the nature of things. As for instance, the Scripture frequently attributes *Eyes* and *Ears* and *Hands* to the *Almighty*, must we presently believe God to have an human Shape because of this? No, we compare these with the necessary Attributes of God, and from thence see a necessity of interpreting these Expressions in a Sense agreeable to the Divine Nature. So if other Expressions of Scripture seem to affirm that of a *Body*, which is inconsistent with the Nature of it; as, that it is not visible; or may be in many Places at once, there is some reason for me to understand them in a Sense agreeable to the essential Properties of a Body.

4. There is a difference between our not apprehending the manner how a thing is, and the apprehending the impossibility of the thing itself. And this is the meaning of the distinction of things *above our Reason*, and *contrary to our Reason*. If the Question be, how the same individual Nature can be communicated to three distinct Persons? We may justly answer, we cannot apprehend the manner of it, no more than we can the *Divine Immensity*, or an *infinite Amplitude* without *Extension*. But if any go about to prove there is an impossibility in the thing, he

must prove that the Divine Nature can communicate it self no other-wise than a finite individual Nature can: For all acknowledge the same common Nature may be communicated to three Persons, and so the whole Controversie rests on this single Point as to Reason; whether the Divine Nature and Persons are to be judged and measured as Human Nature and Persons are. And in this, I think, we have the advantage in point of Reason of the *Anti-trinitarians* themselves, although they pretend never so much to it.

P. Good night, Sir; I perceive you are in for an hour; and I have not so much time to spare, to hear such long Preachments. For my part, talk of *Sense* and *Reason* as long as you will, I am for the *Catholick Church*.

Pr. And truly, she is mightily obliged to you for opposing her *Authority* to *Sense* and *Reason*.

P. Call it what you will, I am for the *Church's Authority*; and the talk of *Sense* and *Reason* is but *Canting* without that.

Pr. The matter is then come to a fine pass; I thought *Canting* had rather been that which was spoken against *Sense* or *Reason*. But I pray, Sir, what say you to what I have been discoursing?

P. To tell you truth, I did not mind it; for as soon as I heard whether you were going, I clapt fast hold of the Church, as a Man would do of a Mast in a Storm, and resolved not to let go my hold.

Pr. What! although you should sink together with it.

P. If I do, the Church must answer for it; for I must sink or swim with it.

Pr. What Comfort will that be to you, when you are called to an account for your self? But if you stick here, it is to no purpose to talk any more with you.

P. I think so too. But now we are in, methinks we should not give over thus; especially since I began this Dialogue about the *Trinity* and *Transubstantiation*.

Pr. If you do, we know the Reason of it. But I am resolved to push this matter now as far as it will go; and either to convince you of your Mistake, or at least to make you give it over wholly.

P. But if I must go on in my Parallel, I will proceed in my own way. I mentioned three things, *Scripture*, *Reason*, and *Tradition*. And I will begin with *Tradition*.

Pr. This is somewhat an uncouth Method; but I must be content to follow your Conduct.

P. No, Sir, the Method is very natural; for in *Mysteries* above Reason, the safest way is to trust Tradition. And none can give so good account of that as the Church.

Pr. Take your own way: but I perceive Tradition with you is the *Sense of the present Church*; which is as hard to conceive, as that a *Nunc stans* should be an eternal Succession.

P. As to comparing Tradition, I say, that the *Mystery of the Trinity* was questioned in the very Infancy of the Church, and the *Arians* prevail'd much against it in the beginning of the fourth Age; but *Transubstantiation* lay unquestion'd and quiet for a long time; and when it came into debate, there was no such opposition as that of Arius, to call in question the Authority of its Tradition; the Church received it unanimously, and in that Sense continued till rash Reason attempted to fathom the unlimited Miracles and Mysteries of God.

Pr. I

Pr. I stand amazed at the boldness of this Assertion: But I find your present Writers are very little vers'd in *Antiquity*; which makes them offer things concerning the Ancient Church, especially as to *Transubstantiation*, which those who had been modest and learned, would have been ashamed of.

P. I hope I may make use of them to justify my self, tho' you slight them, I mean the *Consensus Veterum*, the *Nubes Testium*, and the single *Sheet about Transubstantiation*.

Pr. Take them all, and as many more as you please, I am sure you can never prove *Transubstantiation* to have been, and the *Trinity* not to have been the constant Belief of the Primitive Church.

P. Let me manage my own Argument first.

Pr. All the Reason in the World.

P. My Argument is, *That the Doctrine of the Trinity met with far more Opposition than Transubstantiation did.*

Pr. Good Reason for it, because it was never heard of then. You may as well say, the *Tradition* of the Circulation of the Blood lay very quiet, from the days of *Hippocrates* to the time of *Parisamus*. Who was there that opposed things before they were thought of?

P. That is your great Mistake; for *Transubstantiation* was very well known, but they did not happen to speak so much of it, because it was not opposed.

Pr. But how is it possible for you to know it was so well known, if they spake not of it?

P. I did not say, they did not speak of it, but not so much, or not half so express; because it is not customary for Men to argue unquestionable Truths.

Pr. But still how shall it be known that the Church received this Doctrine *unanimously*, if they do not speak expressly of it? But since you offer at no Proof of your Assertion, I will make a fair offer to you, and undertake to prove, That the Fathers spake *expressly against it*,

P. How is that? *Expressly against it*? God forbid.

Pr. Make of it what you please, and answer what you can: I begin with my Proofs.

P. Nay, then, we are in for all Night. I am now full of business, and cannot hearken to tedious Proofs out of the Fathers, which have been canvassed a hundred times.

Pr. I will be as short as I can; and I promise you not to transcribe any that have hitherto written, nor to urge you with any spurious Writer, or lame Citation at second or third hand; and I shall produce nothing but what I have read, considered, and weighed in the *Authors themselves*.

P. Since it must be so; let me hear your doubty Arguments, which I cannot as well turn against the *Trinity*; For that is my Point.

Pr. I leave you to try your Skill upon them. The first shall be from the Proofs of the Truth of *Christ's Incarnation*; and I hope this will not hold against the *Trinity*. And those Arguments which they brought to prove *Christ Incarnate*, do overthrow *Transubstantiation* effectually. So that either we must make the Fathers to reason very ill against *Heretics*; or, if their Arguments be good, it was impossible they should believe *Transubstantiation*. For can you suppose that any can believe it, who should not barely assert, but make the force of an Argument to lie in

in this, that the Substance of the Bread doth not remain after Consecration? And this I now prove, not from any slight inconsiderable Authors, but from some of the greatest Men in the Church in their time. I begin with St. Chrysostom, whose Epistle to *Cæsarius* is at last brought to light by a learned Person of the Roman Communion; who makes no question of the Sincerity of it, and saith, *The Latin Translation which only he could find entire, was about five hundred years old*; but he hath so confirm'd it by the Greek Fragments of it, quoted by Ancient Greek Authors, that there can be no suspicion left concerning it.

P. What means all this ado before you come to the Point?

Pr. Because this *Epistle* hath been formerly so confidently denied to be St. Chrysostom's; and such care was lately taken to suppress it.

P. But what will you do with it now you have it?

Pr. I will tell you presently. This *Epistle* was written by him for the satisfaction of *Cæsarius* a Monk, who was in danger of being seduced by the *Apollinarists*.

P. What have we to do with the *Apollinarists*? Do you think all hard words are akin, and so the affinity rises between *Apollinarists* and *Transubstantiation*?

Pr. You shall find it comes nearer the matter than you imagined. For those *Hereticks* denied the Truth of the Human Nature of Christ after the Union, and said that the Properties of it did then belong to the *Divine Nature*; as appears by that very Epistle.

P. And what of all this? Do we deny the truth of Christ's Human Nature?

Pr. No; but I pray observe the force of his Parallel. He is proving that *each Nature in Christ contains its Properties*; for, saith he, *as before Consecration we call it Bread, but after it by Divine Grace sanctifying it through the Prayer of the Priest, it is no longer called Bread, but the Body of our Lord, altho' the nature of Bread remains in it; and it doth not become two Bodies, but one Body of Christ; so here the Divine Nature being joyned to the Human, they both make one Son, and one Person.*

Gratiâ, mediante Sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici Corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura Panis in ipso permanfit, & non duo Corpora, sed unum Corpus Filii prædicatur, sic & hic divinâ ἐνδυσµωδῶς (ἐνδυσµένως in Græc. Exemplar Ep. Bigot.) id est inundante Corporis Natura unum Filium, unam Personam utraq; hæc fecerunt.

P. And what do you infer from hence?

Pr. Nothing more, but that the *Nature of Bread* doth as certainly remain after *Consecration*, as the *Nature of Christ* doth after the *Union*.

P. Hold a little. For the Author of the single Sheet, saith, *That the Fathers by Nature and Substance do often mean no more than the natural Qualities, or visible Appearances of Things.* And why may not St. Chrysostom mean so here?

Pr. I say, it is impossible he should. For all the Dispute was about the *Substance*, and not about the *Qualities*, as appears by that very Epistle; for those *Hereticks* granted, that Christ had all the *Properties* of a Body left still; they do not deny that Christ could suffer, but they said, the Properties of a Body after the Union belonged to the *Divine Nature*, the Human Nature being swallowed up by the Union. And therefore St. Chrysostom, by *Nature*, must understand *Substance*, and not *Qualities*; or else he doth by no means prove that which he aimed at. So that St. Chrysostom doth manifestly assert the *Substance* of the *Bread* to remain after *Consecration*.

P. But

Sicut enim antequam sanctificatur panis, panem nominamus, divinam autem illum sanctificante

Papist Misrepresented, and Represented, 2 Part. ch. 3. p. 23.

P. But doth not St. Chrysostom suppose then, that upon Consecration, *The Bread is united to the Divinity, as the Humane Nature is to the Divine*; else what Parallel could he make?

Pr. I will deal freely with you by declaring, that not St. Chrysostom only, but many others of the *Fathers*, did own the Bread after Consecration to be made the *real Body of Christ*; but not in your Sense, by changing the *Substance* of the *Elements* into that Body of Christ which is in Heaven; but by a *Mystical Union*, caused by the *Holy Spirit*, whereby the Bread becomes the *Body of Christ*, as that was which was conceived in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin. But this is quite another thing from *Transubstantiation*; and the Church of *England* owns, that after Consecration, *The Bread and Wine are the Body and Blood of Christ*.

P. But altho' this be not *Transubstantiation*, it may be something as hard to believe or understand.

Pr. By no means. For all the difficulties relating to the taking away the *Substance* of the Bread, and the *Properties* of Christ's Body, are removed by this *Hypothesis*.

P. Let us then keep to our Point; but methinks this is but a slender appearance yet; St. Chrysostom stands alone for all that I see.

Pr. Have but a little Patience, and you shall see more of his mind presently. But I must first tell you, that the *Eutychians* afterwards were condemned in the Council of *Chalcedon* for following this Doctrine of *Apollinaris*; and that Council defines, that the differences of the two *Natures in Christ* were not destroyed by the Union; but that their *Properties* were preserved distinct and concur to one Person. And against these, the other Fathers disputed just as St. Chrysostom had done before against the *Apollinarists*. Concil. Chalced. Act. 3.

Theodoret brings the same Instance, and he affirms expressly, That the *Nature of the Elements* is not changed, that they do not lose their proper *Nature*, but remain in their former *Substance*, *Figure* and *Form*, and may be seen and touched as before. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὡμασί- τον καὶ ἀέρος πρῶτα ὡμασί- στας, καὶ αὐτὰ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀμ-

Still this is not to prove any *Accidental Qualities*, but the very *Substance* of Christ's Body to remain. πρὸν ὀνομάσας, ἔπειτα τὰ ὁράματα Σύμβολα τῇ τῷ σώματι πρῶτα ὡμασί- στας, καὶ αὐτὰ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀμ-

πρὸν ὀνομάσας, ἔπειτα τὰ ὁράματα Σύμβολα τῇ τῷ σώματι πρῶτα ὡμασί- στας, καὶ αὐτὰ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀμ- Dial. 1.
Ὁὐδὲ γὰρ μὴ ἂν Ἀσκαμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ Σύμβολα ἢ οἰκίας κτίσασαι οὐσίας, μὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ ὡμασί- στας, καὶ αὐτὰ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀμ- Dial. 2.

P. But was not *Theodoret* a Man of suspected Faith in the Church: and therefore no great matter can be made of his Testimony.

Pr. Yield it then to us; and see if we do not clear *Theodoret*; but your own learned Men never question him, as to this matter (at least) and the ancient Church hath vindicated his Reputation. And he saith no more than St. Chrysostom before him, and others of great Esteem after him.

P. Who were they?

Pr. What say you to a *Pope*, whom you account *Head of the Church*? *Pope Gelasius* writing against the same *Hereticks*, produces the same Example; and he expressly saith, *The Substance of the Bread and Wine doth not cease*. Certè Sa- cramenta quæ sumi-

mus Corporis & Sanguinis Domini divina res est, propter quod & per eadem divina efficiuntur consortes Naturæ, & tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura Panis & Vini. Gelas. in Biblioth. Patr. To. 4.

P. I thought I should find you tripping. Here you put a Fob-head of the Church upon us. For the Author of the single Sheet saith, *this was another Gelafius, as is prov'd at large by Bellarmin.*

Pr. In truth, I am ashamed of the Ignorance of such small Authors, who will be meddling with things they understand not. For this Writer, since *Bellarmin's* time, hath been evidently proved from Testimonies of Antiquity, such as *Fulgentius* and *John* the second, to have been Pope *Gelasius*, and that by some of the most learned Persons of the Roman Communion, such as Cardinal *Du Perron*, *Petavius*, *Sirmondus*, and others.

P. Have you any more that talk at this rate?

Pr. Yes. What think you of a *Patriarch* of *Antioch*, who useth the
 same Similitude for the same purpose ; and he affirms, that the sensible
 Substance still continues in the Eucharist, tho' it hath Divine Grace
 joined with it ? And I pray, now tell me seriously, did the *Tradition of*
Transubstantiation lie unquestion'd and quiet all this while ? when we
 have three Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Rome*, and *Antioch*, expressly a-
 gainst it ; and one of them owned by your Selves, to be Head of the
 Church ; and held by many to be Infallible, especially when he
 teaches the Church ; which he doth, if ever, when he declares against
 Hereticks.

phram. An-
rioeh. ap.
Phor. Cod.
229.

P. I know not what to say, unless by *Nature and Substance* they meant *Qualities and Properties*.

Pr. I have evidently proved that could not be their meaning.

P. But I am told Monsieur *Arnaud* in his elaborate Defence against *Claude* goes that way, and he saith, *The Eutychians and Apollinarists did not absolutely deny any Substance to remain in Christ's Body, but not so as to be endued with such Properties as ours have.*

Pr. I grant this is the main of his Defence; but I confess, Monsieur Arnaud hath not so much Authority with me, as a General Council which declared the contrary; viz. *That the Eutychians were condemned for not holding two Substances or Natures in Christ after the Union.* And Dominus Antiochenus, who first laid open the Eutychian Heresie, saith, *It lay in making a mixture and confusion of both Natures in Christ, and so making the Divinity passible; and to the same purpose others.* There were some who charged both Apollinaris and Eutyches with holding, *that Christ brought his Body from Heaven, and that it was not con-substantial with ours; but Apollinaris himself, in the Fragments preserved by Leontius, not only denies it, but pronounces an Anathema against those that hold it.* And Vitalis of Antioch, a great Disciple of his, in discourse with Epiphanius, utterly denied *a Cœlestial Body in Christ.* Vincentius Lirinensis saith, *his Heresie lay in denying two distinct Substances in Christ.* St. Augustin saith, *he held but one Substance after the Union; so that he must deny any Substance of a Body to remain after the Union, which he asserted to be wholly swallowed up, and the Properties to continue: Which was another kind of Transubstantiation; for no more of the Substance of Christ's Body was supposed to remain after the Union, than there is supposed to be in the Elements after Consecration.* But in both Cases the Properties and Qualities were the same still. And it is observable, that in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Eutyches rejected it, *as a Calumny cast upon him, that he should hold that Christ brought a Body from Heaven.* But the Eutychian Doctrine lay in taking away the Substance of the Body, and making the Divinity the sole Substance,

stance, but with the *Accidents* and *Properties* of the Body. And for this they produced the Words of Saint John, *The Word was made Flesh*; Theodor. Dial. 1. & 2. which they urged with the same Confidence that you now do, *This is my Body*. And when they were urged with Difficulties, they made the very same recourse to *God's Omnipotency*, and the *Letter of Scripture*, and made the same Declamations against the *use of Reason* that you do; and withal, they would not have the Human Nature to be annihilated but to be changed into the Divine; just as your Authors do about the *Substance* of the Bread. So that it is hard to imagin a more exact Parallel to *Transubstantiation* than there is in this Doctrine; and consequently there can be no more evident Proof of it, than the Fathers making use of the Instance of the *Eucharist*, to shew, that as the *Substance* of Bread doth remain after *Consecration*; so the *Substance* of *Christ's Body* doth continue after the Union. And when the Fathers from the remaining *Properties* do prove the *Substance* to remain, they overthrow the possibility of *Transubstantiation*. For, if they might be without the Substance, their whole Argument loses its force, and proves just nothing.

P. But all this proves nothing as to the *Faith* of the Church; being only Arguments used by *Divines* in the heat of *Disputes*.

Pr. Do you then in earnest give up the Fathers as *Disputants* to us; but retain them as *Believers* to your selves? But *how should we know their Faith but by their Works*?

P. I perceive you have a mind to be pleasant; but my meaning was, that in *Disputes* Men may easily over-shoot themselves, and use ineffectual Arguments.

Pr. But is it possible to suppose they should draw Arguments from something against the *Faith* of the Church? As for instance; Suppose now we are disputing about *Transubstantiation*, you should bring an Argument from the *Human Nature of Christ*, and say, That as in the *Hypostatical Union* the Substance is changed, and nothing but the *Accidents* remain; so it is in the Elements upon *Consecration*. Do you think I should not presently deny your Example, and say, your very Supposition is *Heretical*? So no doubt would the *Eutychians* have done in case the Faith of the Church had then been, that the *Substance* of the Elements was changed after *Consecration*. And the *Eutychians* were the most sottish *Disputants* in the World, if they had not brought the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* to prove their *Heresy*.

P. Methinks you are very long upon this Argument; when shall we have done at this rate?

Pr. I take this for your best Answer; and so I proceed to a second Argument, which I am sure will not hold against the *Trinity*; and that is from the *natural and unseparable Properties of Christ's Body*; which are utterly inconsistent with the belief of *Transubstantiation*. And the force of the Argument in general lies in this, That the Fathers did attribute such things to the Body of Christ, which render it incapable of being present in such a manner in the Sacrament as *Transubstantiation* supposes. And no Men who understand themselves, will assert that at one time, which they must be bound to deny at another; but they will be sure to make an Exception or Limitation, which may reconcile both together. As if you should say, *That the Body of Christ cannot be in more places than one at once, upon the Doctrine of St. Thomas*; ye would presently add, with regard to the Sacrament, i. e. not in regard

of its natural Presence, but in a Sacramental it may: So, if the Fathers had an Opinion like yours as to the Body of Christ, they would have a Reserve, or Exception, as to the Sacrament. But it appears by their Writings, that they attribute such Properties in general to the Body of Christ, as overthrow any such Presence, without Exceptions or Limitations. But that is not all: For I shall now prove,

1. That they do attribute Circumscription to Christ's Body in Heaven, so as to exclude the possibility of its being upon Earth.

2. That they deny any such thing, as the supernatural Existence of a Body after the manner of a Spirit.

P. What do you mean? I am quite tired already; and now you are turning up the other Glass.

Pr. Since you will be dabling in these Controversies, you must not think to escape so easily. I have been not a little offended at the Insolence of some late Pamphlets upon this Argument; and now I come to close Reasoning, you would fain be gone.

P. I am in a little haste at present; I pray come quickly to the Point.

Pr. As soon as you please. What think you, if a Man now should bring an Argument to prove a matter of Faith from hence, *That Christ's Body could not be in Heaven and Earth at once*, would this argument hold good? Yet thus *Vigilius Tapstanus* argues against those who denied two Natures in Christ; for, saith he, *The Body of Christ when it was on Earth, was not in Heaven; and now it is in Heaven, it is not upon Earth; and it is so far from being so, that we expect him to come from Heaven in his Flesh, whom we believe to be now present on Earth by his Divinity*. How can this hold; if the Body of Christ can be in Heaven and Earth at the same time?

Nam quando in terra fuit, non erat ubiq; in Cœlo. Et nunc quia in Cœlo est, non est ubiq; in terra, & in tantum non est, ut secundum ipsam (Carnem) Christum spectemus esse venturum de Cœlo, quem secundum verbum nobiscum esse credimus in terra. Cont. Eutych. l. 4. n. 14.

P. He speaks this of the Natural Presence of Christ's Body, and not of the Sacramental.

Pr. The Argument is not drawn from the manner of the Presence, but from the Nature of a Body, that it could not be in Heaven and Earth at the same time. And so *St. Augustin* said, *That Christ was every where present as God; but confined to a certain place in Heaven according to the Measure of his true Body*.

Et ubique totum presentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum. — & in loco aliquo Cœli propter veri Corporis modum. Ad Dardan.

P. This is only to disprove the Ubiquity of Christ's Body; and not his being in several places at the same time.

Pr. Then you yield it to be repugnant to the Nature of a Body to be every where present.

P. Yes.

Pr. But what if there be as great a repugnancy from *St. Augustin's* Argument, for a Body to be present in several places at once?

P. I see no such thing.

Pr. No? His Argument is from the Confinement of a true Body to a certain place. And if it be in many places at once, it is as far from being confined, as if it took up all places. And there are some greater Difficulties as to a Body's being distant from it self, than in asserting its Ubiquity.

P. I perceive you are inclined to be a Lutheran.

Pr. No

Pr. No such matter. For I think the Essential Properties of a Finite and Infinite Being are incommunicable to each other, and I look on Ubiquity as one of them.

P. Then the same Argument will not hold as to Presence in several places, for this is no Infinite Perfection.

Pr. You run from one Argument to another. For these are two distinct ways of arguing; and the Argument from the Repugnancy of it to the Nature of a Body, doth as well hold against Ubiquity, as that it is a Divine Perfection. And St. Augustin in that excellent Epistle doth argue from the Essential Properties and Dimensions of Bodies, and the difference of the Presence of a Spirit, and a Body. I pray read and consider that Epistle, and you will think it impossible St. Augustin should believe Transubstantiation.

P. St. Augustin was a great Disputant, and such are wont while they are eager upon one Point, to forget another. But St. Augustin elsewhere doth assert the Presence of Christ's real Body in the Sacrament.

Pr. Then the plain Consequence is, that he contradicted himself.

P. But he doth not speak of a Sacramental Presence.

Pr. What again? But St. Augustin makes this an essential difference between a Divine and Corporal Presence; that the one doth not fill places by its Dimensions as the other doth; so that Bodies cannot be in distant places at once. What think you of this?

Non enim Corpora sunt quorum amplior sit in tribus quam in singulis magnitudo, nec loca suis molibus tenent, ut distantibus spatiis simul esse non possint. Ad Dardan.

P. I pray go on.

Pr. What think you of the Manichees Doctrine, who held that Christ was in the Sun and Moon when he suffered on the Cross? Was this possible or not?

P. What would you draw from hence?

Pr. Nothing more, but that St. Augustin disproved it, because his Body could not be at the same time in the Sun and Moon, and upon Earth?

Secundum præsentiam verò corporalem simul & in Sole & in Luna & in Cruce esse non posset. C. Faust. l. 20. c. 11.

P. As to the ordinary course of Nature, St. Augustin's Argument holds, but not as to the Miraculous Power of God.

Pr. There is a difference between the ordinary Course of Nature, and the unchangeable order of Nature,

P. Let me hear this again; for it is new Doctrine to us.

Pr. That's strange! Those things are by the ordinary Course of Nature, which cannot be changed but by Divine Power; but imply no Repugnancy for God to alter that Course; but those are by the unchangeable Order of Nature, which cannot be done without overthrowing the very Nature of the things; and such things are impossible in themselves, and therefore God himself cannot do them.

P. It seems then you set Bounds to God's Omnipotency.

Pr. Doth not the Scripture say, there are some things impossible for God to do?

P. Yes; such as are repugnant to his own Perfections; as it is impossible for God to lye.

Pr. But are there no other things impossible to be done? What think you of making the time past not to be past?

P. That is impossible in-it self.

Pr. But is it not impossible for the same Body to be in two different times?

P. Yes.

Pr. Why not then in two or more different Places; since a Body is as certainly confined, as to Place, as it is to Time?

P. You are run now into the Point of Reason, when we were upon *St. Augustin's* Testimony.

Pr. But I say, *St. Augustin* went upon this ground, that it was repugnant to the Nature of a Body to be in more places than one at the same time. And so likewise *Cassian* proves, That when *Christ* was upon Earth he could not be in Heaven, but in regard of his Divinity. Is there not the same Repugnancy for a Body in Heaven to be upon Earth, as for a Body upon Earth to be in Heaven?

Et cum in
Terra lo-
quatur in
Cœlo utiq;
nisi per
Dei Infini-
tatem esse
non possit.
De Incarn.
l. 4. c. 6.

P. These are new Questions, which I have not met with in our Writers, and therefore I shall take time to answer them. But all these Testimonies proceed upon a Body considered under the Nature of a Body; but in the Sacrament we consider *Christ's* Body as present after the manner of a Spirit.

Pr. That was the next thing I promised to prove from the *Fathers*, that they knew of no such thing, and therefore could not believe your Doctrine. Have you observed what the *Fathers* say about the difference of Body and Spirit?

P. Not I; but I have read our Authors, who produce them for our Doctrine.

Pr. That is the perpetual fault of your Writers, to attend more to the sound of their Words, than to the force of their Reasonings. They bring places out of *Popular Discourses* intended to heighten the Peoples Devotion, and never compare them with those Principles which they assert, when they come to Reasoning; which would plainly shew their other Expressions are to be understood in a *Mystical* and *Figurative* Sense. But I pray tell me, do you think the *Fathers* had no distinct Notion of a Body and Spirit, and the Essential Properties of both?

P. Yes doubtless.

Pr. Suppose then they made those to lye in such things as are inconsistent with the Presence of *Christ's* Body in the Sacrament after the manner of a Spirit: do you think then they could hold it to be so present? And if they did not, they could not believe *Transubstantiation*.

P. Very true.

Pr. What think you then of *St. Augustin*, who makes it impossible for a Body to be without its Dimensions and Extension of Parts? But you assert a Body may be without them; or else it cannot be after the manner of a Spirit, as you say it is in the Sacrament.

P. I pray shew that *St. Augustin* made it inconsistent with the Nature of a Body to be otherwise.

Pr. He saith, That all Bodies how gross or subtle soever they be, can never be all every where (i. e. cannot be indivisibly present after the manner of a Spirit) but must be extended according to their several Parts, and whether great or little, must take up a space, and so fill the Place, that it cannot be all in any one Part. Is this possible to be reconciled with your Notion of a Body being present after the manner of a Spirit?

Sive ista
crassiora, si-
ve subtilio-
ra, sed ta-
men Cor-
pora, quo-
rum nul-
lum potest
esse ubique

totum, quoniam per innumerabiles partes aliud alibi habeat necesse est. Et quantumcumq; sit Corpus, seu quantumcunque corpuseulum, loci occupet spatium, eundemque locum sic impleat, ut in nullâ ejus parte sit totum. Ad Volusian.

P. To be present after the manner of a Spirit, is with us, to be so present, as *not to be extended*, and to be *whole in every part*.

Pr. But this St. *Augustin* saith, *no Body can be*; and not only there but elsewhere he saith, *Take away Dimensions from Bodies, and they are no longer Bodies. And that a greater part takes away greater space, and a lesser a less; and must be always less in the part than in the whole.*

*Quamquam si hoc de-
mas Corpo-
ribus, quan-
tum mea opinio est, neq; sentiri possunt, neque omnino Corpora esse rectè existimarem.* De Quant. Animæ, c. 4.

Quod per loci spatium aliqua longitudine, latitudine, altitudine ita fistitur vel movetur, ut majore sui parte majorem locum occupet, & breviori brevior, minusq; sit in parte quam in toto. Ad Hieron. Ep. 166.

P. But he speaks of *Extension in it self*, and not with respect to *Place*.

Pr. That is of *Extension* that is *not extended*; for if it be, it must have respect to *Place*; but nothing can be plainer, than that St. *Augustin* doth speak with respect to *Place*. And he elsewhere saith, *That every Body must have Place, and be extended in it.*

*Non Om-
nino potest
esse ali-*
quod Corpus, five Cœleste, five Terrestre, five Aereum, five humidum, quod non minus sit in parte quam in toto, neque ullo modo possit in loco hujus partis simul habere aliam partem, sed aliud hic aliud alibi habens per quolibet spatia locorum distantia & dividua, vel potius ut ita dicam, scitili more distenditur. C. Epist. Manich. c. 16.

Omne Corpus locale est, & omne locale Corpus est. 63. Quæst. c. 33.

Corpus quodlibet per localia spatia porrectum est. 83. Quæst. c. 31.

P. But he doth not speak this of the *Sacrament*.

Pr. But he speaks it of all *Bodies wheresoever present*; and he doth not except the *Sacrament*, which he would certainly have done, if he had believed as you do concerning it.

P. St. *Augustin* might have particular Opinions in this, as he had in other things.

Pr. So far from it, that I shall make it appear, that this was the general Sense of the *Fathers*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* saith, *That the Nature of Bodies requires, that they have Figure and Shape, and may be touched, and seen, and circumscribed.* St. *Cyril of Alexandria* saith, *That if God himself were a Body, he must be liable to the Properties of Bodies, and he must be in a place, as Bodies are.* And all those *Fathers*, who prove, that God cannot be a *Body*, do it from such Arguments as shew, that they knew nothing of a *Body's* Being after the manner of a *Spirit*: For then the force of their Arguments is lost, which are taken from the *Essential Properties* of a *Body*, such as *Extension*, *Divisibility*, and *Circumscription*. But if a *Body* may be without these, then God may be a *Body after the manner of a Spirit*; and so the *Spirituality* of the *Divine Nature* will be taken away.

*Orat. 34.
& in Ep. ad
Gledon. Di-
al. 2. de
Trini.*

P. I never heard these Arguments before, and must take some time to consider.

Pr. The sooner the better; and I am sure if you do, you will repent being a *New Convert*. But I have yet something to add to this Argument; viz. That those who have stated the Difference between *Body* and *Spirit*, have made *Extension*, and taking up a place, and *Divisibility*, necessary to the very Being of a *Body*; and that what is not circumscribed, is incorporeal.

*Claud Ma-
mert. de
Statu Ani-
mæ, l. 1.
c. 5. 17,
18. l. 3.
c. 14.*

P. Methinks your Arguments run out to a great length. I pray, bring them into a less Compass.

Pr. I proceed to a Third Argument from the *Fathers*, which will not take up much time; and that is, That the *Fathers* knew nothing of the *Subsistence of Accidents without their Substance*, without which *Transubstantiation* cannot be maintained: And therefore in the *Roman Schools*, the

the possibility of *Accidents* subsisting without their *Subjects*, is defended.

But on the contrary, *Maximus*, one of the eldest of the Fathers, who lived in the Second Century, affirms it to be of the *Essence of Accidents* to be in their *Substance*. *St. Basil* saith, *Nature doth not bear a distinction between Body and Figure, altho' Reason makes one.*

Isidore Pelusiota, saith, *That Quality cannot be without Substance.*

Gregory Nyssen, *That Figure cannot be without Body, and that a Body cannot be conceived without Qualities: And that if we take away Colour, and Quantity, and Resistance, the whole Notion of a Body is destroy'd.* Take away Space from Bodies, saith *St. Augustin*, and they can be no where; and if they can be no where, they cannot be: And so he saith, if we take away Bodies from their Qualities. And in plain terms, *That no Qualities, as Colours, or Form, can remain without their Subject.*

And that no *Accidents* can be without their *Subject*, is in general affirmed by *Isidore Hispalensis*, *Boethius*, *Damascen*, and others, who give an Account of the Philosophy of the Ancients.

P. All this proceeds upon the old Philosophy of *Accidents*: What if there be none at all?

Pr. What then makes the same Impression on our Senses when the *Substance* is gone, as when it was there? Is there a perpetual Miracle to deceive our Senses? But it is impossible to maintain *Transubstantiation*, as it is defined in the Church of Rome, without *Accidents*: They may hold some other Doctrine in the place of it, but they cannot hold that. And that other Doctrine will be as impossible to be understood. For if once we suppose the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament, in place of the *Substance of the Bread*, which appears to our Senses to be Bread still: Then suppose there be no *Accidents*, the Body of a Man must make the same Impression on our Senses, which the *Substance* of Bread doth, which is so horrible an Absurdity, that the Philosophy of *Accidents* cannot imply any greater than it. So that the New *Transubstantiators* had as good return to the Old *Mumpsimus* of *Accidents*.

P. I suppose you have now done with this Argument.

Pr. No: I have something farther to say about it, which is, that the Fathers do not only assert, *That Accidents cannot be without their Subject*, but they confute *Hereticks* on that Supposition; which shew'd their assurance of the Truth of it.

Irenaeus overthrows the *Valentinian Conjugations*, because Truth can no more be without a Subject, than Water without Moisture, or Fire without Heat, or a Stone without Hardness; which are so joined together, that they cannot be separated.

Methodius confutes *Origen's* Fancy about the Soul having the Shape of a Body without the Substance, because the Shape and the Body cannot be separated from each other.

St. Augustin proves the Immortality of the Soul from hence, because mere *Accidents* can never be separated from the Body, so as the mind is by abstraction. And in another place he asserts it to be a monstrous absurd Doctrine, to suppose that, whose Nature is to be in a Subject, to be capable of subsisting without it.

Claudiamus Mamertus proves, That the Soul could not be in the Body as its Subject; for then it could not subsist when the Body is destroy'd.

P. I hope you have now done with this Third Argument.

Pr. Yes; and I shall wait your own time for an Answer. I go on to a Fourth: And that is from the Evidence of Sense asserted and allowed by the Fathers, with respect to the Body of Christ

P. I

Apud Eu-
seb. de
Præp. E-
vangel. l. 7.
c. 22.
Basil. Epist.
43.
Isidor. E-
pist. l. 2.
Ep. 72.
Greg. Nyss-
sen. in
Hexaem.
p. 13.
De Hom.
Opificio.
c. 24.
Aug. Ep.
ad Darda-
num cont.
Julian. l. 5.
c. 9.
Isid. Ori-
gin. l. 2.
c. 26. Bo-
eth. de
Prædic.
Damascen.
Dial. c. 4.
Alcuin.
Dial. c. 5.
12.

Iren. l. 2.
c. 14.

Apud.
Phot.
cod. 234.

Aug. de
Immort.
Anim. c. 10.
Soliloq.
l. 2. c. 13.

De Statu
Anim. l. 3.
c. 3.

P. I expected this before now. For, as the Author of the *Single Sheet* observes: *This is the Cock-Argument of one of the Lights of your Church; and it so far resembles the Light, that like it, it makes a glaring shew, but go to grasp it, and you find nothing in your hand.*

Pr. Then it's plain our Senses are deceived.

P. Not as to Transubstantiation: for he believes more of his Senses than we do: for his Eyes tell him there is the Colour of Bread, and he assents to them; his Tongue, that it has the Taste of Bread, and he agrees to it: and so for his Smelling and Feeling: But then he hath a notable fetch in his Conclusion: viz. That his Ears tell him from the Words spoken by Christ himself, that it is the Body of Christ, and he believes these too. Is not here one Sense more than you believe? and yet you would persuade the World, that we do not believe our Senses.

Pr. This is admirable stuff; but it must be tenderly dealt with: For, I pray, what doth he mean when he saith, he believes from Christ's own words, that it is the Body of Christ? what is this *It*? Is it the Accidents he speaks of before? Are those Accidents then the Body of Christ? Is it the Substance of Bread? But that is not discerned by the Senses, he saith, and if it were, will he say, that the substance of Bread is the Body of Christ? if neither of these, then his believing *It is the Body of Christ*, signifies nothing, for there can be no sense of it.

P. However, he shews, That we who believe Transubstantiation, do not renounce our Senses, as you commonly reproach us; for we believe all that our Senses represent to us, which is only the outward appearance. For, as he well observes, if your Eyes see the substance of things, they are most extraordinary ones, and better than ours. For our parts, we see no farther than the Colour or Figure, &c. of things, which are only Accidents, and the entire object of that Sense.

Pr. Is there no difference between the Perception of Sense, and the Evidence of Sense? We grant, that the Perception of our Senses goes no farther than to the outward Accidents; but that Perception affords such an Evidence by which the Mind doth pass Judgment upon the thing represented by the outward Sense. I pray tell me, have you any certainty there is such a thing as a material Substance in the world?

P. Yes.

Pr. Whence comes the certainty of the Substance, since your Senses cannot discover it? Do we live among nothing but Accidents? Or can we know nothing beyond them?

P. I grant we may know in general that there are such things as Substances in the World.

Pr. But can we not know the difference of one Substance from another, by our Senses? As for instance, can we not know a Man from a Horse, or an Elephant from a Mouse, or a piece of Bread from a Church? Or do we only know there are such and such Accidents belong to every one of these; but our Senses are not so extraordinary to discover the Substances under them? I pray answer me one Question, Did you ever keep Lent?

P. What a strange Question is this? Did you not tell me, you would avoid Impertinencies?

Pr. This is none, I assure you.

P. When I answer, I think my self obliged to keep it.

Pr. Then you thought your self bound to abstain from *Flesh*, and to eat *Fish*.

P. What of all that?

Pr. Was it the *Substance* of *Flesh* you abstained from, or only the *Accidents* of it?

P. The *Substance*.

Pr. And did you know the difference between the *Substance* of *Flesh* and *Fish* by your *Taste*?

P. Yes.

Pr. Then you have an *extraordinary Taste*, which goes to the very *Substance*?

P. But this is off from our business, which was about the *Fathers*, and not our own *Judgment*, about the evidence of *Sense*.

Pr. I am ready for you upon that Argument. And I only desire to know whether you think the *Evidence of Sense* sufficient, as to the true *Body of Christ*, where it is supposed to be present.

P. By no means, for then we could not believe it to be present, where we cannot perceive it.

Pr. But the *Fathers* did assert the *Evidence of Sense* to be sufficient, as to the true *Body of Christ*; so *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Hilary*, and *St. Augustin*. I will produce their Words at length, if you desire them.

Iren. l. 3.
20. 5. 7.
Tertul. de
Carne Chri-
sti, c. 5. Ad-
vers. Marc. l. 4. c. 43. l. 3. c. 8, 11.
c. 10. 83 Quæst. c. 14. Scrm. 238.

Epiphani. hær. 42, 64. Hilary. in Psal. 137. Aug. c. Faust. l. 29. c. 2. l. 14.

De Euch.
l. 1. c. 14.

P. It will be but lost labour, since we deny not, as Cardinal *Bellarmin* well saith, *The Evidence of Sense to be a good positive Evidence, but not a negative, i. e. that it is a Body, which is handled, and felt, and seen; but not, that it is no Body which is not.*

Pr. Very well! And I pray then what becomes of your *single Sheet Man*, who so confidently denies *Sense* to be good *positive Evidence* as to a *real Body*; but only as to the *outward appearance*?

P. You mistake him; for he saith, *We are to believe our Senses, where they are not indisposed, and no Divine Revelation intervenes*, which we believe there doth in this Case; and therefore, unless the *Fathers* speak of the *Sacrament*, we have no reason to regard their Testimonies in this matter. But we have stronger Evidence against you from the *Fathers*, for they say, we are not to rely on the *Evidence of Sense*, as to the *Sacrament*. So *St. Cyril*, *St. Chrysostom*, and *St. Ambrose*.

Pr. I am glad you offer any thing which deserves to be considered. But you have already forgot *Bellarmin's Rule*, That *Sense* may be a good *positive Evidence*, but not a *negative, i. e. it may discover what is present as a Body, but not what is not, and cannot be so present, viz. the invisible Grace* which goes along with it; and as to this the *Fathers* might well say, *we are not to trust our Sense*.

P. This is making an Interpretation for them.

Pr. No such matter. It is the proper and genuine *Sense* of their Words, as will appear from hence.

Cyril My-
tag. 3, &
4, 5.
Catech. 3.
Chrysost. in
Mat. hom.
83. Ambr.
de his qui
iniciantur,
c. 9.

(1.) They assert the very same, as to the *Chrism*, and *Baptism*, which they do as to the *Eucharist*.

(2.) That which they say, our *Senses* cannot reach, is something of a *Spiritual Nature*, and not a *Body*. And here the Case is extremely different from the *Judgment of Sense*, as to a material *Substance*. And if you please, I will evidently prove from the *Fathers*, that that wherein they excluded the *Judgment of Sense* in the *Eucharist*, was something wholly *Spiritual* and *Immaterial*.

P. No,

P. No, no, we have been long enough upon the *Fathers*, unless their evidence were more certain one way or other. For my part, I believe on the account of Divine Revelation in this matter, *This is my Body*; here I stick, and the Fathers agreed with us herein, that Christ's words are not to be taken in a figurative Sense.

Pr. The contrary hath been so plainly proved in a late excellent Discourse of *Transubstantiation*, that I wonder none of your Party have yet undertaken to answer it; but they write on, as if no such Treatise had appear'd: I shall therefore wave all the Proofs that are there produced, till some tolerable Answer be given to them.

P. Methinks you have taken a great liberty of talking about the *Fathers*, as tho' they were all on your side; but our late Authors assure us to the contrary, and I hope I may now make use of them, to shew that *Transubstantiation* was the Faith of the ancient Church.

Pr. With all my heart, I even long to hear what they can say in a matter, I think, so clear on our side.

P. Well, Sir, I begin with the *Consensus Veterum*, written by one that professed himself a Minister of the Church of England.

Pr. Make what you can of him, now you have him, but I will meddle with no personal Things: I desire to hear his Arguments.

P. What say you to R. Selomo, interpreting the 72 Psal. v. 16. of *Wafers in the days of the Messias*; to R. Moses Haddarlan, on Gen. 39. 1. and on Psal. 136. 25. to R. Cahana, on Gen. 49. 1. who was long before the *Nativity of Christ*; R. Johai, on Numb. 28. 2. and to R. Judas, who was many years before Christ came.

Consensus
Veterum;
p. 21, 22;
23.

P. Can you hold your Countenance when you repeat these things? But any thing must pass from a *New Convert*. What think you of R. Cahana, and R. Judas, who lived so long before our Saviour, when we know that the *Jews* have no Writings preserved near to our Saviour's time, besides the Bible, and some say the *Paraphrasts* upon it. I would have been glad to have seen these Testimonies taken from their original Authors, and not from *Galatinus*, who is known to have been a notorious Plagiary, as to the main of his Book, and of little or no credit as to the rest. But it is ridiculous to produce the Testimonies of *Jewish Rabbins* for *Transubstantiation*, when it is so well known that it is one of their greatest objections against *Christianity*, as taught in the *Roman Church*, as may be seen in *Joseph Albo*, and others. But what is all this to the Testimony of the *Christian Fathers*?

P. Will not you let a Man shew a little *Jewish Learning* upon occasion? But if you have a mind to the Fathers, you shall have enough of them, for I have a large Catalogue of them to produce, from the *Consensus Veterum*, *Nubes Testium*, and the single Sheet, which generally agree.

Pr. With *Coccius* or *Bellarmin*, you mean; but before you produce them, I pray tell me what you intend to prove by them?

P. The Doctrine of our Church.

Pr. As to what?

P. What have we been about all this while?

Pr. *Transubstantiation*. Will you prove that?

P. Why do you suspect me before I begin?

Pr. I have some reason for it. Let us first agree what we mean by it. Do you mean the same which the Church of *Rome* doth by it, in the Council of *Trent*?

Q q q q

P. What

P. What can we mean else?

Pr. Let us first see what that is: The Council of Trent declares, *That the same Body of Christ which is in Heaven, is really, truly and substantially present in the Eucharist after Consecration, under the Species of Bread and Wine.* And the Roman Catechism saith, *It is the very Body which was born of the Virgin, and sits at the right hand of God.* (2.) *That the Bread and Wine after Consecration, lose their proper Substances, and are changed into that very Substance of the Body of Christ.* And an *Anathema* is denounced against those who affirm the contrary. Now if you please, proceed to your Proofs.

Consensus
Veterum,
p. 27.

P. I begin with the *ancient Liturgies of St. Peter, St. James, and St. Matthew.*

Pr. Are you in earnest?

P. Why; what is the matter?

Nouvelle
Bibliotheq.
des Ancienes
Ecclesiasti-
ques par
Ellies du
Pin, 1686.

Pr. Do not you know, that these are rejected as *supposititious*, by your own Writers? And a very late and learned Dr. of the Sorbon, hath given full and clear Evidences of it.

P. Suppose they are, yet they may be of *Antiquity enough*, to give some competent Testimony as to Tradition.

p. 22.

Pr. No such matter: For he proves *St. Peter's Liturgy* to be later than the *Sacramentary of St. Gregory*; and so can prove nothing for the first 600 years; and the *Aethiopick Liturgy*, or *St. Matthew's*, he shews to be very late. That of *St. James*, he thinks to have been some time before the *Five General Councils*; but by no means to have been *St. James's*.

p. 23.

Consens.
p. 30.

P. What think you of the *Acts of St. Andrew*, and what he saith therein, *about eating the Flesh of Christ*?

Pr. I think he saith nothing to the purpose. But I am ashamed to find one, who hath so long been a Minister in this Church, so extremely ignorant, as to bring these for good *Authorities*, which are rejected with scorn by all Men of Learning and Ingenuity among you.

P. I am afraid you grow angry.

Pr. I confess, *Ignorance and Confidence* together, are very provoking things, especially when a Man in years pretends to leave our Church on such pitiful Grounds.

P. But he doth produce better *Authorities*.

Pr. If he doth, they are not to his purpose.

P. That must be tried: What say you to *Ignatius*? I hope you allow his *Epistles*?

Pr. I see no reason to the contrary. But what saith he?

Consensus
Veterum,
p. 30.
Nubes Te-
stium,
p. 109.

P. He saith, *That some Hereticks then would not receive the Eucharist and Oblations, because they will not confess the Eucharist to be the Flesh of our Saviour Christ*: And this is produced by both Authors.

Tertul. c.
Marcion.
l. 4. c. 40.

Pr. The Persons *Ignatius* speaks of, were such as denied Christ to have any true Body, and therefore did forbear the *Eucharist*, because it was said to be *his Body*: And in what ever sense it were taken, it still supposed that which they denied, viz. that he had a true Body: For, if it were figuratively understood, it was as contrary to their Doctrine, as as if it were literally: For a *Figure* must relate to a *real Body*, as *Tertullian* argued in this case; and *Ignatius* in the same *Epistle*, mentions the trial Christ made of his true Body, by the Senses of his Disciples, *Take hold of me, and handle me, and see, for I am no incorporeal Demon; and immediately they touched him, and were convinced*: Which hap- pen'd

pen'd but a few days after Christ had said, *This is my Body*; and our Saviour gave a Rule for judging a true Body, from an appearance, or spiritual Substance; *A Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have*. Therefore it is very improbable that Ignatius so soon after, should assert that Christ's true and real Body was in the Eucharist, where it could be neither seen nor felt: For then he must overthrow the force of his former Argument. And to what purpose did Christ say, *That a Spirit had not Flesh and Bones, as they saw him to have*; if a Body of Christ might be so much after the manner of a Spirit, as tho' it had Flesh and Bones, yet they could not possibly be discerned? But, after all, suppose Ignatius doth speak of the substance of Christ's Flesh, as present in the Eucharist; yet he saith not a word of the *changing of the substance* of the Bread into the *substance of Christ's Body*, which was the thing to be proved.

P. But Justin Martyr doth speak of the change, and his words are produced by all three; and they are thus rendred in the single Sheet: *For we do not receive this as common Bread, or common Drink, but as by the Word of God, Jesus Christ our Redeemer being made Man, had both Flesh and Blood for our Salvation; so also, we are taught that this Food, by which our Blood and Flesh are by a change nourished, being consecrated by the power of the Word, is the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ incarnate: What say you to this?* Apol. 2.

Pr. I desire you to consider these things: (1.) That Justin Martyr doth not say, That the Bread and Wine are by Consecration changed into the individual Flesh and Blood, in which Christ was incarnate; but that, as by the power of the Word, Christ once had a Body in the Womb of the Virgin; so by the power of the same Word, upon Consecration, the Bread and Wine do become the Flesh and Blood of Christ incarnate; so that he must mean a parallel, and not the same individual Body, i. e. that as the Body in the Womb became the Body of Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit, so the Holy Spirit after Consecration, makes the Elements to become the Flesh and Blood of Christ, not by an Hypostatical Union, but by Divine Influence, as the Church is the Body of Christ: And this was the true Notion of the ancient Church, as to this matter, and the Expressions in the Greek Liturgies to this day confirm the same. (2.) He doth not in the least imply that the Elements by this change do lose their substance; for he mentions the nourishment of our Bodies by it; but he affirms, that notwithstanding their substance remain, yet the Divine Spirit of Christ, by its operation, doth make them become his Body: For we must observe, that he attributes the Body in the Womb, and on the Altar, to the same λόγος, or Divine Word; for he did not think Hypostatical Union necessary, to make the Elements become the Body of Christ, but a Divine Energy was sufficient, as the Bodies assumed by Angels are their Bodies, tho' there be no such vital Union, as there is between the Soul and Body of a Man.

P. I go on to Irenæus, from whom two places are produced, one by the Consensus Veterum, where he saith, *That which is Bread from the Earth, perceiving the call of God, now is not common Bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, one Earthly, and the other Spiritual*. P. 31.
Iren. l. 4.
c. 34.

Pr. Very well! Then there is an Earthly, as well as a Spiritual thing in the Eucharist, i. e. a Bodily Substance, and Divine Grace.

P. No; he saith, *The Earthly is the Accidents*.

Pr. Doth Irenæus say so?

Q q q q 2

P. No,

P. No, but he means so.

P. There is not a word to that purpose in *Irenæus*, and therefore this is downright prevarication: I grant *Irenæus* doth suppose a change made by Divine Grace; but not by destroying the Elements, but by super-adding Divine Grace to them, and so the Bread becomes the Body of Christ, and the Wine his Blood.

*Iren. l. 5.
c. 13.*

P. The other place in *Irenæus* is, where he saith, That as the Bread receiving the Word of God, is made the Eucharist, which is the Body and Blood of Christ, so also our Bodies being nourished by it, and laid in the Earth, and there dissolved, will arise at their time, &c.

Pr. What do you prove from this place?

P. That the same Divine Power is seen in making the Eucharist the Body and Blood of Christ, which is to be in the Resurrection of the Body.

Pr. But doth this prove, that the Substance of the Bread is changed into the Substance of Christ's Body?

P. Why not?

Pr. I will give you a plain Argument against it; for he saith, Our Bodies are nourished by the Body and Blood of Christ. Do you think that *Irenæus* believed the substance of Christ's Body was turned into the substance of our Bodies, in order to their nourishment? No; he explained himself just before in the same place; *De Calice qui est sanguis ejus, nutritur; & de pane qui est corpus ejus, augetur*: So that he attributes the nourishment to the Bread and Wine, and therefore must suppose the substance of them to remain, since it is impossible a substantial nourishment should be made by mere Accidents. And withal, observe, he saith expressly, That the Bread is the Body of Christ; which your best Writers, (such as *Bellarmin*, *Suarez*, and *Vasquez*) say, is inconsistent with Transubstantiation.

P. My next Author is *Tertullian*, who is produced by the *Consensus Veterum*, and the single Sheet, but omitted by the *Nubes Testium*; but the other proves, That Bread which was the Figure of Christ's Body in the Old Testament, now in the New, is changed into the real and true Body of Christ.

*Con. Mar-
cion, l. 4.
c. 40.*

Pr. This is a bold attempt upon *Tertullian*, to prove, that by the Figure of Christ's Body, he means his true and real Body: For his words are, *Acceptum panem & distributum Discipulis Corpus illum suum fecit, Hoc est Corpus meum dicendo, id est, Figura Corporis mei*. He took the bread, and gave it to his Disciples, and made it his Body, saying, This is my Body, i. e. this is the Figure of my Body. How can those men want Proofs, that can draw Transubstantiation from these words, which are so plain against it?

P. You are mistaken; *Tertullian* by Figure meant, it was a Figure in the Old Testament, but it was now his real Body.

Pr. You put very odd Figures upon *Tertullian*: I appeal to any reasonable man, whether by the latter words he doth not explain the former? For he puts the sense upon *Corpus meum*, by adding *dicendo* to them, i. e. This is the meaning of that speech, when he calleth the Bread his Body.

P. Doth not *Tertullian* say, That it had not been the Figure, unless it had been the Truth?

Pr. This is again perverting his words, which are, *Figuratum non fuisset nisi veritatis esset Corpus*, i. e. there had been no place for a Figure of Christ's Body, unless Christ had a true Body: For he was proving against

against *Marcion*, that *Christ had a true Body*; and among other Arguments he produces this from *the Figure of his Body*; which he not only mentions here, but in other places; where he saith, *That Christ gave the Figure of his Body to the Bread*; which cannot relate to any Figure of the Old Testament. Con. Marcion. l. 3. c. 19. l. 5. c. 8.

P. But doth not *Tertullian* say afterwards, *That the Bread was the figure of Christ's body in the Old Testament*?

Pr. What then? He had two Designs against *Marcion*; one to prove, that *Christ had a true body*, which he doth here from the figure of his body: and the other, that there was a Correspondency of both Testaments: and for that purpose he shews, that the bread in *Jeremiah*, was the figure of *Christ's body*.

P. But the Author of the single Sheet, cites another place of *Tertullian*, where he saith, that our flesh feeds on the body and blood of *Christ*, that our soul may be filled with God. De Resur. c. 8.

Pr. By the body and blood of *Christ*, he means there, the Elements, with Divine Grace going along with them; as appears by his design, which is, to shew how the body and soul are joyned together in Sacramental-Rites. The flesh is washed, and the soul is cleansed; the flesh is anointed, and the soul consecrated; the flesh is signed, and the soul confirmed; the flesh hath hands laid upon it, and the soul enlightened; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of *Christ*, that the soul may be filled with God. Now unless *Tertullian* meant the Elements, the Parallel doth not proceed; for all the rest are spoken of the external Symbols; and so this doth not at all contradict what he saith elsewhere, no more than the Passage in the second Book *ad Uxorem* doth. For there he speaks of *Christ*, with respect to the invisible Grace, as he doth here, as to the outward Symbols.

P. *Clemens Alexandrinus* saith, That *Melchisedeck* gave Bread and Wine in figure of the Eucharist. Strom. 4.

Pr. And what then? What is this to Transubstantiation?

P. *Origen* saith, When you eat and drink the body and blood of our Lord, then our Lord enters under your roof, &c. Hom. 5. in divers. loc.

Pr. Are you sure that *Origen* said this? But suppose he did, must he enter with his flesh and bones, and not much rather by a peculiar presence of his Grace? For is it not *Origen* who so carefully distinguishes the Typical and Symbolical body of *Christ*, from the Divine Word, and so expressly mentions the material part of the Elements after Consecration, which pass into the Draught, &c. Is all this meant of the Accidents only? Comment. in Math. 5.

P. What say you to *St. Cyprian de Coena Domini*?

Pr. I beg your pardon, Sir; this is now known and acknowledged to be a late Author, in comparison, and cannot come within your 600 years; and therefore is not ancient enough to be considered.

P. But in his genuine Writings he speaks of those who offer'd Violence to the body and blood of our Lord in the Eucharist. Cypr. de Lapsis.

Pr. And I pray what follows? That the substance of the Elements is gone: Where lies the Consequence? But *St. Cyprian* saith, the bread was his body, and the wine his blood; therefore their substance must remain. Epist. 63. N. 6.

P. What say you to *Eusebius Emesenus*?

Pr. That he is not within our compass; and withal, that he is a known Counterfeit.

P. I

P. I perceive you are hard to please?

Pr. You say very true, as to *supposititious Writers*.

P. I hope you have more Reverence for the *Council of Nice*.

Pr. But where doth that speak of *Transubstantiation*?

P. It calls the *Eucharist the body of Christ*.

Pr. And so doth the *Church of England*; therefore that holds *Transubstantiation*. I pray bring no more such Testimonies, which prove nothing but what we hold.

P. I perceive you have a mind to cut me short.

Pr. Not in the least, where you offer any thing to the purpose. But I pray spare those who only affirm, that the *Eucharist is the body and blood of Christ after Consecration*. For I acknowledge it was the Language of the Church, especially in the fourth Century, when the Names of the *Elements* were hardly mention'd to the *Catechumens*; and all the Discourses of the Fathers to them, tended to heighten the Devotion and Esteem of the Eucharist. By which Observation you may easily understand the meaning of the Eloquent Writers of that Age, who speak with so much *Mystery and Obscurity* about it. If you have any that go beyond lofty Expressions, and Rhetorical flights, I pray produce them.

P. I perceive you are afraid of S. Greg. Nazianzen, and S. Basil, but especially S. Chrysostom, you fence so much beforehand against Eloquent Men.

Pr. As to the other two, there is nothing material alledged by any to this purpose; but S. Chrysostom, I confess, doth speak very lofty things concerning the *Sacrament* in his popular Discourses, but yet nothing that doth prove *Transubstantiation*.

P. What think you of his *Homilies*, 51 and 83. on S. Mat. 46. *Homily on S. John 24. Homily on 1st to the Corinth. the Homilies on Philogonius and the Cross*? Are there not strange things in them concerning the Eucharist? *About eating Christ, and seeing him lie before them slain on the Altar; about touching his Body there, and the Holy Spirit, with an innumerable Host, hovering over what is there proposed, with much more to that purpose.*

Nubes Testium
p. 120, &c.
Consens.
Ver. p. 54.
&c.

Pr. You need not to recite more; for I yield that St. Chrysostom delighted in the highest flights of his Eloquence, on this Subject, in his *Homilies*; and he tells for what Reason, to excite the Reverence and Devotion of the People. But yet himself doth afford us a sufficient Key to these expressions, if we attend to these things concerning his manner of speaking:

(1.) That he affirms those things which no fide can allow to be literally understood. As when he so often speaks of *our seeing and touching Christ upon the Altar*, which is inconsistent with the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*: For Christ is utterly invisible on the Altar, even by Divine Power, saith Suarez. He is invisible in the Sacrament, saith Bellarmin; and he saith also, *that he cannot be touched*. What then is to be said to such expressions of S. Chrysostom?

Disp. 53.
Sect. 4.
De Euch.
l. 1. c. 2.
Hom. 83.
in Mar.
Hom. 51.
in Mar.
In Heb.
Hom. 14.
In Rom.
Hcm. 8.
Ad Pop.
Antioch.
Hom. 15.

Behold thou seest him, thou touchest him, thou eatest him.

It is not his Sacrament only which is offer'd us to touch, but himself. What if you do not hear his Voice, do you not see him lying before you?

Behold Christ lying before you slain.

Christ lies on the holy Table, as a Sacrifice slain for us.

Thou swearest upon the holy Table where Christ lies slain.

When

When thou seest our Lord lying on the Table, and the Priest praying, *De Sacerd.*
and the by-standers purpled with his Blood. *L. 3.*

See the Love of Christ; he doth not only suffer himself to be seen by
those who desire it, but to be touched and eaten, and our Teeth to be fix- *In Joh.*
ed in his Flesh. *Hom. 45.*

Now these Expressions are on all sides granted to be literally absurd
and impossible; and therefore we must say of him as *Bonaventure* once
said of *S. Augustin*, *Plus dicit sanctus & minus vult intelligi*; We must
make great allowance for such Expressions, or you must hold a *Capernai-*
tical Sense.

And it is denied by your selves, that Christ is actually slain upon the
Altar; and therefore you yield that such Expressions are to be figura-
tively understood.

(2.) That he lets fall many things in such Discourses which do give
light to the rest: As,

(1.) That Flesh is improperly taken when applied to the Eucharist. *Hom. in*

(2.) He calls the Sacrament the Mystical Body and Blood of Christ. *Gal. c. 5.*

(3.) That the eating of Christ's Flesh is not to be understood literally,
but spiritually. *Hom. de*
Refur.
To. 5.

(4.) He opposes Christ's sacramental Presence, and real corporal Pre-
sence to each other. *Hom. 46.*
in Joh.
Hom. 28.

(5.) He still exhorts the Communicants to look upwards towards
Heaven. *in 1. Ep.*
ad Corinth.
Hom. 24.

And now if you lay these things together, this Eloquent Father will
not, with all his Flights, come near to *Transubstantiation*.

P. No! In one place he asserts the Substance of the Elements to be
lost. *in 1. ad*
Corinth.
Hom. 22.
in Hebr.
Hom. de
Pœnit.
To. 6.

Pr. Thanks to the *Latin* Translators, for the *Greek* word ἀπνοίξεν,
as the *Criticks* observe, doth not signify to destroy, but to refine, and pu-
rify a Substance. But I do not rely upon this; for the plain answer
is, That *S. Chrysostom* doth not there speak of the Elements upon Conse-
cration, but what becomes of them, after they are taken down into the
Stomach. *St. Chrysostom* thought it would lessen the Peoples Reverence,
and Devotion, if they passed into the draught, as *Origen* affirmed; and
therefore he started another Opinion; viz. That as Wax, when it is
melted in the fire, throws off no superfluities, but it passes indiscernably
away; so the Elements, or Mysteries, as he calls them, pass imperceptibly
into the substance of the Body, and so are consumed together with it.
Therefore, saith he, approach with Reverence, not supposing that you re-
ceive the divine body from a Man, but as with Tongs of Fire from the
Seraphims: Which the Author of the *Consensus Veterum* translates, but
Fire from the Tongues of Seraphims. *S. Chrysostom's* Words are, ἀλλ' ἔξ P. 56.
αὐτῶν τῶν Σεραφίμ τῇ λαβίδι τὸ σῶμα. And the sense is, that the divine
Body (i. e. the Eucharist, after Consecration, being by the divine Spirit
made the divine Body, as in *St. Chrysostom's* Liturgy, there is a particular
Prayer for the Holy Ghost to come, and so make the Bread to be the divine
Body, or the holy Body of Christ), is to be taken, not with our Mouths, *Eucholog.*
which can only receive the Elements, but after a divine manner, as with P. 77.
Tongs of fire from Seraphims; by which he expresses the spiritual acts of
Faith and Devotion, as most agreeable to that divine Spirit which makes
the Elements to become the holy Body of Christ. But that *St. Chrysostom*
did truly and firmly believe the Substance of the Bread to remain after
Consecration, I have already proved from his Epistle to *Casarius*.

P. I pray let us not go backward, having so much ground to run over still.

Pr. I am content, if you will produce only those who speak of the *change of Substance*, and not such as only mention *the Body and Blood of Christ after Consecration*, which I have already told you, was the Language of the Church; and therefore all those Testimonies are of no force in this matter.

Greg. Nyssen.
Orat. Ca-
tech. 37.

P. Then I must quit the greatest part of what remains, as *Optatus, Gaudentius, S. Jerom*, and others; but I have some still left which will set you hard. What say you then to *Gregory Nyssen*, who saith, *the sanctified bread is changed into the body of the word of God?* And he takes off your Answer of a *mystical Body*; for he puts the Question, *How the same Body can daily be distributed to the faithful throughout the World, it remaining whole and entire in it self?*

Pr. *Gregory Nyssen* was a Man of Fancy, and he shewed it in that *Catechetical Discourse*: However, *Fronto Ducaus* thought it a notable place to prove *Transubstantiation*, which I wonder at, if he attended to the Design of it; which was to shew, that as our Bodies, by eating became subject to Corruption, so by eating they become capable of Immortality; and this he saith, *Must be by receiving an immortal Body into our Bodies, such as the Body of Christ was*: But then, saith he, *how could that body, which is to remain whole in it self, be distributed to all the faithful over the whole Earth?* He answers, by saying, *That our Bodies do consist of Bread and Wine, which are their proper Nourishment; and Christ's Body being like ours, that was so too; which by the Union with the Word of God, was changed into a Divine Dignity*. But what is this to the *Eucharist*, you may say? He goes on therefore, *so I believe the sanctified Bread, by the power of the Word of God, to be changed into the Body of God the Word*. Not into that *Individual Body*, but after the same manner, by a *Presence* of the *λόγος*, or *God the Word* in it; and that this was his meaning, doth evidently appear by what follows. For, saith he, *that Body, viz. to which he was Incarnate, was sanctified by the Inhabitation of the λόγος, dwelling in the Flesh; therefore, as the Bread was then changed into a Divine Dignity in the Body, so it is now; and the Bread is changed into the Body of the λόγος, (not of Jesus Christ) as it was said by the Word, This is my Body*. And so by receiving this *Divine Body* into our bodies, they are made capable of Immortality. And this is the true Account of *Gregory Nyssen's* meaning, which if it prove any thing, proves an *Impanation*, rather than *Transubstantiation*.

Nubes Testium,
p. 124.

P. But *Hilary's* Testimony cannot be so avoided; who saith, *That we as truly eat Christ's Flesh in the Sacrament, as he was truly Incarnate; and that we are to judge of this, not by carnal Reason, but by the Words of Christ, who said, My Flesh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed*.

Pr. I do not deny this to be *Hilary's* sense. But yet this proves nothing like to *Transubstantiation*. For it amounts to no more than a *Real Presence* of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament; and you can make no Argument from hence, unless you can prove that the Body of Christ cannot be present, unless the *Substance* of the Bread be destroyed, which is more than can be done, or than *Hilary* imagined. All that he aimed at, was to prove a *real Union* between Christ and his People, *That Christ*

was

was in them more than by mere consent; and to prove this, he lays hold of those words of our Saviour, *My Flesh is meat indeed, &c.* But the substantial Change of the Bread into the Substance of Christ's Body, signifies nothing to his purpose; and *Bellarmin* never so much as mentions *Hilary* in his proofs of *Transubstantiation*, but only for the *real Presence*. But I must add something more, *viz.* that *Hilary* was one of the first who drew any Argument from the *literal Sense of John 6.* I do not say, who did by way of *Accommodation*, apply them to the *Sacrament*, which others might do before him. But yet, there are some of the eldest Fathers, who do wholly exclude a literal Sense, as *Tertullian* look'd on it, *As an absurdity that Christ should be thought truly to give his Flesh to eat.* *Quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset.* *Tertul. de Resur. carn. c. 37. Orig. hom. 7. in Levit.* And *Origen* saith, *It is a killing Letter, if those Words be literally understood.* But this is to run into another debate, whereas our Business is about *Transubstantiation*. If you have any more, let us now examine their Testimonies.

P. What say you then to *St. Ambrose*, who speaks home to the Business, for he makes the Change to be above Nature, and into the Body of Christ, born of the Virgin? There are long Citations out of him, but in these words lies the whole strength of them. *Ambros. de his qui initiuntur, c. 9.*

Pr. I answer, several things for clearing of his meaning, (1.) That *St. Ambrose* doth parallel the Change in the *Eucharist*, with that in *Baptism*; and to prove *Regeneration* therein, he argues from the *miraculous Conception of Christ in the Womb of the Virgin*; but in *Baptism* no body supposes the Substance of the Water to be taken away; and therefore it cannot hold as to the other, from the *Supernatural Change*, which may be only with respect to such a *Divine Influence*, which it had not before Consecration. (2.) He doth purposely talk obscurely and mystically about this matter, as the Fathers were wont to do to those, who were to be admitted to these *Mysteries*. Sometimes one would think he meant that the Elements are changed into *Christ's Individual Body born of the Virgin*: and yet presently after, he distinguishes between the *true Flesh of Christ, which was crucified and buried, and the Sacrament of his Flesh*. If this were the same, what need any distinction? And that this *Sacramentum Carnis*, is meant of the *Eucharist*, is plain by what follows; for he cites Christ's words, *This is my Body*. (3.) He best explains his own meaning, when he saith not long after, *That the body of Christ in the Sacrament, is a Spiritual body, or a body produced by the Divine Spirit*; and so he parallels it with that *spiritual Food, which the Israelites did eat in the Wilderness*: And no man will say, that the Substance of the *Manna* was then lost. And since your Authors make the same *St. Ambrose*, to have written the *Book De Sacramentis*, there is a notable passage therein, which helps to explain this; for there he saith expressly, *Non iste Panis est qui vadit in Corpus, sed ille Panis Vitæ Eternæ qui animæ nostræ Substantiam fulcit.* It is not the Bread which passes into the Body, but the Bread of *Eternal Life*, which strengthens the Substance of our Soul. Where he not only calls it *Bread* after Consecration, which goes to our *Nourishment*; but he distinguishes it from the *Bread of Eternal Life, which supports the Soul*, which must be understood of *Divine Grace*, and not of any *Bodily Substance*. *De Sacram. l. 5. c. 4.*

P. I perceive you will not leave us one Father of the whole number.

Pr. Not one. And I hope this gives an incomparable Advantage to the Doctrine of the *Trinity* in point of *Tradition*, above *Transubstantiation*: when I have not only proved, that the greatest of the Fathers expressly denied it, but that there is not one in the whole number who affirmed it. For altho' there were some difference in the way of explaining how the Eucharist was the Body and Blood of Christ; yet not one of them hitherto produced, doth give any countenance to your Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, which the Council of *Trent* declared to have been the constant belief of the Church in all Ages; which is so far from being true, that there is as little ground to believe that, as *Transubstantiation* it self. And so much as to this Debate, concerning the comparing the Doctrine of the *Trinity* and *Transubstantiation*, in point of *Tradition*; if you have any thing to say farther, as to *Scripture* and *Reason*, I shall be ready to give you Satisfaction the next Opportunity.

THE

THE
DOCTRINE
OF THE
TRINITY
AND
Transubstantiation
COMPARED, &c.

The Second PART.

Wherein the Doctrine of the Trinity is shewed to be agreeable to Scripture and Reason, and Transubstantiation repugnant to both.

Pr. I Hope you are now at Leisure to proceed with your parallel between the Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation, as to Scripture and Reason.

P. Yes, and am resolved to make good all that I have said, as to both those.

Pr. And if you do, I will yield the Cause.

P. I begin with *Scripture*. And the whole Dispute as to both, depends on this : Whether the Scripture is to be understood Literally or Figuratively. If Literally, then Transubstantiation stands upon equal terms with the Trinity; if Figuratively, then the Trinity can no more be proved from Scripture, than Transubstantiation.

Pr. As tho' there might not be Reason for a *figurative Sense* in one place, and a *literal* in another.

P. It seems then, you resolve it into Reason.

Pr. And I pray, into what would you resolve it? Into no Reason?

P. Into the Authority of the Church.

Pr. Without any Reason.

P. No : There may be Reason for that Authority, but not for the thing which I believe upon it.

Pr. Then you believe the Doctrine of the Trinity, merely, because the Church tells you it is the literal sense of Scripture which you are to follow. But suppose a Man sees no Reason for this Authority of

your Church; (as for my part, I do not) have you no Reason to convince such a one that he ought to believe the Trinity?

P. Not I. For I think Men are bound to believe as the Church Teaches them, and for that Reason.

Pr. What is it, I pray, to believe?

P. To believe, is to give our Assent to what God reveals.

Pr. And hath God revealed the Doctrine of the Trinity to the Church in this Age?

P. No; it was revealed long ago.

Pr. How doth it appear?

P. By the Scripture sensed by the Church.

Pr. But whence come you to know that the Church is to give the Sense of the Scriptures? Is it from the Scripture, or not?

P. From the Scripture doubtless, or else we could not believe upon the Church's Testimony.

Pr. But suppose the Question be, about the Sense of these places which relate to the Church's Authority, how can a Man come to the certain Sense of them?

P. Hold a little, I see whither you are leading me; you would fain draw me into a Snare, and have me say, I believe the sense of Scripture from the Authority of the Church, and the Authority of the Church from the sense of Scripture.

Pr. Do you not say so in plain terms?

P. Give me leave to answer for my self. I say in the case of the Church's Authority, I believe the sense of Scripture without relying on the Church's Authority.

Pr. And why not as well as in any other? Why not as to the Trinity, which to my understanding, is much plainer there, than the Church's Authority?

P. That is strange: Is not the Church often spoken of in Scripture? *Tell the Church. Upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c.*

Pr. But we are not about the Word *Church*, which is no doubt there, but the Infallible Authority of the Church; and whether that be more clear in the Scripture than the Doctrine of the Trinity.

P. I see you have a mind to change your Discourse, and to run off from the Trinity to the Church's Authority in Matters of Faith; which is a beaten Subject.

Pr. Your Church doth not tell you so; and therefore you may upon your own grounds be deceived; and I assure you that you are so; for I intended only to shew you, that for Points of Faith we must examine and compare Scripture our selves, and our Faith must rest on Divine Revelation therein contained.

P. Then you think the Trinity can be proved from Scripture?

Pr. Or else I should never believe it.

P. But those places of Scripture you go upon, may bear a *figurative Sense*, as John 10. 30. *I and my Father are one*; and 1 John 5. 7. *And those three are one*; and if they do so, you can never prove the Trinity from them.

Pr. I say therefore, That the Doctrine of the Trinity doth not depend merely on these places, but on very many others, which help to the true sense of these; but Transubstantiation depends upon one single Expression, *This is my Body*, which relates to a *figurative thing*, viz. the Sacrament; and which hath other Expressions joined with it, which

are

are owned to be *figurative*; *This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood*; and which in the literal sense cannot prove Transubstantiation, as your own Writers confess, and which is disproved by those places of Scripture, which assert the Bread and the Fruit of the Vine to remain after Consecration.

P. Shew the Literal Sense as to the *Trinity* to be necessary; for I perceive you would fain go off again.

Pr. Will you promise to hold close to the Argument your self?

P. You need not fear me.

Pr. I pray tell me, Were there not false Religions in the World when Christ came into it to plant the true Religion?

P. Yes; but how far is this from the business?

Pr. Have a little Patience; Did not Christ design by his Doctrine to root out those false Religions?

P. That is evident from Scripture and Church History.

Pr. Then Christ's Religion and theirs were inconsistent.

P. And what then?

Pr. Wherein did this Inconsistency lie?

P. The *Gentiles* worshipped false Gods instead of the true One.

Pr. Then the Christian Religion teaches the worship of the true God instead of the false ones.

P. Who doubts of that?

Pr. Then it cannot teach the Worship of a false God instead of the true One.

P. A false God is one that is set up in opposition to the true God, as the Gods of the Heathens were.

Pr. Is it lawful by the Christian Doctrine to give proper Divine Worship to a Creature?

P. I think not, for Christ said, *Thou shalt Worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*: Which our Church understands of proper Divine Worship.

Pr. But the Scripture requires proper Divine Worship to be given to Christ; which is to require proper Divine Worship to be given to a Creature, if Christ be not true God by Nature.

P. May not God communicate his own Worship to him?

Pr. But God hath said, *He will not give his glory to another*, Isa. 42. 8. And the Reason is considerable, which is there given; *I am the Lord, that is my name*; which shews that none but the true *Jehovah* is capable of Divine Worship: for adoration is due to God only on the account of his incommunicable Perfections, and therefore the Reason of Divine Worship cannot reach to any Creature.

P. Not without God's Will and Pleasure. But may not God advance a mere Creature to that Dignity, as to require Divine Worship to be given to him by his fellow creatures?

Pr. Wherein lies the nature of that which you call proper Divine Worship?

P. In a due esteem of God in our Minds, as the first Cause and last End of his Creatures, and such Acts as are agreeable thereto.

Pr. Then proper Divine Worship doth suppose an Esteem of God as infinitely above his Creatures; and how then is it possible for us to give the same Worship to God, and to a Creature? For if the distance be infinite between God and his Creatures, and we must judge of things as they are, then we must in our minds suppose a Creature to be infinitely

nitely distant from God; and if we do so, How is it possible to give the same Divine Worship in this sense to God, and to any Creature?

P. And what now would you infer from hence?

Pr. Do not you see already; viz. that God cannot be supposed to allow Divine Worship to be given to Christ, if he were a mere Creature; and therefore since such Divine Worship is required by the Christian Doctrine it follows, that those expressions which speak of his being *One with the Father*, cannot be figuratively understood.

P. But where is it, that such Divine Worship is required to be given to Christ in Scripture? For, according to my Principles, the Church is to set the bounds and measures of Divine Worship, and to declare what Worship is due to God; what to Christ; what to Saints and Angels; what to Men upon Earth; what to Images, Sacraments, &c. And if we depart from this Rule, I know not where we shall fix.

Pr. I pray tell me, doth the difference between God and his Creatures, depend on the will of the Church?

P. No.

Pr. Is it then in the Church's Power to give that to a Creature, which belongs only to God?

P. I think not.

Pr. Who then is to be judge what belongs to God, and what not? God or the Church?

P. God himself, if he pleases.

Pr. Then our business is to search what his Will and Pleasure is in this matter, by reading the Scriptures, wherein his Will is contained: And there we find it expressed, *That all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father*, John 5. 23. *Let all the Angels of God worship him*, Heb. 1. 6. *Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth on the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever*, Revel. 4. 13. *That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and things in earth, &c.* Phil. 2. 9. If it were God's great design, by the Christian Doctrine, to restore in the world a due sense of the infinite distance between God and his Creatures; could any thing be more repugnant to it, than in the same Doctrine to advance a creature to a participation of the same Divine Honour with himself? So that in plain truth, the Idolatry of the world lay only in a bad choice of the Creatures they were to worship, and not in giving proper Divine Worship to a Creature; for that Christianity it self not only allows but requires, on supposition that Christ were God merely by Office, and was originally a Creature, as we are. But I pray observe the force of the Apostle's Argument, speaking of the Gentile Idolatry; he saith it lay in this, *That they did service unto them, which by Nature are no Gods*, Gal. 4. 8.

P. You know, I must now personate the *Anti-Trinitarian*; and he answers, That *by Nature* no more is implied, than *truly and really*, i. e. God did not advance those Creatures among the *Gentiles* to that Worship and Honour, which he hath done Christ.

Pr. Then you make it lawful by the Gospel to believe Christ to be a mere Creature, and at the same time to give him Divine Worship, which supposes him not to be a Creature; and so you must believe him to be a Creature, and not to be a Creature, at the same time.

P. How do you make that appear?

Pr. From

Pr. From your own words; for you say, proper Divine Worship lies in a due esteem of God in our minds, as the first Cause and last End, and in actions agreeable thereto; then to give Divine Worship to God, we must believe him to be above all Creatures as to his Nature and Being; and therefore to give Christ Divine Worship, must imply our believing him not to be a Creature, and to be a Creature at the same time.

P. But the meaning of Divine Worship here must not then relate to Acts of the Mind, but to outward Acts of Adoration in the Church.

Pr. Were the *Gentiles* guilty of Idolatry in that respect, or not?

P. Yes; but not those, whom God requires to Worship in such a manner.

Pr. Then the Sin of *Gentile-Idolatry* lay only in giving Divine Worship to a Creature without God's command; which lessens it to that degree, as to make Will-worship and Idolatry the same; and to blame the Apostles, for making such a dreadful Sin of it, and dissuading Christians so much from returning to the Practice of it: For they had the privilege of giving Divine Worship to a Creature by God's command, which others were damned for doing without a command; which makes the Christian Religion not to appear so reasonable, as the *Anti-Trinitarians* contend it is. But here are four foul mistakes in point of Reason, which they are guilty of. (1.) In making the Sin of Idolatry so Arbitrary a thing; which depends not on the Nature of the Object which is worshipped, but on the Will and Pleasure of God. (2.) In making the *Gentiles* guilty of a great Sin, merely in wanting a Divine command, which was out of their Power. (3.) In making the Christian Religion to set up the Worship of a Creature, when its design was to root out Idolatry. (4.) In making a factitious God, or a Creature to be advanced to the Throne of God. Which I think is far more contradictory to Reason, than a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the same Nature. For nothing can be more absurd than to make that to be God, which wants all the essential Attributes and Perfections of God; as every Creature must do: Such as Self-Existence, Eternity, Independency, Immensity, Omnipotency, &c. What a Contradiction is it, to suppose a weak, impotent, depending, confined, created God? And such every Creature must be in its Nature, or else it is no Creature. I do not at all wonder to find the *Socinians* after this, to lessen the natural Knowledge of God, and his infinite Perfections, both as to Power and Knowledge; for it was their concernment to bring the Notion of God as low as possible, that a Creature might be in the nearer Capacity of being made God. But those who consider and know what God is, and what he must be, if he be God, will find far greater difficulty in making Man to be God, than in believing God to be made Man. For This implies no greater difficulty, than merely as to our Conception, how an infinite Being can be so united to a finite, as to become one Person; which implies no repugnancy, but only some thing above our Capacity to comprehend. And we confess our selves puzzled in the manner of conceiving how a finite Spirit, which can pass through a Body, can be so united to it, as to make a Man by that Union; yet we all acknowledge the Truth of this. But to suppose a Creature capable of being made God, is to overthrow the essential difference between God and his Creatures, and the infinite Distance between them. Which is of

of very pernicious Consequence, as to the great ends of the Christian Religion, which were to reform the World, and to restore the Distinction between God and his Creatures; which by the prevalency of Idolatry was almost lost in the World: The Supreme God being hardly discerned in such a croud of created and factitious gods. And this very Argument is enough to turn my Stomack against Socinianism or Arianism.

P. I had thought all Men of sense among you, had been Socinians; I have often heard them charged with being so.

Pr. You see how grossly you are deceived, notwithstanding your pretence to Infallibility. I do not pretend to any deep reach, but I see reason enough to be no Socinian.

P. Let us return to our Matter in hand. What say you to those Texts which are said to be inconsistent with the literal Sense of those before mention'd, which relate to the Unity between Father and Son?

Pr. What Text do you mean?

P. What say you to *Job. 10.* from the 30. to the 39?

Pr. I wonder what it is produced for.

P. 1. It is said *Job. 10. 30.* I and my Father are one; now it is highly unreasonable to interpret these words literally, because of those which follow.

Pr. How doth that appear? For *v. 31.* it is said, *That the Jews took up Stones to stone him:* Which shews, that they look'd on him as speaking Blasphemy. But what Blasphemy was it for Christ to declare an Unity of Consent between him and his Father; which in Truth is nothing, but doing his Father's Will? Therefore it is plain that the Jews did apprehend more in those Words of our Saviour. And they explain themselves, *v. 33.* what they understood by them, *Because that thou being a Man makest thy self God.* Which shews that they thought not an Unity of Consent, but of Nature, was meant.

P. But Christ's answer shews, that he speaks only of a God by Office, and not by Nature, *v. 34.* *Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your Law, I said ye are Gods?*

Pr. I pray go on, and see how Christ argues, *v. 35, 36.* *If he called them Gods, unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him, whom the Father hath sent into the World, Thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God?*

P. This only shews that Christ had greater Reason to be called God, but not that he was so by Nature.

Pr. I pray go on still, *v. 37, 38.* *If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, tho' ye believe not me, believe the Works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.*

P. Is it not said elsewhere, *That he that keepeth his Commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him?* *1 Joh. 3. 24.* Would you hence infer an Unity of Nature between Christ and Believers?

Pr. I do not lay the weight on the Phrase, but as it is the Conclusion of the Dispute between Christ and the Jews. And it ought to be observed, that this was the end of the third Conference between Christ and the Jews upon this Argument. The first was *John 5.* and then from Christ's saying, *The Father worketh hitherto and I work,* *v. 17.* the Jews infer'd, *v. 18.* *That he made himself equal with God.* In the second Conference, *John 8.* he said, *Before Abraham was, I am,* *v. 58.* And then the Jews took up Stones to cast at him. After this followed this third Conference, *John 10.* and this runs again into the same point,
That

That he being a Man, made himself God. And these Conferences were all publick, in or near the Temple, and this last was in *Solomon's Porch*, *John 10. 23.* a Place of great resort, and near the place where the *Sanhedrim* sat, who were the Judges in the Case of Blasphemy. Now the force of my Argument from hence, lies in these things:

(1.) That Christ certainly knew, that the *Jews* did think by his Discourse, *That he made himself equal with God.*

(2.) That if it were not true, it were notorious Blasphemy, and so esteemed by the *Jews*.

(3.) That such a mistake ought to have been presently corrected, and in the plainest manner; as we find it was done by *St. Paul*, when the Men of *Lystra* said, *The Gods are come down to us in the likeness of Men*; for he ran in, presently among them, and said, *We are Men of like passions with you*, *Acts 14. 11, 15.* It is impossible for me to think, that if Christ had known himself to be a mere Man, he would have suffered the *Jews* to have run away with such a mistake as this, without giving them the clearest and plainest information; whereas in all his Answers he vindicates himself, and endeavours rather to fasten those Impressions upon them, as appears by this conclusion of the last Conference, *That ye may know and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him.* Doth this look like correcting a dangerous mistake in the *Jews*? And is it not rather a justification of that sense, which they took his words in? And in the first Conference, *John 5.* Our Saviour is so far from doing as *St. Paul* did, that he challenges Divine Honour as due to himself, *That all Men should honour the Son as they honour the Father*, v. 23. From whence it follows, that Christ must be charged as one, who being a mere Man, did affect Divine Honour; or else, that being God as well as Man, he looked on it as justly due to him. I pray tell me what sense do your Friends the *Socinians* make of those words of *St. Paul*, *Phil. 2. 6, 7.* *Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no Reputation.* &c.

P. The sense they give, is this, that he did not make a shew or Ostentation of his own Greatness, but studiously concealed it, and therein shewed his great Humility.

Pr. But is there any Greatness like that of *Divine Honour*? and yet this he challenged to himself.

P. But he knew what the Father designed him for, and so spake those things by way of Prediction.

Pr. He knew no Creature could deserve Divine Worship, and he deliver'd that as part of his own Doctrine, and therefore those Words, where he is said, *to make himself equal with God*, must be understood of Nature, and not of Office.

P. But *St. John 17. 22*, saith, that Christ prayed to his Father, for his Disciples, *That they may be one, as we are one*; and that is not by Unity of Nature.

Pr. I grant it. But our Saviour there speaks of a true, but a lower kind of Unity; or else the *Socinians* must think every Believer as capable of Divine Honour, as Christ himself, if they take those Words strictly, *That they may be one as we are one.*

P. *St. Paul* saith, *He that planteth and he that watereth is one*, *1 Cor. 3. 8.*

Pr. Who doubts but there are other sorts of Unities, besides that of Nature? But, doth this prove that there is no Unity of Nature between the Father and the Son? If we have no better Arguments against Transubstantiation, we will give over disputing.

P. I know you have other Arguments for the Trinity, but they prove as little without the Authority of the Church; as from those places where Christ is called God, as *John* 1. 1, 2. *Rom.* 9. 5, &c.

Pr. And I think the Argument from those places, very good and strong, especially from *John* 1. 1. 2, 3. and it seems directly contrary to the whole design of Scripture to call any one God over all, Blessed for evermore, as Christ is called, *Rom.* 9. 3. but he that is God by Nature.

P. How do you prove that *John* 1. 1. relates to any thing beyond the beginning of the Gospel, and that Christ the Word, was before John the Baptist's Preaching?

Pr. I desire any one to read the Text impartially, and he will find the Socinian sense to be unnatural, forced, obscure and jejune, proving a thing of no moment at that time; but the Sense we give, to be strong, weighty, consistent, and of very great Consequence at that time, when the *Cerinthians* denied the Divinity of Christ. The Sentences are short, the Words lofty and significant, the manner of beginning unusual; so that any one would expect some great and extraordinary matter to be said in these few Verses; but what a frustration were this, if after all, they intended no more, than that altho' *John Baptist* preached in publick before Christ, yet that Christ was in being before that? Which is a Sense so mean, so remote from the occasion of his Writing, as it is deliver'd by the Ancients, that nothing but a miserable necessity could make Men of Wit and Subtilty to put such a Sense upon St. *John's* Words.

P. But they deny there was any such occasion of St. *John's* writing, as the *Cerinthians* Heresy at that time.

Pr. I know *Socinus* doth so; but he might as well have denied that there was any such Person as *Cerintbus*. And I think the *Cerintbian* Heresy not only to have been the occasion of St. *John's* Writing, but that the understanding of it, gives the greatest and truest light to the Words of the Evangelist, shewing the force and importance of them.

P. Wherein I pray, did that Heresy consist?

Pr. I shall not meddle with other parts of it, but only what relates to the present Subject; and that lay in these things.

(1.) That there was a Supreme and unknown Father, who was before the Beginning, and therefore they called him *πρωταρχον*, who was the Fountain of all Emanations. *Iren.* l. 1. c. 1. 19.

(2.) That the World was not made by him, but by a Power at a distance from him, called *Demiurgus*, *Iren.* l. 1. c. 25. And in the Egyptian School where *Cerintbus* was educated, the *Λόγος* Word, was one of the intermediate Emanations between the Father, and the *Demiurgus*, *Iren.* l. 1. c. 23.

(3.) That this World was in a state of Darkness and Confusion, as to the supreme Father of all; only some few had some beams of Light from him, by which they knew him.

(4.) That *Jesus* was a mere Man, born as other Men are, of *Joseph* and *Mary*, but of extraordinary Goodness, Wisdom, and Sanctity.

(5.) That

(5.) That the Supreme Father at his Baptism did send down a Divine Power upon him, in the shape of a Dove, which enabled him to declare the unknown Father, and to work Miracles, which returned to its own *πληρωμα*, or *Fulness* above, when *Jesus* suffer'd.

This is a short Scheme of that Heresy, as delivered by the ancient Fathers. And now let any one compare St. *John's* Words with it; and he will find his design was to countermine this Heresy by two things.

(1.) That the *Λόγος* Word, was Eternal. For the *Cerinthians* said, the *Λόγος* was not in the beginning, but made a great space of time between the eternal Being of the Father, and the Emanation of the *Λόγος*, wherein he was in perfect Silence, as *Irenæus* expresses it (l. 1. c. 1.) And so in the beginning, doth imply the Eternity of the Word. But that is not all, for he saith, *it was with God, and was God*, and was the *Demiurgus*, or the Maker of the World, and the Revealer of God to Mankind, *John* 1. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10. And so there was no place for those several Emanations between God and the *Λόγος* and *Demiurgus*, as the *Cerinthians* said.

(2.) That the *Λόγος* or Word, was Incarnate, which he affirms, v. 14. *And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, &c.* and was the only begotten Son of the Father; and so he not only cuts off the other Emanations, but declares that *Jesus* was far from being a mere Man. And to this purpose he brings in the Testimony of *John Baptist*, v. 15. and applies what he had said to the Person of *Jesus Christ*, v. 17. Now this being St. *John's* design, his Words afford a Demonstration to us of the Union of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ, when he saith, *The Word was made Flesh*.

P. But doth not the Scripture in other places imply that there is a subordination in Christ to his Father, which is not consistent with such an Equality of Nature; see *Heb.* 1. 8, 9. *1 Cor.* 8. 4, 5. — 15. 27, 28. *Rev.* 3. 12.

Pr. The first place is a proof for the Divinity of Christ; for the Words are; *But unto the Son*, he saith, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, &c.* It is true, in the next verse, it is said with respect to his Office, *Therefore God, even thy God hath anointed thee, &c.* But we do not deny that Christ was anointed as Mediator, and in that respect, God was his God; but doth this prove that he that is Mediator, cannot have a Divine Nature in Conjunction with the Human?

The second Place, I suppose, is mistaken, *1 Cor.* 8. not 4 and 5, but 6 verse, *But unto us, there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* And this is one of the strongest holds of the *Socinians*. But two Considerations will take off the seeming force of it.

1. That the Apostle in his Disputes with the *Gentile* Idolaters, concerning whom he speaks, v. 4, 5. doth utterly deny any Divinity in the Beings they worshipped instead of God, when he saith, *An Idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one.* He knew very well that they worshipped many, v. 5. *As there be Gods many, and Lords many among them; but unto us (Christians) there is but one God, and one Lord: i. e. we have but one Supreme God, to whom we give Divine Worship; and instead of the multitude of Mediators, we have but one Mediator; and so his design is in opposition to their many Gods, to assert the Unity of the Divine Nature, (not so as to exclude a distinction of Persons, but thereby to exclude other Gods as the proper Ob-*

ject of Worship) and the *Unity of a Mediator*, in opposition to their *many Lords*.

(2.) That if this place excludes Christ from the *Unity of Nature* with God, it doth exclude him from being the *Object of Divine Worship*; for it saith, *That there is no other God, but One*; therefore no Creature can be made God: *And to us there is but One God, the Father*; therefore the Son cannot be God. If therefore the name *Lord* be taken in opposition to God, then Christ cannot be God in any sense; for we must have but *One God*: but the plain meaning of the Apostle was, That by *one Lord* he meant *one Mediator*, by whom alone we have, in this new frame of things by the Gospel, access unto God the Father.

The third place, *1 Cor. 15. 27, 28.* speaks plainly of Christ's Kingdom, as Mediator.

The fourth place, *Rev. 3. 12.* where Christ speaks several times of *my God*, proves no more than his words on the Cross, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me*: For surely Christ might own a particular Relation to God, and Interest in him, as he was in human Nature, without overthrowing the Divine Nature in him.

P. But he owns, *That though he is to be our Judge, he knows not the time*, *Mark 13. 32.* Which seems inconsistent with the Divine Nature, which knoweth all things.

Pr. The Son there spoken of, was Christ, as endued with a human Soul, when he was upon earth; which could not understand a secret so much out of the reach of man's understanding, without immediate Revelation. But it was not necessary by virtue of the Union of both Natures, that the Divine Nature should communicate to the human Soul of Christ all Divine Mysteries: but as the human Body was notwithstanding subject to Passions and Infirmities incident to it, so the human Soul might continue ignorant of the Day of Judgment in this state; both to let us know how great that secret is, and that Christ had the proper capacity of a human Soul, which could not extend to such things without Divine Revelation.

P. There is one Argument more, which seems to prove Christ's Divinity, and doth not; viz. *The making of all things visible and invisible, being attributed to him*, *John 1. 3. Heb. 1. 10. Col. 1. 16, 17, 18, 19.*

Pr. Now I confess this doth more than seem to me to be a very strong Argument; and that for this Reason, the Apostle saith, *The invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made, even his Eternal Power and Godhead*, *Rom. 1. 20.* Was this Argument of the Apostle good or not?

P. No doubt it was.

Pr. Then the Creation of the World is an Invincible Proof of the true God.

P. What follows?

Pr. Then if *the making of all things* be attributed to Christ, he must be true God; but this is plain in the New Testament, in which the making of all things is as clearly attributed to the Son, as it is to the Father; *All things* saith St. John, *were by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made*, *John 1. 3.* For by him were all things created, saith St. Paul, *that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him, and for him*, *Col. 1. 16.* Thou,
Lord,

Lord, *in the beginning hast laid the Foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands*, Heb. 1. 10. Now compare these expressions with those wherein the Creation is attributed to the Father, *The world is said to be made by him*, Rom. 1. 20. *That he hath created all things*, Rev. 4. 11. *That of him, and for him, and to him, are all things*, Rom. 11. 36. And let any impartial mind discern the difference. Therefore we have as much Reason from Scripture to believe Christ to be God, as we have from the Creation of things to believe a God.

P. But you do not take notice of the different expressions in Scripture, concerning the Father and the Son; *All things are said to be of the Father, and by the Son*, 1 Cor. 8. 6. *And that the Father created all things by Jesus Christ*, Eph. 3. 9. which proves no more, than that the Son was God's Instrument in the Creation.

Pr. What do you mean by *God's Instrument in the Creation*? Do you think one Creature can create another? How then can the Creation prove an Infinite Power? If you believe the Instrument uncreated, then you must assert him to be *true God by Nature*; and then we have all we desire.

P. But the Socinians do not like this Answer of the Arians, and therefore they interpret these places, of the state of things *under the Gospel*, and not of the *Creation of the World*.

Pr. They have not one jot mended the matter; for,

(1.) Where the new Creation is spoken of, some circumstances are added, which limit the sense to it, as when St. Paul saith, *We are created in Christ Jesus unto good works that we should walk in them*, Eph. 2. 10. Who could possibly understand this of the old Creation? And so, *If any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new Creature*, 2 Cor. 5. 17. But in the other places the same Expressions are used, which are attributed to the old Creation, without limitation from circumstances, or from the Context and occasion of them.

(2.) There are some things said to be created by *Christ Jesus*, which cannot relate to the new Creation; for *by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities or Powers*, Col. 1. 16. How are these created by Preaching the Gospel, when they are incapable of the proper means of it, which are the Doctrine of the remission of Sins upon Repentance, and the Renewing and Sanctifying Grace of God?

P. But St. Paul doth not mention *the Heaven and Earth*, but only intellectual Beings, Angels, and Men, and therefore he speaks of the new Creation.

Pr. A mighty Argument indeed! Do not *all things* comprehend the Heaven and Earth? And the particular enumeration of Angels by several denominations, shews that he speaks of another Creation distinct from that by the Gospel preached to the World; for the Apostles were Christ's Instruments in this new Creation, which they could not be to the Invisible Powers above.

P. We have now gone through *the true and only Grounds of the Doctrine of the Trinity*.

Pr. You are extremely mistaken. For we have other grounds besides these, although these may be sufficient.

P. Name one more.

Pr. I will name several, which you cannot disallow.

P. What are they?

D. Th.

Pr. The several Heads of Arguments made use of by Cardinal *Bellarmin*, to prove the Divinity of Christ: Who alone is a convincing Evidence of the vast disparity between the Proofs of this Doctrine, and of *Transubstantiation* from Scripture. For,

Bell. de
Christo.
l. i. c. 4.
c. 19.

1. He proves Christ's Divinity from those places of the Old Testament, which are expounded in the New; being in the Old Testament, spoken of the true God; and in the New applied to Christ. As *Numb.* 21. 5, 6. compared with *1 Cor.* 10. 9. *Exod.* 20. 2. with *Jude* 5. *Psal.* 68. 18. with *Eph.* 4. 8, 9. *Psal.* 97. 7. and 102. 25, 26. with *Heb.* 1. 6, 10, 11. *Isa.* 6. 1, 3. with *John* 12. 41. and *Revel.* 4. 8. *Isa.* 8. 14. with *Luke* 2. 34. and *Rom.* 9. 33. *Isa.* 40. 3. with *Mat.* 3. 3. *Mark* 1. 3. *Luke* 1. 76. *John* 1. 23. — *Isa.* 45. 23. with *Rom.* 14. 11. — *Isa.* 44. 6. with *Revel.* 1. 8, 17. *Mal.* 3. 1. with *Mat.* 11. 10.

2. From the Places of the Old Testament, which attribute to Christ those things which belong to God; as *Power and Adoration*, *Psal.* 2. 7, 8, 12. *Being the first and last*, *Isa.* 48. 1. 12, 16. *Working Miracles*, *Isa.* 35. 5. *Being the God of Israel*, *Isa.* 52. 5, 6. *The only God*, *Isa.* 45. 5, 6. *The Lord of Hosts*, *Zach.* 2. 8, 9, 10, 11. *Jehovah*, *Zach.* 3. 2. *Pouring out of the Spirit*, *Zach.* 12. 10.

3. From the Places of the New Testament, which attribute Divinity to Christ. As when he is called, *the Son of the Living God*, *Mat.* 16. 16. *The only begotten Son of God*, *John* 3. 16. *His own Son*, *Rom.* 8. 32. *His true Son*, *1 John* 5. 20. *His dear Son*, *Col.* 1. 13. *His Son above all others*, *Heb.* 1. 5. *The express Image of his Person*, *Heb.* 1. 3. *Making himself equal with God*, *John* 5. 18. *Being one with the Father*, *John* 10. 30. *Lord and God*, *John* 20. 28. *God blessed for ever*, *Rom.* 9. 5. *Who thought it no robbery to be equal with God*, *Phil.* 2. 6. *One with the Father and Spirit*, *1 John* 5. 7. *The true God*, *1 John* 5. 20.

4. From the proper Names of God, *Isa.* 9. 6. *John* 20. 28. *Acts* 20. 28. *Rom.* 9. 5. *Revel.* 4. 8. *1 John* 3. 16. The name *Jehovah*, *Jer.* 23. 5. 8. *Isa.* 40. 3. *The Lord*, by which the LXX render *Jehovah*, *Mat.* 21. 3. *John* 13. 13. *The most High*, *Psal.* 87. 5. *A Name above every Name*, *Phil.* 2. 9. *The Invisible One*, *1 Tim.* 1. 17, and 6. 16. *The God of Glory*, *Acts* 7. 2. *1 Cor.* 2. 8. *Psal.* 24. 7, 8, 9. *King of Kings and Lord of Lords*, *1 Tim.* 6. 15. *Revel.* 17. 14. and 19. 16. *The one Lord*, *1 Cor.* 8. 6. *The true God*, *John* 5. 20. *The only Lord*, *Jude* 4. *The great God and our Saviour*, *Titus* 2. 13.

5. From the proper Attributes of God; as *Eternity*, *Prov.* 8. 22, 23. *Mic.* 5. 2. *John* 1. 1. — 17. 5. *Immensity*, *John* 3. 13. *Mat.* 18. 20. *Omnipotency*, *Rev.* 1. 8. — 4. 8. — 11, 17. *Wisdom*, *Colos.* 2. 3. *John* 21. 17. *Majesty and Adoration*, *Heb.* 1. 6. *Mal.* 3. 1. *Invocation*, *John* 14. 13. *Acts* 7. 59. and 9. 14. *2 Cor.* 12. 8. *1 Cor.* 1. 3. *2 John* 3.

6. From the proper Works of God: as not only *Creation*, (of which already) but *Conservation*, *Heb.* 1. 3. *Colos.* 1. 17. *Salvation*, *Matth.* 1. 21. *Foretelling future Events*, *John* 13. 19. *1 Pet.* 1. 11. *Rev.* 2. 23. *Working Miracles by his own Power*, *Mark* 4. 39. and giving Power to others to work them, *Mat.* 10. 1.

What think you now of the Proofs of the Trinity in Scripture? Do you think *Bellarmin* could produce any thing like this for *Transubstantiation*? No; so far from it, that where he sets himself in a whole Chapter to prove it from Scripture, he produces a *First* without a *Second*. The *first Argument*, saith he, is taken from Christ's Words, *This is my Body*. Very well! but where is the *Second*? For no more could be produced, but

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but this one single Passage, about which he spends his whole Chapter, and then betakes himself presently to the *Fathers*.

P. But one plain and clear place is sufficient, if we be certain of the sense of that one; for we are as much bound to believe God when we are sure he speaks it once, as an hundred times.

Pr. We have been all this while comparing these two Doctrines as to *Scripture*, and now you see the disproportion so very great, as to number and variety, you say, *one is as good as an hundred*; but that one had need to be wonderfully clear, which this is very far from, since many of your own Writers do confess Transubstantiation cannot be drawn from it; as *Bellarmin* himself owns, and he affirms it *not to be improbable*, C. 23. *that no place of Scripture is so clear and express for Transubstantiation, but learned and acute Men may doubt whether it can be drawn from it, setting aside the Church's Declaration.* But neither *Bellarmin*, nor any one who attends to the force of the former Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, can say, that any reasonable Man can doubt of it; and that he must at last resolve all into the Church's Authority.

P. Have not learned and acute Men doubted as well of the Divinity of Christ, as of Transubstantiation? And therefore in that respect they are both alike.

Pr. We do not insist upon Men's bare doubting, but on the Reason of their doubting. And when but one single Place is produced, which is yielded not to be sufficient of it self to prove the Doctrine; there is much more cause of doubting, than where such multitudes of Places are produced; and no doubt is made by those who favour Transubstantiation, but that they do fully prove the Divinity of Christ.

P. It seems then we must come to Reason at last. And for my part, I must tell you, *I think that Parallel much the easiest.* For, *that three distinct Persons should be in one individual Nature, and that the most pure and simple Being, seems to me to be more absurd than Transubstantiation.*

Pr. Let us set aside the comparing Absurdities at present, and only examine in point of Reason, the great Absurdity of *three Persons being in one Individual Divine Nature.*

P. I did hardly believe you would have the courage to defend the Doctrine of the Trinity in point of Reason; but I see you are a bold Man, and will venture farther than wiser Men.

Pr. It may be others have not had the leisure or curiosity to examine a Mystery believed to be so much out of the reach of our Understanding; or have confounded themselves and others so much with *School-terms*, as to leave the matter rather more obscure than it was before. But I shall endeavour to make things as clear as they will bear. And that which I insist upon is, that the Absurdities are not to appearance so great as those of Transubstantiation. And therefore I desire you to produce those which appear the most dreadful.

P. I shall reduce all to these two, which comprehend the rest.

1. *How there can be three Persons and but one God.*
2. *How these can agree in a third, and not agree among themselves.*

For the first, it seems very absurd, that there should be three Persons really distinct, whereof every one is God, and yet there should not be three Gods; for nothing is more contradictory than to make three not to be three, or three to be but one.

Pr. I hope now you will give me leave to make an Answer to your Difficulty as distinct as possible. We do not say that three Persons are

but

but one Person, or that one Nature is three Natures; but that there are three Persons in one Nature. If therefore one individual Nature be communicable to three Persons, there is no appearance of absurdity in this Doctrine. And on the other side, it will be impossible there should be three Gods, where there is one and the same individual Nature; for three Gods must have three several Divine Natures, since it is the Divine Essence which makes a God. But to make this more plain, Do you make any difference between *Nature* and *Person*?

P. Yes,

Pr. Wherein lies it?

P. Excuse me, Sir, for you have undertaken to explain these things.

Pr. I will begin with *Person*. Which Name was originally taken among the *Romans* from some remarkable distinction of one from another, either by some outward appearance, as a Vizard or Habit, or some particular Quality or Disposition. And from hence it came to be applied to those inward Properties, whereby one intelligent Being is distinguished from another; and from those Properties, to the Person who had them. Thus *Person* is used even by *Tully* himself, at least twenty times in his Books of Rhetorick: and the old Civil Law speaks of *Personal Rights*, and *Personal Actions*. So that the Criticks, such as *Valla*, and others, had no cause to find fault with *Boëthius*, for applying the Notion of a *Person*, to an intelligent Being subsisting by it self, (and so the Soul is no Person in Men, but the Man consisting of Soul and Body) having some incommunicable Properties belonging to him. Therefore I cannot but wonder at the niceness of some late Men, who would have the Names of *Person*, and *Hypostasis*, and *Trinity*, to be laid aside, since themselves confess *Boëthius* his definition of a Person to be true enough; but they say, it belongs to the Creatures, and not to God, for it would make three Gods. Which is to suppose, without proving it, that the Divine Nature can communicate it self after no other manner than a created Nature can.

This is now to be more strictly enquired into. And it is very well observed by *Boëthius*, *de Trin. l. 1. Principium pluralitatis alteritas est: That Diversity is the reason of Plurality*: And therefore in the Trinity, so far as they are different, they are Three, *i. e.* in regard of *Personal Properties and Relations*; but so far as they agree, they are but ONE, that is, as to the Divine Nature.

It is very true, that according to Arithmetick, *Three cannot be One, nor One Three*; but we must distinguish between the bare Numeration, and the Things numbred. The repetition of *three Unites*, certainly make three distinct Numbers; but it doth not make *three Persons* to be *three Natures*. And therefore as to the Things themselves, we must go from the bare Numbers, to consider their Nature. Where-ever there is a real distinction, we may multiply the Number, tho' the Subject be but One. As, suppose we say the Soul hath three Faculties, Understanding, Will and Memory; we may, without the least absurdity say, *there are Three and One*; and those Three not confounded with each other, and yet there is but One Soul.

P. But the *Socinians* object, that there is a difference between *three Properties*, and *three distinct Persons*; because a *Person* is an individual Being; and so three Persons must be three individual Beings; and therefore as there is but one Divine Being, there can be but one Person.

Pr. This

Pr. This is the main strength of the Cause; to which I answer, That altho' a *Person* be an individual Being, yet it implies two Things in it: (1.) Something common with others of the same Nature; as three Men have one and the same Nature, tho' they be three Persons. (2.) Something peculiar and incommunicate to any other; so that *John* cannot be *Peter*, nor *Peter*, *James*.

P. But what is it which makes one not to be the other, when they have the same common Nature?

Pr. You ask a hard Question, *viz.* about the *Principle of Individuation*; but if it be so hard to resolve it, as to created Beings, there is certainly far less reason for us to be unsatisfied, if it appear difficult to clear the difference of *Nature* and *Person* in an infinite Being. Yet all Mankind are agreed in the Thing, *viz.* That there is a Community of the same Nature, and a real distinction of Persons among men, though they cannot tell what that is which discriminates the Humane Nature in *John*, from the same Humane Nature in *Peter* and *James*. And it is observable, that as Beings arise in perfection above each other, it is still so much harder to assign that which is called the *Principle of Individuation*. In gross and material Beings we can discern a number of Accidents, or peculiar Modes and Properties, which distinguish them from each other; but it is much harder to assign it in spiritual and intellectual Beings, whose Natures and Differences lie not so open to our Understandings. If so be then it appears more difficult in an infinite and incomprehensible Being, what cause have we to wonder at it.

But we must always make a difference between what we have reason to believe, and what we have a power to conceive. Altho' we have all the reason in the world to believe that there is a God, *i. e.* a Being infinite in all Perfections; yet we must yield that his essential Attributes are above our comprehension. As for Instance:

(1.) We must believe God to be *Eternal*, or we cannot believe him to be God; for if he once were not, it is impossible he should ever be; and therefore we conclude necessary Existence to be an essential Attribute of the Divine Nature: But then, how to conceive that a Being should be from it self, is at least as hard, as how one and the same individual Nature should be communicated to three distinct Persons; nay, it is somewhat harder, since we see something like this in other Beings; but we can see no manner of resemblance of a thing that hath its Being wholly from it self.

(2.) We must allow God to be *Omnipresent*, or else we must suppose him so confined and limited to a certain place, as to be excluded from any other; and if he can act in all places, he must either be present in them, or his Power must be larger than his Being, which is infinite; but after this, we have not a power to conceive how a Being should be present in the whole World, and not to be extended; and if it be extended, how it should be incapable of being divided into parts, which is certainly repugnant to the Divine Nature. I therefore produce these two Instances, to let the *Antitrinitarians* see, that what they object in Point of Reason, as to the Incomprehensibility of the Mystery of the Trinity, will in consequence overthrow the Divine Nature. But as there is the highest Reason to believe there is a God, though we cannot comprehend his Perfections, so there may be great Reason to believe the Doctrine of the Trinity, tho' we cannot comprehend the manner of it.

P. I had thought you intended to explain the Mystery of it, and now you tell us it is *Incomprehensible*.

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Pr. It

Pr. It is a good step to our believing it, to make it plain, that the difficulty of our conception ought not to hinder our Faith. And I have made some advance towards the explication of it, by shewing, that since Mankind are agreed about the difference between *Nature* and *Person*, the whole difficulty comes to this, that the same common Nature in Mankind makes three Persons; but that it is the same individual Nature in all the Persons of the Trinity.

And now let us consider the infinite Perfection and Simplicity of the Divine Nature; and we shall think it unreasonable that it should be so bounded as to the manner of its communication, as the Nature of Man is. Every individual Man hath not only individual Properties, but an individual Nature, *i. e.* the common Nature of Man, limited by some unaccountable Principle, that doth make him different from all other Men having the same Nature with himself. The difficulty then doth not lie in a *Community* of Nature, and a *Distinction* of Persons, for that is granted among Men, but in the *Unity* of Nature with the difference of Persons. And supposing the Divine Nature to be infinite in its Perfection, I do not see how it is capable of being bounded, as the common Nature of Man in Individuals is; and if it be not capable of being bounded and limited, it must diffuse it self into all the Persons in the same individual manner; and so this Doctrine of the Trinity is not repugnant to Reason.

P. But what say you to the *Athanasian Creed*; is not that repugnant to humane Reason?

Pr. I think not; but that it is a just Explication of the Doctrine of the Trinity rightly understood.

P. I see now you are upon hard Points, you will stick at nothing, and *Transubstantiation* it self will down with you anon.

Pr. I doubt that; but at present we are upon the *Athanasian Creed*. And I desire but one Principle to clear it, which follows from what is said already, *viz.* That what is affirmed of the Divine Nature, as such, must be common to all three Persons; but whatever is affirmed of the several Persons, as such, must be peculiar to themselves. Now this is a clear Principle of Reason, and hath no appearance of absurdity in it. And from hence the *Athanasian Creed* will easily be cleared. For *Eternity*, *Incomprehensibility*, *Omnipotency*, belonging to the Divine Nature, as such, we ought to say, *That they are not Three Eternals, Three Incomprehensibles, Three Almightyes, but One Eternal, One Incomprehensible, One Almighty.* Because the Attributes belonging to the Persons, by reason of the Divine Nature, and the Attributes being really the same with it, the Nature is the proper Subject of them, which being but One, we are not to distinguish them as to *Essential Attributes*, but only as to *Personal Relations* and *Properties*.

P. But if the Three Persons be *Coeternal*, how is it possible to conceive there should not be *Three Eternals*?

Pr. This seems the hardest Expression in the whole Creed; but it is to be interpreted by the scope and design of it, which is, that the *Essential Attributes* are not to be distinguished, though the Persons be. And so *Eternity* is not taken as a *Personal Attribute*, but as *Essential*; and so they are not *three Eternals*, but *one Eternal*. And the great design of the Creed was, to shew, that the Christian Church did not believe such a Trinity as consisted of *three Persons, unequal and different in Nature, and Substance, and Duration.*

P. But what say you to the damning all those who do not believe it, in the beginning and end of it?

Pr. This is off from our business. But to let you see I will not avoid the difficulties you offer, I will give you an answer even to this. The meaning is not, that every one is damned who doth not conceive aright of the difference of Nature and Person in the Trinity, or of the Essential and Personal Attributes; but that those who set up in opposition to it the worship of a mere Creature as God, or the worship of more Gods than one, or who wilfully reject this Article of the Christian Faith, when it is duly proposed to them, are guilty of a damning Sin. For even the disbelief of Christianity it self, is not supposed to be the cause of Mens Damnation, but where the Doctrine of the Gospel hath been proposed in a way of credibility. If when this Doctrine of the *Trinity* is proposed to Mens Minds, they will not consider it, nor weigh the Arguments on both sides impartially, but with scorn and contempt reject it, and endeavour to bring reproach upon Christianity for the sake of it, and disturb the peace of the Church about it; such cannot be said to receive or believe it faithfully, and by such Sins they do run the hazard of perishing everlastingly.

P. I see you have a mind to smooth every thing relating to the *Trinity*, I wish you would do the same about *Transubstantiation*. But yet you have not answer'd the other great difficulty in point of Reason, *viz.* That those things which agree or disagree in a third, must agree or disagree one with the other. And therefore if the Father be God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, then the Father must be Son and Holy Ghost, and the Son and Holy Ghost must be the Father. If not, then they are really the same, and really distinct; the same as to Essence, distinct as to Persons; and so they are the same, and not the same, which is a Contradiction.

Pr. And now I think you have drawn out the most refined Spirits of *Socinianism*, to make the Doctrine of the *Trinity* and *Transubstantiation* parallel, because you say, it implies a Contradiction, which is the nearest Parallel you have yet offered at. But this terrible Argument is grounded on the same Supposition, *viz.* That the Divine Essence is no more capable of communicating it self to three distinct Persons, than any created Being is. The Reason of that Axiom being, that created Things, by reason of their finite Nature, cannot diffuse or communicate themselves to more than one; and therefore those which agree in a Third, must agree together; but supposing it possible that the same finite Nature could extend it self to several Individuals, it would be presently answered, the *Axiom* did hold only, where they did adequately and reciprocally agree, and not where they did agree only in Essence, but differ'd in the manner of Subsistence. For where a different manner of Subsistence is supposed possible, in the same individual Nature, the agreement in that cannot take away that difference which is consistent with it, which we attribute to the unlimitedness and perfection of the Divine Nature.

P. But you can bring no other Instance but the thing in question; and therefore this is a *Petitio Principii*, or taking that for granted which is in dispute.

Pr. I do not think it to be so, where the Reason is assigned from the peculiar Properties of the Divine Nature, to which there can be no parallel. And I think it very unreasonable in the *Socinians*, to send us to created Beings for the Rules and Measures of our Judgment concerning a Being acknowledged to be Infinite.

P. Are not the Divine Persons Infinite, as well as the Divine Nature? and therefore as created Persons do take in the whole Nature, so infinite Persons will do the infinite Nature.

Pr. No question, but the *Persons* are infinite in regard of the *Nature* which is so; but if an infinite Nature be communicable to more Persons than One, every such Person cannot appropriate the whole Nature to it self.

P. If the difference be on the account of Infinity, then there must be an infinite number of Persons in the Divine Essence.

Pr. I answer, That Infiniteness of number is no Perfection; and as to the number of Persons, we follow not our own Conjectures, nor the Authority of the Church; but *Divine Revelation*, which hath assured us, that there is but *one God*, and yet *there are three that are one*; which depends not merely on the place of *St. John*, but the Form of Baptism is remarkable to this purpose, which joins together *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, without any other distinction besides that of Order and Relation. And it is against the fundamental design of Christianity, to join any created Beings together with God in so solemn an Act of Religion. And *St. Paul* joyns them together in his Benediction: *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen. 2 Cor. 12. 14.* From whence the Christian Church hath always believed a *Trinity* of *Persons* in the *Unity* of the *Divine Nature*.

P. You have taken a great deal of pains to clear the Doctrine of the *Trinity* from any absurdity in point of *Reason*, why should you not do as much now as to *Transubstantiation*?

P. In plain truth, because I cannot; for here lies a vast difference between them. In the *Trinity* we considered an *Infinite Being*, to which no bounds can be set without destroying its Nature; but in *Transubstantiation*, we suppose a true finite Body, which hath its natural bounds and limits to one certain Place, and yet you will and must suppose this Body to be equally present in many thousand distant Places at the same time; which implies so great a Repugnancy to the very Nature of a Body, that I can by no means give my Assent to it.

P. Alas! Is this it which chokes your Reason, so that you cannot swallow the Doctrine of the Church in this matter?

You do not consider, that tho' we allow nothing *Infinite* in the *Body* it self; yet we suppose an *Infinite Power* to be employ'd about it: and an *Infinite Power* may produce things above our Comprehensions, about Bodies in themselves finite.

Pr. This is the utmost your Cause will bear; but I pray tell me, Is there any such thing as a Repugnancy in the Nature of things or not? *i. e.* Are there not some things which are endued with such Properties, that if you alter them, you destroy their very Nature; as, to suppose an indivisible Line, a Triangle without Lines, a Body without Dimensions?

P. Hold a little; a Body must have Dimensions belonging to it, but it is not necessary it should have those Dimensions where-ever it is present. For it may be present in one Place *as a Body*, and in another *after the manner of a Spirit*.

Pr. You might as well have said, a Body may be consider'd two ways; as it is a Body, and as it is not a Body: for there can be no Body, where there are no Dimensions proper to it.

P. See

P. See how you are mistaken; for it is not the Dimensions which seem to hinder a Body being in more places at once, but its Unity; as Bellarmin well observes.

Pr. I say both of them hinder. For a true Body can no more be without its Dimensions, than a Line without Divisibility.

P. I grant, that naturally it cannot, but by Divine Power it may.

Pr. Will you make the Power of God to change the Essential Properties of things, while the things themselves remain in their true Nature? You may as well say, that naturally Man is a Reasonable Creature; but by Divine Power he may be a true Man, and yet want the Faculty of Reasoning: That naturally two and two make four, but God can make two and two to be joyned together in a supernatural manner, so as that four shall not result from them; that tho', naturally speaking, white-washing a Wall makes it look white, yet by an extraordinary Power, there may be the presence of all things which make a Wall white, yet it shall not do so; just so it is to make a Body present, and yet to have no Dimensions of a Body. Is there any real difference between the Nature of a Body and Spirit? Wherein lies it? Is it not as repugnant for a Body to be after the manner of a Spirit, as for a Body and Spirit to be the same?

P. All this proceeds upon not considering the difference between the Essential Extension of a Body, and that which is quantitative, and hath relation to Place.

Pr. The Essential Extension of a Body without Quantity, is Non-sense, and a Contradiction. For it is to make a Body extended and not extended, at the same time. I pray tell me what you mean by a Body, as it is opposed to a Spirit?

P. I mean as all Mankind do, such a Substance which consists of Parts extended and divisible.

Pr. Then being extended and divisible, are the natural and essential Properties of a Body. And therefore, to suppose a Body not to be extended and divisible, is to suppose it not to be a Body, which is a plain Contradiction.

P. You are to distinguish between the Intrinsic Quantity, which is an inseparable Property of a Body, and the Extrinsic Relation it hath to a Place.

Pr. Intrinsic Quantity without Relation to Place, is intrinsic Non-sense. For, how is it possible for extended Parts to have no Relation to Place?

P. By Relation to Place, I mean, when the Parts of a Body answer to the Parts of a Place: but by Intrinsic Quantity, I mean, that there is the real order and proportion of Parts in the Body it self, but it doth not fill up the Place.

Pr. Then you do suppose the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, to have all the distinct Parts of a Body, with their due Order and Proportion, but to be in the Sacrament after an indivisible manner.

P. Why not?

Pr. Do you think it possible for the real and entire Body of a Man to be crouded into the compass of a Wafer, with all the difference of its Parts, so that no true Part of the Body be missing?

P. Yes, by Divine Power.

Pr. Do

Pr. Do you think a far less thing possible than that, *viz.* that a Man's Head and Shoulders, and Arms, should be contained entire and distinct under the Nail of his little Finger?

P. Why not?

Pr. Then why may not the greatest Body be within the least? Why may not an Elephant be caught in a Mouse-trap, and a Rhinoceros be put into a Snuff-box? For either there is a Repugnancy in the Nature of the thing, for a greater Body to be within a less, or there is not; if not, then these mentioned Instances are possible; if there be, then the supposition of Divine Power can give no relief, unless you suppose, that God can do things repugnant in themselves, *i. e.* that he can do things which cannot be done. But I pray tell me, if the very Body of Christ be by *Transubstantiation* in the Wafer, with all its Parts in their due order, then the Head must be distant from the Feet, and all the other *Organs* in their proper places; but this cannot possibly be supposed, where there is no measure of distance as *Place* is, and the whole Body is in a point.

P. I say again, there is the just order of Parts considered *in themselves*, but not *with respect to Place*.

Pr. Then it is impossible there should be any distance; without which it is impossible there should be the order of Parts in a Human Body. Thus, there is a Repugnancy in the very supposition of Christ's Body being in the Wafer, tho' there were but one single Wafer; but when to this we add, that it is equally thus present in thousands of Wafers at what distance of Place soever, the Absurdities do increase and multiply so fast upon us, that it is hardly possible to imagin any thing concerning a Body, which doth imply more than this doth. As that *one* and the same Body should be indivisibly present in many places, where it must be divided from it self, by so many Bodies interposing: so that it is impossible to apprehend how two Bodies can be divided from one another more effectually, than such a Body must be from it self, if it be present in many places at once.

P. I pray stop here; for reckon up as many Absurdities as you will, they are all but the Effects of *Carnal Reason*, and we must *captivate our Understanding to the Obedience of Faith*.

Pr. Then it is to no purpose to argue any farther, on the point of *Reason*; and I thought you designed this for one part of your *Parallel*.

P. So I did; and I still say, there are things as hard to make out about the *Trinity*, which you have not yet taken notice of.

Pr. I pray let us hear them, that we may put an end to this Discourse.

P. What say you then to one and the same Nature being in three distinct Persons, which *Bellarmin* saith, is *more wonderful, than that one Body should be in many Places; because the Nature is identified with the Persons, but the Body is not so with the Places in which it is present*. If therefore the same Nature be not divided from it self in the Persons of the *Trinity*, How much more easily may one Body be present in several places, and not be divided from it self?

Pr. It is strange neither *Bellarmin* nor you should discern the difference. For the reason why a Body must be divided from it self, being in several places, is, because it is finite; and there being no Penetration of Dimensions in Bodies, the interposing of other Bodies must needs divide

divide the same Body in distant places ; but the Reason why the same Divine Nature may be in several Persons, is, because it is Infinite ; and therefore nothing can bound or discontinue it.

P. You have talked much of Contradictions ; Is there any greater about Transubstantiation, than that of *Eternal Generation* of the Son in the *Mystery* of the *Trinity* ? for, if it be not *proper Generation*, then you cannot infer from it, that *the Son is of the same Substance with the Father* ; if it be, then it must be a proceeding from not being to being, and so an *Eternal Generation* is a Contradiction.

Pr. It is a Rule in common Reason, That all Attributes must be understood according to the Nature of the Subjects. And therefore, if the Subject here spoken of be of such a Nature, as to be incapable of proceeding from *not being to being*, then whatever is affirmed of it, must be so understood, as not to destroy its Nature. The Term of *Generation* alone is not, it may be, sufficient to prove the Son Co-essential with the Father, because it might have been used improperly and metaphorically. But when from the Scripture, it otherwise appears that the Son of God being *the Word, was in the beginning with God, and was God*, John i. 1. and we soon after find him called *the only begotten of the Father*, Ver. 14. and *the only begotten Son*, Ver. 18. we have reason to infer from hence his *Eternal Generation*. Which must not be understood in such a mean sense as is agreeable to Creatures, but as it is consistent with the Essential Attributes of God, of which necessary Existence is one. So that by *Eternal Generation*, no more can be meant, than such an Emanation of the Son from the Father, as doth suppose them to have the same Nature and Co-existence : which is best represented by the Rays of the Sun coming from the Fountain of Light, if they were permanent, and not successive.

P. What say you then to the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation* ? Is it not more wonderful, as Bellarmine observes, that there should be one *Hypostasis* in two Natures, than one Body in two Places ? since the Union is greater between the *Hypostasis* and the Natures, than between the Body and the Places it is in ; the one being intrinsecal and substantial, the other extrinsecal and accidental. And that *Hypostasis* is the same with the Divine Nature, and yet is most closely united with the Human Nature, which is so different from the Divine ; so that it is incomprehensible by us, how in that Union the Natures are not confounded, or the *Hypostasis* divided.

Pr. Suppose now we grant all this, that there is an incomprehensible *Mystery* in the *Incarnation*, what follows from thence ? Have I not hitherto owned, that there must be something incomprehensible by us, in what relates to the Divine Nature ? And it is the less wonder it is so in the *Incarnation*, wherein an Union is implied between an Infinite and Finite Nature ; when the Union of the Soul and Body, though both Finite, is above our Comprehension, though we our selves consist of Souls and Bodies so united ? But what Consequence is it, if we are not able to explain this, that then we must admit that the same Body may be not merely in two, but in ten thousand places at the same time ? i. e. If we cannot explain the *Hypostatical Union*, then all manner of Absurdities must go down with us, that relate to things of a very different Nature from it.

P. I am glad to find you are set at last, and that now you have a Difficulty before you which you can never get through.

Pr. Be not too confident; I have only hitherto denied the Consequence as to the Difficulties of *Transubstantiation*. But it is possible, that setting aside the Confusion of *School-Terms*, I may be able to give a far more intelligible and reasonable Account of the *Incarnation* it self, than you can ever do of *Transubstantiation*.

P. First shew that it is possible, and then explain the manner of it.

Pr. But let us in the first place agree what we mean by it.

P. By the *Incarnation*, I mean, the Union of the Divine and Humane Nature, so as to make one Person in Christ.

Pr. If this be not possible, it must either be, 1. Because two Natures different from each other, cannot be united to make one Person: The contrary whereof appears in the Union of Soul and Body to the Person of a Man. Or, 2. Because it is impossible that an Infinite Nature should be united to a Finite.

P. How can there be an Union possible, between two Beings infinitely distant from each other?

Pr. Not in that respect wherein the *Distance* is *Infinite*; but if there be nothing destructive to either Nature in such an Union, and the Infinite Nature do condescend to it, why may it not be so united to an Intelligent Finite Being, as to make one Person together with it? For in respect of Union, the *Distance* is not so great between *Finite* and *Infinite*, as between *Body* and *Spirit*.

P. The *Distance* is *Infinite* in one Case, but not in the other.

Pr. I do not speak of them, with respect to *Perfections*, but to *Union*; and an infinite *Distance* in that must imply an absolute Repugnancy, which you can never prove: For, since *Body* and *Spirit* may be united to make one Person, an Infinite Spirit may be united to a Finite Nature.

P. But the manner of the *Hypostatical Union* is impossible to be conceived.

Pr. Let the thing be granted possible, and the difficulty of conceiving the manner may be as great in the Union of Soul and Body. Will you undertake to explain that to me? and yet I hope you believe it. But, let us hear your Difficulties again, which you object from *Bellarmino*.

P. That there should be but one *Hypostasis* in two Natures; and that in the Union the Natures should not be confounded, nor the *Hypostasis* divided.

Pr. All these Difficulties arise from the sense of the word *Hypostasis*. Which originally signifies a *Real Being*, and not such which depends only on Fancy and Imagination; from thence its signification was enlarged, not only to *things real*, (in opposition to mere Appearances, and Creatures of the Mind) but to such a thing which did *subsist of it self*, and had not its subsistence in another, as Accidents had. So that an *Hypostasis* was a *real Substance which had subsistence in it self*. But such are of two kinds, as the Greek Fathers observe. (1.) Such as are real Substances in themselves, but yet are capable of being joined with another, to make up a Person; thus the *Soul* and *Body* have two different *Hypostases*, and make up but

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one Person of a Man. (2.) It is taken, for a compleat individual Subsistence, which is not joined with any other as a Part; and so Hypostasis is the same with a Person, which is nothing else but a compleat, intelligent, individual Hypostasis. And in this sense there can be but one Hypostasis in Christ, i. e. one Person, tho' there be two Natures.

P. But our Divines say, that the Human Nature after the Union hath no Hypostasis, it being swallowed up by the Divine.

Pr. I know they do; but if they mean that the Humane Nature, after the Union, loses that subsistence which is proper to the Humane Nature, it is impossible for them to avoid the Eutychian Heresy, condemned by the Council of Chalcedon; but if they mean no more than that there is a true Nature, but no Person, save only that which results from both Natures; they then agree with the Sense of the Church, which condemned the Eutychians. For as much as the Heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches differ'd in themselves, they were both built on the same Ground, viz. that there could be no true Nature, but there must be a Person; and that two Natures could not make one Person. From whence Nestorius asserted there were two Persons in Christ; and Eutyches denied that there were two Natures.

P. What doth all this signify, but that the Authority of the Church must determine whether there be two Natures, or two Persons in Christ?

Pr. It seems then, the whole Business wherein the General Councils were so warmly concerned, was only to make an Ecclesiastical Dictionary, and to appoint what words are to be used, and what not. Do you think then, there were no such real Heresies as Nestorianism and Eutychianism, but only they happened to take the words Nature and Person in another sense than the Church would have Men use them?

P. I trust the Church for all these things.

Pr. Then if the Church would have you affirm two Persons and one Nature, or two Natures and one Person, it were all one to you.

P. Why not? since the Church must determine.

Pr. What if you had been to dispute with Nestorius and Eutyches?

P. I would have told them, they must submit to the Church about the use of words.

Pr. And they would have laughed at you for your pains: For the Controversy was really about the Truth of Christ's Incarnation, (as the Fathers proved, and the Councils determined) which in Consequence was rejected by both of them; as I will evidently prove, if you have any longer Patience.

P. I beg your pardon, Sir, I have heard enough of all Conscience already.

Pr. I think so too, to make you ashamed of your Parallel between the Doctrine of the Trinity, and Transubstantiation.

And methinks, for the sake of our common Christianity, you should no more venture upon such bold and unreasonable Comparisons. Do you in earnest think, it is all one, whether Men do be-

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lieve a God, or Providence, or Heaven, or Hell, or the Trinity and Incarnation of Christ, if they do not believe *Transubstantiation*? We have heard much of late about *Old* and *New Popery*; but if this be the way of *Representing New Popery*, by exposing the common Articles of Faith, it will set the Minds of all good Christians farther from it than ever. For upon the very same Grounds, we may expect another Parallel between the *belief of a God* and *Transubstantiation*; the effect of which will be, the exposing of all Religion. This is a very destructive and mischievous Method of Proceeding; but our comfort is, that it is very *unreasonable*; as I hope, hath fully appeared by this Discourse.

THE

A N
A N S W E R
T O S O M E
P A P E R S

Lately Printed, concerning the
A U T H O R I T Y
O F T H E
Catholick Church

I N
MATTERS of FAITH, and the REFORMA-
TION of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

104.1.2.

146.1.B

A N
A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IF the Papers, here answered, had not been so publickly dispersed through the Nation, a due Respect to the Name they bear, would have kept the Author from publishing any Answer to them. But because they may now fall into many hands, who without some assistance may not readily resolve some difficulties started by them, He thought it not unbecoming his duty to God and the King, to give a clearer light to the Things contained in them. And it can be no reflection on the Authority of a Prince, for a private Subject to examine a piece of Coyn as to its just value, though it bears His Image and Superscription upon it. In matters that concern Faith and Salvation, we must prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.

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T O T H E
F I R S T P A P E R.

IF all men could *believe as they pleased*, I should not have fail'd of satisfaction in this *First Paper*; the Design of it being to put an end to *Particular Disputes*; to which I am so little a Friend, that I could have been glad to have found, as much reason in it to convince, as I saw there was a fair appearance to deceive. But there is a *Law in our Minds* distinct from that of our *Inclinations*; and out of a just and due regard to That, we must examine the most plausible Writings, though back'd with the greatest Authority, before we yield our Assent unto them.

If particular Controversies about *Matters of Faith* could be ended by a Principle, *as visible as that the Scripture is in Print*, all men of sense would soon give over Disputing; for none who dare believe what they see, can call that in Question. But what if *the Church*, whose *Authority*, it is said, *they must submit to*, will not allow them to believe what they see? How then can this be a sufficient reason to persuade them to believe the Church, *because it is as visible as that the Scripture is in Print*? unless we must only use our senses to find out the Church, and renounce them as soon as we have done it. Which is a very bad requital of them, and no great Honour to the Church which requires it.

But with all due submission, it is no more *visible* that the *Roman Church is the Catholick Church*, than it is, that a *part is the whole*, and the most corrupt part, that *one Church, which Christ hath here upon Earth*.

It is agreed among all Christians, That Christ can have but one Church upon Earth, as there is but one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. And this is that Church we profess to believe in the two Creeds. But if those, who made those Creeds for our direction, had intended the *Roman Catholick Church*, why was it not so expressed? How came it to pass that such a limitation of the sense of Christ's *Catholick Church* to the *Roman*, should never be put to Persons to be Baptized in any Age of the Church? For I do not find in the Office of Baptism, even in the *Roman Church*, that it is required that they believe the *Roman Catholick Church*, or that they deny the validity of Baptism out of the Communion of the *Roman Church*. From whence it is to me as *visible as that the Scripture is in Print*, that the Church of Rome it self doth not believe that it is, the one Catholick Church mentioned in the two Creeds. For then it must void all Baptism out of its Communion, which it hath never yet done. And as long as Baptism doth enter Persons into the Catholick Church,

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it is impossible, that all who have the true form of Baptism, though out of the Communion of the *Roman Church*, should be Members of the *Catholick Church*; and yet the Communion of the *Roman* and *Catholick* be all one; as it must be if the *Roman Church*, be the *Catholick and Apostolick Church* professed in the *Creeds*.

If we had been so happy to have lived in those Blessed Times, when the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, it had been no difficulty to have shewed that one visible Church, which Christ had here upon Earth. But they must be great strangers to the History of the Church, who have not heard of the early and great Divisions in the Communion of it. And there was a remarkable difference in the Nature of those Schisms, which happened in the Church; which being not considered hath been the occasion of great misapplication of the sayings of the Ancients about the *One Catholick Church*. Some did so break off Communion with other parts of the *Catholick Church*, as to challenge that Title wholly to themselves; as was evident in the case of the *Novatians* and *Donatists*; for they rebaptiz'd all that embrac'd their Communion. Others were cast out of Communion upon particular differences; which were not supposed to be of such a nature, as to make them no members of the *Catholick Church*. So the Bishops of *Rome* excommunicated the Bishops of *Asia* for not keeping *Easter* when They did; and the Bishops both of *Asia* and *Africa*, for not allowing the Baptism of Hereticks. But is it reasonable to suppose, that upon these Differences they shut out all those Holy Bishops and Martyrs from the possibility of Salvation, by excluding them from their Communion? If not, then there may be different Communions among Christians, which may still continue *Parts* of the *Catholick Church*; and consequently no one Member of such a Division ought to assume to it self the Title and Authority of the *One Catholick Church*. But if any *One Part* doth so, though never so great and conspicuous, it is guilty of the same Presumption with the *Novatians* and *Donatists*, and is as much cause of the Schisms, which happen thereupon in the Church, as they were.

For a long time before the Reformation, there had been great and considerable breaches, between the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*; inso-much that they did renounce each others Communion. And in these Differences four *Patriarchal Churches* joined together against the fifth, viz. that of the Bishop of *Rome*. But the Eastern Patriarchs sinking in their Power, by the horrible Invasion of the Enemies of the Christian Faith; and the Bishops of *Rome* advancing themselves to so much Authority, by the advantages they took from the kindness of some Princes, and the Weakness of others, They would hear of no other terms of accommodation with the Eastern Churches, but by an intire submission to the Pope as Head of the *Catholick Church*. Which all the Churches of the East refused, however different among themselves; and to this day look on the Pope's Supremacy as an Innovation in the Church, and Usurpation on the Rights of the other Patriarchs and Bishops. In all those Churches the *Two Creeds* are professed, true Baptism administred, and an undoubted Succession of Bishops from the Apostles; How then come they to be excluded from being *Parts* of the *One Catholick and Apostolick Church*? And if they be not excluded, how can the *Roman Church* assume to it self that glorious Title? So that it seems to me as visible as that the Scripture is in Print, that the *Roman Church*

Church neither is, nor can be that *One Church*, which Christ left upon Earth.

And this Principle being removed (which ought to be taken for granted; since it can never be proved) we must unavoidably enter into the Ocean of Particular Disputes. And I know no reason any can have to be so afraid of it, since we have so sure a Compass, as the Holy Scripture to direct our passage. But the reason of avoiding particular Disputes is, because the evidence is too clear in them, that the *Church* of Rome hath notoriously deviated from this infallible Rule. And it is as impossible for a Church, which hath erred, to be Infallible, as for a Church really Infallible, to err. But if a Church pretend to prove her Infallibility by Texts, which are not so clear, as those which prove her to have actually erred; then we have greater reason to recede from her Errors, than to be deceived with such a fallible pretence to Infallibility.

Well! But it is not left to every phantastical man's head to believe as he pleases, but to the Church.

And is it indeed left to the Church to believe as it pleases? But the meaning I suppose is, that those, who reject the Authority of the Roman Catholick Church, do leave every man to believe according to his own fancy. Certainly those of the *Church* of England, cannot be liable to any imputation of this Nature. For our Church receives the three Creeds, and embraces the four General Councils, and professes to hold nothing contrary to any Universal Tradition of the Church from the Apostles times. And we have often offered to put the Controversies between Us and the *Church* of Rome upon that issue. And do not those rather believe as they please, who believe the *Roman Church* to be the Catholick Church, without any colour from Scriptures, Antiquity or Reason? Do not those believe as they please, who can believe against the most convincing Evidence of their own senses? Do not those believe as they please, who can reconcile the lawfulness of the Worship of Images, with God's forbidding it, the Communion in one kind with Christ's Institution, and the praying in an unknown Tongue with the fourteenth Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*?

But all these and many other Absurdities may go down by vertue of the Church's Authority, to whom, it is said, Christ left the Power upon Earth to govern us in matters of Faith. We do not deny that the Church hath Authority of declaring matters of Faith, or else it never could have condemn'd the ancient Heresies. But then we must consider the difference between the *Universal Church* in a General and free Council, declaring the sense of Scripture in Articles of Faith, generally received in the Christian Church from the Apostles Times, as was done when the *Nicene Creed* was made; and a Faction in the Church assuming to it self the Title of Catholick, and proceeding by other rules, than the first Councils did, and imposing new Opinions and Practices, as things necessary to the Communion of the Catholick Church. And this is the true Point in difference between us and those of the Roman Church, about the Church's Authority in matters of Faith, since the Council of Trent. For we think we have very great reason to complain, when a Party in the Church, the most corrupt and obnoxious, takes upon it self

self to define many new Doctrines, as necessary Points of Faith, which have neither Scripture, nor Universal Tradition for them.

It were a very irrational thing, we are told, to make Laws for a Country, and leave it to the Inhabitants to be Interpreters and Judges of those Laws; for then every Man will be his own Judge, and by consequence, no such thing as either Right or Wrong.

But is it not as irrational to allow an Usurper to interpret the Laws to his own advantage, against the just Title of the Prince, and the true Interest of the People? And if it be not reasonable for any private Person to be *his own Judge*, why should a publick Invader be so? But we hope it will be allowed to the Loyal Inhabitants of a Country, so far to interpret the Laws, as to be able to understand the Duty they owe to their King, and to justify his Right against all the Pretences of Usurpers. And this is as much as we plead for in this case.

Can we therefore suppose, That God Almighty would leave us at those uncertainties, as to give us a Rule to go by, and leave every Man to be his own Judge?

And can we reasonably suppose, That God Almighty should give us a Rule not capable of being understood by those to whom it was given, in order to the great End of it, viz. the saving of their Souls? For this was the main end of the Rule, to direct us in the way to Heaven, and not merely to determine Controversies. The Staff, which a Man uses, may serve to measure things by, but the principal design is to walk with it. So it is with the Holy Scripture, if Controversies arise: It is fit to examine and compare them with this infallible Rule; but when that is done, to help us in our way to Heaven, is that which it was chiefly intended for. And no Man can think it of equal consequence to him, not to be mistaken, and not to be damned. In matters of Good and Evil, every Man's Conscience is his immediate Judge, and why not in matters of Truth and Falshood? Unless we suppose Mens involuntary Mistakes to be more dangerous than their wilful Sins.

But after all, *We do not leave every Man to be his own Judge*, any farther than it concerns his own Salvation, which depends upon his particular care and sincerity. For to prevent any dangerous Mistakes by the artifice of Seducers, we do allow the assistance of those spiritual Guides, which God hath appointed in his Church, for the better instructing and governing private Persons: We embrace the ancient Creeds, as a summary comprehension of the Articles of Faith; and think no Man ought to follow his own particular Fancy, against Doctrines so universally received in the Christian Church, from the Apostles Times.

I do ask any ingenuous Man, whether it be not the same thing, to follow our own Fancy, or to interpret Scripture by it.

If we allowed no Creeds, no Fathers, no Councils, there might have been some colour for such a Question. But do we permit Men to interpret Scripture according to their own Fancy, who live in a Church, which owns the Doctrine of the Primitive Church more frankly and ingenuously,

genuously, than any Church in the World besides, without setting up any private Spirit against it, or the present *Roman Church* to be the Interpreter of it. And now I hope I may have leave to ask some Questions of any ingenuous Man; as, Whether it be not the same thing for the Church of *Rome* to make the Rule, as to assume to it self the sole Power of giving the sense of it? For what can a Rule signify without the sense? And if this were the intention of Almighty God, had it not been as necessary to have told us, to whom he had given the Power of interpreting the Rule, as to have given the Rule it self? Whether it be reasonable for the Church of *Rome*, to interpret those Texts, wherein this power of interpreting is to be contained? For this is to make it Judge in its own Cause, which was thought an absurdity before. And whether it be not as mischievous to allow a prosperous Usurper the power of interpreting Laws, according to his own Interest, as any private Person, according to his own Fancy? Whether it be possible to reform Disorders in the Church, when the Person principally accused is supreme Judge? Whether those can be indifferent Judges in Councils, who before-hand take an Oath, to defend that Authority which is to be debated? Whether Tradition be not as uncertain a Rule, as Fancy, when Men judge of Tradition according to their Fancy?

I would have any Man shew me, where the Power of deciding matters of Faith is given to every particular Man.

If by *deciding matters of Faith* be understood the determining them in such a manner, as to oblige others, I do not know where it is given to every particular Man, nor how it should be. For then every particular Man would have a power over every particular Man; and there would want a new decision, whose should take place. But if by *deciding matters of Faith*, no more be meant, but every Man's being satisfied of the Reasons, why he believes one thing to be true, and not another; that belongs to every Man, as he is bound to take care of his Soul, and must give an account both to God and Man of the Reason of his Faith. And what can be meant in Scripture by *Proving all things, and holding fast that which is good*, 1 Thess. 5. 21. By *trying the Spirits, whether they be of God*, 1 John 4. 1. By *judging of themselves what is right*, Luke 12. 57. unless God hath given to Mankind a Faculty of discerning Truth and Falshood in Matters of Faith. But if every Man hath not such a Power, how comes he to be satisfied about the Church's Authority? Is not that a matter of Faith? And where ever any person will shew me, that every Man hath a Power to determine his Faith in that matter, I'll undertake to shew him the rest.

Christ left his Power to his Church, even to forgive Sins in Heaven, and left his Spirit with them, which they exercised after his Resurrection.

But where then was the *Roman Catholick Church*? And how can it be hence inferred, That these Powers are now in the Church of *Rome*, exclusive to all others, unless it be made appear that it was *Heir-General* to all the Apostles? I suppose it will be granted, that the Apostles had some Gifts of the Spirit, which the Church of *Rome* will not in modesty pretend to; such as the Gift of Tongues, the Spirit of Discerning, Prophecie,

Propheſie, miraculous Cures and Punishments. Now, here lies the difficulty, to ſhew what part of the Promise of the infallible Spirit (for the ordinary *Power of the Keys* relates not to this matter) was to expire with the Apoſtles, and what was to be continued to the Church in all Ages. A Promise of Divine Aſſiſtance is denied by none but *Pelagians*: But how far that extends, is the Queſtion. In the Souls of good Men it is ſo as to keep them in the way to Heaven, but not to prevent any lapſe into ſin; and it were worth our knowing, where God hath ever promiſed to keep any Men more from Error, than from Sin. Doth he hate one more than the other? Is one more diſagreeing to the Chriſtian Doctrine than the other? How came then ſo much to be ſaid for the keeping Men from Error, when at the ſame time, they confeſs they may not only commit great Sins, but err very dangerously in the moſt ſolemn manner, in what relates to the Doctrine of Manners. Would any have believed the Apoſtles infallible, if they had known them to be Perſons of ill Lives; or that they had notoriously erred in ſome Rules of great conſequence to the welfare of Mankind? Now, all this is freely yielded, as to the pretence of Infallibility in the Church of Rome. It is granted, that the Guides of that Church have been very bad Men; and that in Councils they have frequently erred about the depoſing Power, being only a *Matter of Practice*, and not of Faith. Whether it be ſo or not, I now diſpute not; but it is granted, that notwithstanding this infallible Spirit, the *Roman Church* may groſſly err in a matter of mighty conſequence to the Peace of Chriſtendom; and yet it cannot err in decreeing the leaſt matters of Faith. As for inſtance, it can by no means err about the *ſeven Sacraments*, or the *Intention of the Prieſt about them*; but it may err about *Depoſing Princes*, and *Absolving Subjects from their allegiance*; which in eaſier terms is, They can never err about their own Intereſt, but they may about any other whatſoever.

I paſs over the next Paragraph, the ſenſe being imperfect, and what is material about the Creeds, hath been ſpoken to already.

That which next deſerves conſideration, is,

That the Church was the Judge even of the Scripture it ſelf, many years after the Apoſtles, which Books were Canonical, and which were not.

We have a diſtinction among us of *Judges of the Law*, and *Judges of the Fact*: The One declares what the *Law* is, the *Fact* being ſuppoſed; the Other gives judgment upon the *Fact*, as it appears before them. Now in this caſe about the *Canonical Books*, the Church is not judge of the Law. For they are not to declare whether a Book appearing to be *Canonical* ought by it to be received for *Canonical*, (which is taken for granted among all Chriſtians) but all they have to do, is to give Judgment upon the matter of Fact, *i. e.* whether it appear upon ſufficient evidence to have been a Book written by Divine Inſpiration. And the *Church of Rome* hath no particular privilege in this matter, but gives its Judgment as other parts of the Chriſtian World do: And if it takes upon it to judge contrary to the general ſenſe of the Chriſtian Church, we are not to be concluded by it; but an Appeal lies to a greater Tribunal of the *Univerſal Church*.

And if they had this Power, then I desire to know, how they came to lose it?

Who are meant by *They*? And what is understood by *this Power*? It is one thing for a Part of the Church to give Testimony to a matter of Fact, and another to assume the Power of making Books *Canonical*, which were not so. This latter no Church in the World hath, and therefore can never lose it. The former is only Matter of Testimony, and all parts of the Church are concerned in it, and it depends as other Matters of Fact do, on the Skill and Fidelity of the Reporters.

And by what Authority Men separate themselves from that Church?

What Church? The Catholick and Apostolick. We own no Separation from that; but we are dis-joyned from the Communion of the *Roman Church*, that we may keep up the stricter Union with the truly *Catholick and Apostolick Church*. And this is no *Separating our selves*, but being cast out by an Usurping Faction in the Church; because we would not submit to the unreasonable Conditions of Communion imposed by it; the chief whereof is owning all the Usurpation, which hath by degrees been brought into it. To make this plain by an Example: Suppose a prosperous Usurper in this Kingdom had gained a considerable Interest in it, and challenged a Title to the whole, and therefore required of all the King's Subjects, within his Power, to own him to be Rightful King: Upon this, many of them are forced to withdraw, because they will not own his Title: Is this an act of *Rebellion*, and not rather of true Loyalty? Schism in the Church is like Rebellion in the State. The Pope declares himself *Head of the Catholick Church*, and hath formed himself a kind of Spiritual Kingdom in the West; altho' the other parts of the Christian World declare against it, as an Usurpation. However, he goes on, and makes the owning his Power a necessary Condition of being of his Communion. This many of the Western Parts, as well as Eastern, disown and reject, and therefore are excluded Communion with that Church, whereof he is owned to be the *Head*. The Question now is, Who gives the Occasion to this Separation? whether the Pope, by requiring the owning his Usurpation, or We, by declaring against it? Now, if the Conditions, he requires, be unjust and unreasonable; if his Authority, he challenges, over the *Catholick Church*, be a mere Usurpation (for which we have not only the Consent of the other Parts of the Christian World, but of Scripture and the Ancient Church) then we are not to be condemned, for such a Separation, which was unavoidable, if we would not comply with the Pope's Usurpation. And upon this Foot the Controversie about Schism stands between Us and the Church of *Rome*.

The only Pretence I ever heard of, was, because the Church hath fail'd in wresting and interpreting the Scripture contrary to the true sense and meaning of it; and that they have imposed Articles of Faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by God's Word. I do desire to know who is to be Judge of that, whether the whole Church, the Succession whereof hath continued to this day without interruption; or particular Men, who have raised Schisms for their own advantage.

This

The whole force of this Paragraph depends upon a Supposition, which is taken for granted, but will never be yielded by Us, and we are sure can never be proved by those of the *Church of Rome*, viz. That in the new imposed Articles, the *whole Church* in a continued Succession hath been of the same judgment with them, and only some *few Particular Men* in these last Ages have opposed them. Whereas the great thing we insist upon next to the Holy Scripture, is, that they can never prove the Points in difference, by an Universal Tradition from the Apostles Times, either as to the *Papal Supremacy*, or the other Articles defined by the *Council of Trent*. We do not take upon our selves to contradict the Universal sense of the Christian Church from the Apostles Times in any one Point. But the true Reason of the proceeding of the *Church of England* was this. While the Pope's Authority was here received and obeyed, there was no liberty of searching into abuses, or the ways of Reforming them. But when Men were encouraged to look into the Scripture, and Fathers, and Councils, they soon found the state of things in the Church extremely altered from what they ought to have been, or had been in the Primitive Church: But they saw no possibility of Redress, as long as the Pope's Authority was so absolute and inviolable. This therefore in the first place they set themselves to the accurate Examination of, and the Result was, that they could find it neither in the Scriptures, nor Fathers, nor Councils, nor owned by the Eastern Churches: And therefore they concluded it ought to be laid aside, as an Usurpation. Our Church being by this means set free (even with the consent of Those, who joyned with the Church of *Rome* in other things) a greater liberty was then used in examining particular Doctrines and Practices, which had crept into the Church by degrees, when Ignorance and Barbarism prevail'd; and having finish'd this enquiry, Articles of Religion were drawn up, wherein the sense of our Church was delivered, agreeable to Scripture and Antiquity, though different from the Modern Church of *Rome*; and these Articles are not the private sense of particular Men, but the Publick Standard whereby the World may judge, what we believe and practise; and therefore these are the sense of our Church, and not the opinions or fancies of particular Men. And those who call the retrenching the Pope's exorbitant Power by the name of Schism, must by parity of reason call the casting off an Usurper Rebellion. But certainly those who consider the mighty advantages and privileges of the Clergy in the *Church of Rome*, can never reasonably suspect any of that Order should hope to better themselves by the Reformation. And if we judge of Mens actings by their Interest, one of the most surprizing considerations at this day is, that the Clergy should be against, and Princes for the *Church of Rome*.

A N S W E R TO THE SECOND PAPER.

It is a sad thing to consider, what a world of Heresies are crept into this Nation.

But is it not a strange thing to consider, that no distinction is here put between the *Religion by Law established*, and the Parties disowned by it, and dissenting from it? And yet many of these, though justly liable to the charge of *Schism*, embrace no Heresies against the Four or Six first General Councils. But if the Dissenters were guilty of never so many Heresies, how comes the *Church of England* to bear the blame of them; when the weakning its Power and Authority was the occasion of such an overflowing of *Schisms* and *Heresies* among us? And it is indeed a sad thing to consider how many Ways and Means have been used by all Parties to introduce and keep up *Schisms* and *Divisions* amongst us, and then how the *Church of England* is blamed for not being able to suppress them. But if all *Doctrines* opposite to the *Church of Rome* be accounted *Heresies*, then we desire to be informed, how the *Church of Rome* came to have this Power of defining Heretical *Doctrines*; or how any *Doctrine* comes to be *Heresie* by being contrary to its definitions. For *Heresie is an obstinate opposing some necessary Article of Faith*. It must therefore be proved, that what the *Church of Rome* declares, doth thereby become a necessary Article of Faith, or it is very unreasonable to lay the imputation of *Heresie* upon us. And this can never be maintained, without proving that the *Church of Rome* hath a Power to make *Doctrines* not necessary before, to become necessary by her Definition: which is the same thing with making *New Articles of Faith*. But these can never be proved to be such by Universal Tradition; which the *Church of Rome* pretends for all her Articles of Faith.

Every Man thinks himself as competent a Judge of Scripture, as the very Apostles themselves.

Doth *Every Man* among us pretend to an infallible Spirit? And yet *Every Man* owns that the Apostles had it. But what is meant by *being a Judge of Scripture*? If no more be understood, than that *every Man* must use his understanding about it, I hope this is no Crime nor *Heresie*. The Scripture must be believed in order to Salvation, and therefore it must be understood; for how can a Man believe, what he understands not the sense or meaning of? If he must understand the

sense he must be *Judge of the sense*; so that every Man, who is bound to believe the Scripture in order to his Salvation, must be Judge of the sense of the Scripture, so far as concerns his Salvation. But if by being a *Judge of the Scripture* be meant giving such a judgment, as obliges others to submit to it, then among us no particular Man doth pretend to be a *competent Judge of Scripture*, so as to bind others to rely upon his Authority in expounding Scripture. We own the Authority of Guides in the Church, and a due submission to them, but we do not allow them to be as *competent Judges of Scripture as the very Apostles*.

And 'tis no wonder it should be so, since that part of the Nation, which looks most like a Church, dares not bring the true Arguments against the other Sects, for fear they should be turned against themselves, and confuted by their own Arguments.

This is directly level'd against the Church of England, which is hereby charged with Insincerity or Weakness in dealing with the Dissenters. But we must consider the meaning of this charge. *It is no wonder it should be so, i. e. That every Man should think himself as competent a Judge of Scripture, as the very Apostles, because the Church of England dares not use the true Arguments against the Sects.* Whence it appears that this true Argument is the Church's *infallible Authority*, and the Obligation of all Members of the Church to submit their judgments intirely thereto. I confess that if the Church of England did pretend to this against the *Sectaries*, they might justly turn it against her; because in our Articles, though the *Church's Authority* be asserted, yet *Infallibility* is denied. If there can be no Authority in a Church, without Infallibility; or there can be no obligation to submit to Authority, without it, then the Church of England doth not use the best Arguments against Sectaries. But if there be no ground for Infallibility, if the Church which hath most pretended to it, hath been most grossly deceived; if the Heads of that Church have been not barely suspected of *Heresie*, but one of them stands condemned for it in Three General Councils, own'd by that Church; then for all that I can see, the Church of England hath wisely disown'd the pretence of Infallibility, and made use of the best Arguments against Sectaries from a just Authority, and the sinfulness and folly of the Sectaries refusing to submit to it.

The Church of England (as 'tis called) would fain have it thought, That they are the Judges in matters Spiritual, yet dare not say positively, there is no Appeal from them.

Is not the Church of England really what it is called? I would fain know what it wants to make it as good a Church, as any in the Christian World? It wants neither *Faith* (if the Creed contain it) nor *Sacraments*, (and those entire) nor *Succession of Bishops*, (as certain as Rome it self) nor a *Liturgy*, (more agreeing to Primitive Worship, than is any where else to be found.) Why then the Church of England, as 'tis called? Well! But what is this Church now blamed for? *They pretend to be Judges in matters Spiritual, and yet dare not say there is no appeal from them.* How then? Are there no true Judges, but such as there lies no Appeal from? There lies an Appeal from any Judges in the King's Courts to the Court of Parliament; are They not therefore true Judges

Judges in *Westminster-Hall*? There lay an Appeal from Bishops to Metropolitans, from them to Patriarchs, from Patriarchs to General Councils, according to the Ancient Polity of the Church. Were there therefore no true Judges, but General Councils?

What follows relating to the *Church's Authority*, and every Man's following his own judgment, hath been answered already. I proceed therefore, to what farther concerns this matter of Appeal.

What Country can subsist in Quiet, where there is not a Supreme Judge, from whence there can be no Appeal?

The natural consequence from hence appears to be, that every *National Church* ought to have the *Supreme Power* within it self. But how come Appeals to a foreign Jurisdiction to tend to the Peace and Quiet of a Church? They have been always complained of in the best Ages of the Church, and by the best Men; such as *St. Cyprian*, and *St. Augustine*, and the whole *African Churches*. The worst Men began them, and the worst Church encouraged them, without regard to the Peace of the Christian Church, so it increased its own Grandeur by them.

We have had these hundred Years past, the sad effects of denying to the Church, that Power in matters Spiritual, without an Appeal.

And our Ancestors for many hundred Years last past, found the intolerable Inconveniences of an Appeal to foreign Jurisdiction. Whereby the Nation was exhausted, Justice obstructed, the Clergy oppressed, and the King's Prerogative greatly diminished. But these were slight things in Comparison to what we have felt these hundred Years past for want of it.

Have not the King's Courts been opened for matters of Law and Justice, which have been fill'd with Men of as great Abilities and Integrity, since the Reformation, as ever they were before? Hath not the Appeal to the King in his High Court of *Chancery* been as much for the King and People, as ever the Appeal was to the Court of *Rome*? Have not all the Neighbour Princes been forced for the preserving their own Dignity to set Bounds and Limits to Appeals to *Rome*, and to Orders or *Bulls* that come from thence? How then comes the want of such an Appeal to be thought to produce such sad effects here? All Christendom groans under the sad effects of them; and it is a very self-denying humour for those to be most sensible of the want of them, who would really suffer the most by them.

Can there be any Justice done, where the Offenders are their own Judges, and equal Interpreters of the Law, with those that are appointed to Administer Justice?

And is there any likelihood, Justice should be better done in another Country, by another Authority, and proceeding by such Rules, which in the last resort, are but the Arbitrary will of a Stranger. And must such a one, pretending to a Power he hath no right to, be Judge in his own Cause, when he is the greatest Offender himself? But how is this applied to the Protestants in England?

This

This is our Case, here in England, in matters Spiritual; for the Protestants are not of the Church of England, as 'tis the true Church, from whence there can be no Appeal; but because the Discipline of that Church is conformable at present to their fancies; which, as soon as it shall contradict or vary from, they are ready to embrace or join with the next Congregation of People, whose Discipline or Worship agrees with the Opinion of that Time.

The sense of this Period is not so clear, but that one may easily mistake about it. That which is aimed at, is, that we of the Church of England, have no tie upon us, but that of our own judgments; and when that changes, we may join with Independents or Presbyterians, as we do now with the Church of England. And what security can be greater, than that of our Judgments? If it be said to be nothing, but fancy and no true Judgment, we must beg leave to say, that we dare Appeal to the World, whether we have not made it appear, that it is not fancy, but Judgment which hath made us firm to the Church of England. Might it not as well have been said, that the Protestants of the Church of England, adhered to the Crown in the Times of Rebellion out of Fancy, and not out of Judgment? And that if their Fancy changed, they might as well have joined with the Rebels? Will not this way of Reasoning hold as strongly against those of the Church of Rome? For why do any adhere to that, but because it is agreeable to their Judgment so to do? What evidence can they give, that it is Judgment in them, and only Fancy in us? If Reason must be that which puts the difference, we do not question, but to make ours appear to be Judgment, and theirs Fancy? For what is an infallible Judge, which Christ never appointed, but Fancy? What is their unwritten Word, as a Rule of Faith to be equally received with the Scriptures, but Fancy? What is giving honour to God by the Worship of Images, but Fancy? What is making Mediators of Intercession, besides the Mediator of Redemption, but Fancy? What is the Doctrine of Concomitancy, to make a mends for half the Sacrament, but Fancy? What is the substantial Change of the Elements in the Body of Christ, but Fancy? for both Senses and Reason are against it. What is the deliverance of Souls out of Purgatory, by Masses for the Dead, but mere Fancy? But I forbear giving any more Instances.

So that according to this Doctrine, there is no other Church nor Interpreter of Scripture, but that which lies in every Man's giddy Brain,

Let Mens Brains be as giddy, as they are said to be, for all that I can see, they are the best faculties they can make use of, for the understanding of Scripture, or any thing else. And is there any Infallible Church upon Earth, which must not be beholding to Mens giddy Brains for believing it? And it may be, never the less giddy for doing it? For God-sake why do any Men take the Church of Rome to be Infallible? Is it not, because their Understandings tell them they ought so to do? So that by this consequence, there is no Infallible Church, but what lies in every Man's giddy Brain.

I desire to know therefore of every serious Considerer of these things, whether the great Work of our Salvation ought to depend on such a Sandy Foundation as this?

I thank

I thank God I have seriously considered this matter, and must declare that I find no Christian Church built on a more *sandy Foundation*, than that, which pretends to be settled upon a *Rock*; I mean, so far as it imposes the *new Faith of Trent*, as a necessary Condition of Salvation. Had we no other reason to embrace Christianity, than such as they offer for these New Doctrines, I am much afraid Christianity it self, to all inquisitive Men, would be thought to have but a *Sandy Foundation*. But what is this *Sandy Foundation* we build upon? Every Man's private judgment in Religion? No understanding Man builds upon his own Judgment, but no Man of understanding can believe without it. For I appeal to any *ingenious Man*, whether he doth not as much build upon his own Judgment, who chuseth the *Church*, as he that chuseth *Scripture* for his Rule? And he that chuseth the *Church*, hath many more Difficulties to conquer than the other hath. For the *Church* can never be a Rule without the *Scriptures*, but the *Scriptures* may without the *Church*. And it is no such easy matter to find the *Church's Infallibility* in the *Scripture*. But suppose that be found, he hath yet a harder Point to get over, *viz.* How the Promises relating to the Church in general, came to be appropriated to the *Church of Rome*. Which a Man must have an admirable Faculty at discerning, who can find it out, either in *Scripture*, or the *Records* of the *Ancient Church*.

The places of *Scripture* which are brought about *Christ's being with his Church to the end of the World*, about the *Power to forgive Sins*; about the *Clergy being God's Labourers, Husbandry, Building, having the Mind of Christ*; do as effectually prove the *Infallibility* of the Church of *England*, as the Church of *Rome*; for I cannot discern the least inclination in any of them to favour one against the other.

And pray consider on the other side, that those who resist the Truth, and will not submit to his *Church*, draw their Arguments from *Implications*, and *far-fetch'd Interpretations*, at the same time that they deny plain and positive Words: which is so great a *Disingenuity*, that 'tis not almost to be thought that they can believe themselves.

This is a very heavy Charge; To resist the Truth, to deny plain and positive Words of *Scripture*; to be guilty of great *Disingenuity*, so as not to believe our selves, are faults of so high a nature, as must argue not only a bad Cause, but a very bad Mind. And God forbid, that those of the Church of *England*, should ever be found guilty of these things. But to come to Particulars; Is it resisting Truth, or arguing from *Implications*, and denying plain and positive Words of *Scripture*, to say, *We must not worship Images*; *We must make God alone the Object of Holy Worship*; *We must give the Eucharist in both kinds according to Christ's express Institution*; *We must understand our Prayers*, when St. Paul's words are so clear about it? So far at least we have plain and positive Words of *Scripture* on our side. And for *Implications*, and *far-fetch'd Interpretations*, commend me to the *Pope's Bulls*, especially when they have a mind to prove their Authority from *Scripture*; which they can do from *In the beginning*, to the end of the *Apocalypse*. But that which seems to be aimed at here, is, *This is my Body*; wherein the words seem to be plain and positive on their side, and our sense to be from *Implications*, or *far-fetched Interpretations*. To which I Answer, That there are Expressions in *Scripture* as plain and positive as this, which

none

none think themselves bound to understand in their literal sense. For then we must all believe, that God hath *Eyes* and *Ears*, a *Face*, *Hands* and *Feet*, as firmly, as that the Bread was then turned into Christ's Body, when he spake those words. And I would know, whether the Christian Church rejecting the Doctrine of Those *who made God to be like to Man*, was not chargeable with the same *resisting the Truth*, and *denying plain and positive Words of Scripture*, as we are? And yet I hope the Christian Church *did then believe it self*. Suppose any should assert, That *the Rock in the Wilderness*, was really changed into Christ's Body; would not he have the very same Things to say against those who denied it? For are not the Words *as plain and as positive*, That Rock was Christ? But *Sacramental Expressions*, by the consent of the *Christian Church*, and the very Nature of the Things, are of a different sense from Logical Propositions. And if this had been intended in the plain and literal sense, St. Paul would never have as plainly and positively called it *Bread* after Consecration; nor the *Cup* be said to be the New Testament in his Blood.

THE CONCLUSION is:

Is there any other Foundation of the Protestant Church, but that if the Civil Magistrate pleases, he may call such of the Clergy as he thinks fit for his turn at that time, and turn the Church either to Presbytery, or Independency, or indeed what he pleases? This was the way of our pretended Reformation here in England. And by the same Rule and Authority, it may be altered into as many Shapes and Forms as there are Fancies in Mens Heads.

This looks like a very unkind Requital to the Church of England, for her Zeal in asserting the Magistrate's Power against a Foreign Jurisdiction; to infer from thence, that the Magistrate may change the Religion here which way he pleases. But although we attribute the *Supream Jurisdiction* to the King; yet we do not question, but there are *inviolable Rights of the Church*, which ought to be preserved against the *Fancies* of some, and the *Usurpations* of others. We do by no means make our Religion mutable, according to the Magistrate's pleasure. For the Rule of our Religion is unalterable, being the *Holy Scripture*; but the Exercise of it, is under the regulation of the Laws of the Land. And as we have cause to be thankful to God, when *Kings are Nursing Fathers to our Church*; so we shall never cease to pray for their continuing so; and that in all things we may behave our selves towards them, as becomes *good Christians*, and *Loyal Subjects*.

A N
A N S W E R
T O T H E
T H I R D P A P E R.

THE Third Paper is said to be written by a Great Lady, *for the satisfaction of her Friends*, as to the Reasons of *Her leaving the Communion of the Church of England, and making her self a Member of the Roman Catholick Church*. If she had written nothing concerning it, none could have been a competent Judge of those Reasons or Motives she had for it, but her self: but since she was pleased *to write this Paper to satisfy her Friends*; and it is thought fit to be published for general Satisfaction, all Readers have a right to judge of the strength of them; and those of the *Church of England*, an Obligation to vindicate the Honour of it, so far as it may be thought to suffer by them.

I am sensible how nice and tender a thing it is, to meddle in a Matter wherein the Memory of so *Great a Lady* is so nearly concern'd; and wherein such Circumstances are mention'd, which cannot fully be cleared, the Parties themselves having been many Years dead: But I shall endeavour to keep within due bounds, and consider this Paper with respect to the main Design of it, and take notice of other Particulars so far as they are subservient to it.

The way of her *Satisfaction* must needs appear very extraordinary; for towards the Conclusion she confesses, *She was not able, nor would she enter into Disputes with any Body*. Now where the Difference between the two Churches lies wholly in Matters of Dispute, how any one could be truly satisfied, as to the Grounds of leaving one Church, and going to the other, without *entring into matter of Dispute with any body*, is hard to understand. If Persons be resolved before-hand what to do, and therefore will hear nothing said against it, there is no such way, as to declare they will *enter into no Dispute about it*. But what *Satisfaction* is to be had in this manner of proceeding? How could *one bred up in the Church of England, and so well instructed in the Doctrines of it*, ever satisfy her self in forsaking the Communion of it, without enquiring into, and comparing the Doctrines and Practices of both Churches? It is possible for Persons of Learning, who will take the pains of examining things themselves, to do that, without *entring into Disputes with any Body*; but this was not to be presumed of a Person of her Condition. For many things must fall in her way, which she could neither have the leisure to examine, nor the Capacity to judge of, without the Assist-

ance of such who have made it their business to search into them. Had she no Divines of the Church of *England* about her, to have proposed her Scruples to? None able and willing to give her their utmost Assistance in a Matter of such Importance, before she took up a Resolution of forsaking our Church? This cannot be imagined; considering not only her great Quality, but that just esteem they had for her whilst she continued so zealous and devout in the Communion of our Church.

But we have more than this to say. One of the * Bishops who had the nearest Relation to her for many Years, and who owns in Print, * *That* ^{* Preface to his Treatise. p. 5.} *he bred her up in the Principles of the Church of England*, was both able and willing to have removed any Doubts and Scruples with respect to our Church, if she would have been pleased to have communicated them to him. And however she endeavoured to conceal her Scruples; he tells her, in his † Letter to her (which he since printed for his own † ^{Letter to her Royal Highness from the Bishop of Winton. p. 3, 4.} vindication) *That he had heard much Discourse concerning her wavering in Religion, and that he had acquainted her Highness with it, the Lent before the Date of this Paper*; and was so much concerned at it, that he obtained a Promise from her, That if any Writing were put into her Hands by those of the Church of Rome, that she would send it either to him, or to the then Bishop of Oxford, whom he left in Attendance upon her. After which, he saith, *She was many Days with him at Farnham; in all which time she spake not one word to him of any Doubt she had about her Religion.* And yet this Paper bears Date, Aug. 20. that Year, wherein she declares her self changed in her Religion: So that it is evident she did not make use of the ordinary Means for her own Satisfaction, at least as to those Bishops who had known her longest.

But she saith, *That she spake severally to two of the best Bishops we have in England, who both told her, there were many things in the Roman Church, which it were much to be wished we had kept; As Confession, which was no doubt commanded of God; that Praying for the Dead, was one of the Ancient Things in Christianity; that for their parts they did it daily, though they would not own it. And afterwards pressing one of them very much upon the other Points; he told her, That if he had been bred a Catholick, he would not change his Religion; but that being of another Church, wherein he was sure were all things necessary to Salvation, he thought it very ill to give that Scandal, as to leave that Church wherein he received his Baptism.* Which Discourses, she said, did but add more to the desire she had to be a Catholick. ^{Sheldon Archbishop of Canterbury. Blandford Bishop of Worcester. Blandford Bishop of Worcester.}

This, I confess, seems to be to the purpose; if there were not some Circumstances and Expressions very much mistaken in the Representation of it: But yet suppose the utmost to be allow'd, there could be no Argument from hence drawn for leaving the Communion of our Church, if this Bishop's Authority or Example did signify any thing with her. For supposing he did say, *That if he had been bred in the Communion of the Church of Rome, he would not change his Religion:* Yet he added, *That being of another Church, wherein were all things necessary to Salvation, he thought it very ill to give that Scandal, as to leave that Church wherein he had received his Baptism.*

tism. Now why should not the last words have greater force to have kept her in the Communion of our Church, than the former to have drawn her from it? For why should any Person forsake the Communion of our Church, unless it appears necessary to Salvation so to do? And yet this yielding Bishop did affirm, *that all things necessary to Salvation were certainly in our Church; and that it was an ill thing to leave it.* How could this *add to her desire of leaving our Church?* unless there were some other Motive to draw her thither, and then such small Inducements would serve to inflame such a Desire. But it is evident from her own words afterwards, that these Concessions of the Bishop could have no Influence upon her: for she declares, *and calls God to witness, that she would never have changed her Religion, if she had thought it possible to save her Soul otherwise.* Now what could the Bishop's words signify towards her Turning, when he declares just contrary, *viz. not only that it was possible for her to be saved without turning, but that he was sure we had all things necessary to Salvation; and that it was a very ill thing to leave our Church?* There must therefore have been some more secret Reason, which encreased her Desire to be a Catholick after these Discourses: unless the Advantage were taken from the Bishop's calling the Church of Rome the Catholick Religion; If he had been bred a Catholick, he would not have chang'd his Religion. But if we take these words so strictly, he must have contradicted himself; for how could he be sure we had all things necessary to Salvation, if we were out of the Catholick Church? Was a Bishop of our Church, and one of the best Bishops of our Church, as she said, so weak as to yield, *That he was sure all things necessary to Salvation were to be had out of the Communion of the Catholick Church?*

But again; there is an inconsistency in his saying, *That he thought it very ill to leave our Church;* which no Man of common sense would have said, if he had believed the Roman Church to be the Catholick, exclusive of all others that do not join in Communion with it.

The utmost then that can be made of all this, is, That there was a certain Bishop of this Church, who held both Churches to be so far Parts of the Catholick Church, that there was no necessity of going from one Church to another. But if he asserted that, he must overthrow the necessity of the Reformation, and consequently not believe our Articles and Homilies, and so could not be any true Member of the Church of England.

But the late Bishop of Winchester hath made a shorter Answer to all this; For he first doubts, *Whether there ever were any such Bishops who made such Answers;* And afterwards he affirms, *That he believes there never was, in Rerum Naturâ, such a Discourse as is pretended to have been between this Great Person, and two of the most Learned Bishops of England.* But, God be thanked, the Cause of our Church doth not depend upon the singular Opinion of one or two Bishops in it, wherein they apparently recede from the establish'd Doctrine of it. And I am sure those of the Church of Rome take it ill from us, to be charged with the Opinion of Particular Divines, against the known Sentiments of their Church. Therefore supposing the Matter of Fact true, it ought

not

not to have moved her to any Inclination to leave the Church of England.

But after all, *She protests, in the Presence of Almighty God, that no Person, Man or Woman, directly or indirectly, ever said any thing to her (since she came into England) or used the least Endeavour to make her change her Religion; and that it is a Blessing she wholly owes to Almighty God.* So that the Bishops are acquitted from having any hand in it, by her own words; and as far as we can understand her meaning, she thought her self converted by immediate Divine Illumination. We had thought the pretence to a *private Spirit* had not been at this time allow'd in the Church of Rome. But I observe, that many things are allowed to bring Persons to the Church of Rome, which they will not permit in those who go from it. As the use of Reason in the Choice of a Church; the Judgment of Sense; and here, that which they would severely condemn in others as a *Private Spirit*, or *Enthusiasm*, will pass well enough if it doth but lead one to their Communion. Any Motive or Method is good enough which tends to that end; and none can be sufficient against it. But why may not others set up for the Change as to other Opinions upon the same Grounds, as well as this Great Person does, as to the Change from our Church to the Church of Rome? And we have no Pretenders to *Enthusiasm* among us, but do as solemnly ascribe the *Blessing wholly to Almighty God*; and look on it as the Effect of such Prayers as she made to him in *France and Flanders*.

But I wonder a Person, who owed her Change so wholly to Almighty God, should need the Direction of an Infallible Church; since the utmost they can pretend to, is no more than to have such an Immediate Conduct; and the least that can be meant by it, is, that she had no Assistance from any other Persons. Which may not exclude her own *Endeavours*: but supposing them to be employed, and an Account to be here given of them; yet there is no Connexion between any of the *Premisses*, and the *Conclusion* she drew from them; and therefore it must be Immediate Impulse, or some concealed Motive which determin'd her Choice.

The Conclusion was, That *she would never have changed, if she could have saved her Soul otherwise.* If this were true, she had good Reason for her Change; if it were not true, she had none; as it is most certain it was not. Now let us examine how she came to this Conclusion; and I will suppose it to have been just in the Method she sets it down in.

First, she saith, *She never had any Scruples till the November before; and then they began upon reading Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation; which was commended to her as a Book to settle her; and there she found such abominable Sacrilege upon Henry the 8th's Divorce, King Edward's Minority, and Queen Elizabeth's Succession, that she could not believe the Holy Ghost could ever be in such Counsels.*

This was none of the best Advices given to such a Person, to read Dr. Heylin's History for her Satisfaction. For there are two distinct Parts in the History of our Reformation; the one Ecclesiastical, the other

ther *Political*: the former was built on Scripture and Antiquity, and the Rights of particular Churches; the other on such Maxims which are common to States-men at all Times, and in all Churches, who labour to turn all Revolutions and Changes to their own Advantage. And it is strange to me that a Person of so great Understanding, should not distinguish these two. *Whether Henry 8. were a good Man or not; Whether the Duke of Somerset raised his Estate out of our Church Lands,* doth not concern our present Enquiry; which is, *Whether there was not sufficient Cause for a Reformation in the Church? And if there was, Whether our Church had not sufficient Authority to reform it self? And if so, Whether the Proceedings of our Reformation were not Justifiable by the Rules of Scripture and the ancient Church?* These were the proper Points for her to have considered, and not the particular Faults of Princes, or the Miscarriages of Ministers of State. Were not the Vices of *Alexander the 6th*, and many other Heads of the Church of *Rome* for a whole Age together, by the Confession of their own greatest Writers, as great at least as those of *Henry the 8th*? And were these not thought sufficient to keep her from the Church of *Rome*; and yet the others were sufficient to make her think of leaving our Church? But *Henry the Eighth's Church* was in Truth the Church of *Rome* under a *Political Head*, much as the Church of *Sicily* is under the King of *Spain*. All the difference is, *Henry the Eighth* took it as his own Right; the King of *Spain* pretends to have it from the Pope, by such Concessions, which the Popes deny. And suppose the King of *Spain's* Pretence were unlawful to that Jurisdiction which he challengeth in the Kingdom of *Sicily*; were this a sufficient Ground to justify the thoughts of Separation from the Church of *Rome*?

But the Duke of Somerset raised his Estate out of Church-Lands, and so did many Courtiers in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Are there not Miscarriages of the like nature in the Church of *Rome*? What is the Pope's making great Estates of the Church-Lands, for their Nephews to be Princes and Dukes? a thing not unheard of in our Age. And is it not so much worse to be done by the Head of the Church?

These she confesses were but *Scruples*; but such as occasioned her examining the Points in difference by the Holy Scripture. Now she was in the right way for Satisfaction, provided she made use of the best Helps and Means for understanding it; and took in the Assistance of her Spiritual Guides. But it seems, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, she found some things so easy there, that she wondred she had been so long without finding them out. And what were these? No less than the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament; the Infallibility of the Church, Confession, and Praying for the Dead.

These were great Discoveries to be made so easily, considering how those of the Church of *Rome*, who have been most vers'd in these Matters, have found it so difficult to make them out from thence.

(1.) As to the Real Presence; as it is in the Dispute between us and the Church of *Rome*, it implies the Real and Substantial Change of the Elements

Elements into the Body and Blood of Christ. But where do our Saviour's words, in *calling the Sacrament his Body and Blood*, imply any such thing? The wisest Persons of the Church of *Rome* have confessed, that the bare words of our Saviour can never prove it; but there needs the Authority of the Church to interpret them in that sense. How then could she so easily find out that, which their most Learned Men could not? But there is nothing goes so far in such Discoveries as a willing Mind.

(2.) As to *Confession*. No doubt the Word is often used in Scripture, and therefore *easily found*. But the Question between us, is not about the Usefulness or Advantage of *Confession* in particular Cases, but the Necessity of it in all Cases, in order to Remission of Sins. And I can hardly believe any Bishop of our Church would ever say to her, *that Confession in this sense was ever commanded by God*. For then he must be damned himself if he did not confess every known Sin to a Priest. But some general Expressions might be used, that Confession of Sin was commanded by God; *Confess your Sins one to another*: But here is nothing of a particular Confession to a Priest, necessary in order to Forgiveness of Sin.

(3.) As to *praying for the Dead*; It is hard to find any place of Scripture which seems to have any tendency that way, unless it be with respect to the *Day of Judgment*, and that very doubtfully. But how came this Great Person to think it not possible to be saved in our Church, unless we prayed for the Dead? How did this come to be a Point of Salvation? And for the *Practice* of it, she saith, *the Bishops told her they did it daily*. Whether they did it or not, or in what sense they did it, we cannot now be better informed: But we are sure this could be no Argument for her to leave the Communion of our Church, because she was told by these Bishops they did it, and continued in the Communion of it,

(4.) Lastly; As to *the Infallibility of the Church*. If this, as applied to the *Roman Church*, could be any where found in Scripture, we should then indeed be to blame not to submit to all the Definitions of it. But where is this to be found? Yes, *Christ hath promised to be with his Church to the end of the World*. Not with his Church, but with his *Apostles*: And if it be restrained to them, then *the end of the World* is no more than *always*. But suppose it to be understood of the Successors of the Apostles; were there none but at *Rome*? How comes this Promise to be limited to the Church of *Rome*; and the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, and all the other Eastern Churches (where the Bishops as certainly succeeded the Apostles, as at *Rome* it self) not to enjoy the equal Benefit of this Promise? But they who can find the *Infallibility of the Church of Rome* in Scripture, need not despair of finding whatever they have a Mind to there.

But from this Promise she concludes, *That our Saviour would not permit the Church to give the Laity the Communion in One kind, if it were not lawful so to do*. Now in my Opinion, the Argument is stronger the other way; The Church of *Rome* forbids the doing of that, which
Christ

Christ enjoyed; therefore it cannot be Infallible, since the Command of Christ is so much plainer than the Promise of Infallibility to the Church of Rome.

But, from all these things laid together, I can see no imaginable Reason of any force to conclude, that *she could not think it possible to save her Soul otherwise*, than by embracing the Communion of the Church of Rome. And the Publick will receive this Advantage by these Papers, that thereby it appears, how very little is to be said by Persons of the greatest Capacity, as well as Place, either against the Church of England, or for the Church of Rome.

A VIN-

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
ANSWER
TO SOME
Late Papers

Concerning the
UNITY and AUTHORITY of the
Catholick Church, and the Reformation of the
Church of England.

IT was so tempting a Piece of Honour, to appear *as the Champion of the Royal Papers*, that I rather wonder that no more, than these, *Def. p. 1.* have shewed themselves to the World, under so inviting a *Character*. Which seems to have betray'd them into more than usual Security; presuming, I suppose, that they are to be looked on, as a sort of *Heralds in Controversie*, whose bearing the *Royal Arms*, will keep them from being touched themselves, though they bid Defiance to others. But where Truth lies at stake, every one hath a Right to put in for it; and whose Game soever any Person plays, those ought to carry it who have the best Cards to shew: I mean, that in Debates of this Nature and Consequence, other Considerations ought to be so far laid aside, that the strongest Reason should prevail. But lest I be again thought *to have a mind to flourish before* *Pag. 2.* *I offer to pass*; as the *Champion* speaks in his proper Language; I shall apply my self to the Matter before us. Only taking Notice that I am now glad to enter the Lists upon even Ground. For although I thought I behaved my self with due Respect and Decency before, yet I perceive the Measure of those Things is so Nice and Arbitrary, that it is very hard to escape Censures, where the Distance is so great. But those who live in the Country may mean and intend as well to their Prince, as those who live at Court, though they do not make so fine Legs, nor are of so pleasing an Address.

The plain Truth is; Controversie is quite another thing from Courtship and Poetry. It is like a Trial at Law, which ought to depend on Evidence and Proof, though the King himself be concerned in it. And as we must *give Honour to whom Honour*, so Truth to whom Truth *is due*: and this without Respect of Persons; it being a Case long since decided, That *Truth is greater than the King*.

If I thought there were no such Thing in the World as true Religion, and that *the Priests of all Religions are alike*, I might have been as nimble a Convert, and as early a Defender of the Royal Papers, as any one of these Champions. For why should not one who believes no Religion, de-

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clare for any ? But since I do verily believe not only that there is such a Thing as true Religion, but that it is only to be found in the Books of Holy Scripture, I have Reason to enquire after the best Means of understanding the Sense of those Books, and thereby, if it may be, to put an end to the Controversies of *Christendom*.

This was the noble Design of the two Royal Papers ; which are written with far greater Strength, and Spirit, and Closeness, than these which are published in Defence of them. But notwithstanding all their fair Appearance, I could not be convinced by the Reason contained in them, (and much less by the Defence of them) which I endeavour'd to represent as far as I could judge, with Modesty and Civility. But if I have offended in any thing against the strict Rules of good Manners, I hope I may be the more easily forgiven, since their Casuists allow involuntary Faults to be in their own Nature venial.

The Method proposed by the Paper for ending Controversies, was by finding out a Principle for doing it, *as visible as that the Scripture is in Print*. This I could not but extremely approve, as a very satisfactory Method of proceeding ; and the Consequence I said would be, that all Men of Sense would soon give over disputing ; for none who dare to believe what they see, can call that in Question.

Pag. 2.

The Author of the Reply saith, *I mistake the Meaning of the Words*, which he saith was this, *That whatever Motives render it visible that a Book in Print is Scripture, i. e. the Word of God, the same or other Motives are as powerful to render this other Truth as visible, that none can be that Church, but that which is called the Roman-Catholick Church.*

Def. p. 2, 3.

The Defender saith, *The Church is more visible than Scripture, because the Scripture is seen by the Church ; for which he brings S. Augustin's Authority. And if by saying that the Scripture is in Print, be understood a thing out of Question ; then he denies it to be visible that the Scripture is in Print ; because many Men do call Scripture in question at this Day ; and to question whether the Book in print be Scripture, is manifestly to question whether Scripture be in print.*

The Words of the Royal Paper are plain, but these Interpretations of them so forced and unnatural, that there needs no other Confutation of them, but to compare their confused Comment with the Text. *It is as visible, as that the Scripture is in Print ; that is, it is a Thing evident to Sense ; for so it is that the Book called the Scripture or the Bible is in print.* Now what is it which is affirmed in the Paper to be thus evident ? *viz. this Proposition, That none can be that one Church which Christ has here on Earth, but that which is called the Roman Catholick Church.* But if it be certain (as I doubt not to make it appear) that what is called the Roman Catholick Church is but a Part of that One Church which Christ has here on Earth, then the plain result of this Proposition must be, that it is a Thing evident to Sense that a Part is the Whole. Now this looked so oddly, that these Gentlemen were resolved that this should not be the Sense of the plain Words ; and therefore have endeavoured to put another Sense, (if it may be called so) upon them. And if their Church can but interpret Scripture at this Rate, we are in a hopeful way to have a speedy and happy end of Controversies.

As to the Consequence I drew from hence, that if Controversies could be determined by a Principle as visible as that Scripture is in Print, all Men of Sense would soon give over disputing, for none who dare believe what they see would call that in question ; One saith, *The sooner the better.*

So

So say I too, upon good Grounds. But what would then become of *the* Def. p. 1.
Noble Science of Controversie. The other saith, *That Catholicks and Pro-* Rep. p. 1.
testants are both Men of Sense, and yet they dispute about the Scripture which
is in Print. And what then? This is to shew that *the Scriptures being in*
Print is one thing, and the Authority of the Scripture is another. The
 one is a common Object of Sense, in which all are agreed; the other is
 liable to many Disputes, and therefore could not be meant in the Papers.

But they have a notable Cavil against Mens *believing what they see,* Def. p. 1.
because Faith is of things not seen. This Cavil had been as good against
 our Blessed Saviour, when he said to *Thomas, because thou hast seen, thou* Rep. p. 1.
hast believed. I hope upon second Thoughts, they will not tell him, that
 this was improperly spoken, and nor like a Schoolman. Call it what you
 will, the single Question is, Whether your Church will allow us to judge
 of things according to the plain Evidence of Sense? One saith, *It is im-* Rep. p. 1.
possible that any Man should be commanded not to believe what he sees. *Be-*
lieving here is the Judgment of the Mind upon the Representation of
 Sense; and will he secure us that the Church can never require us to judge
 otherwise than according to the Evidence of Sense? I wish he would make
 his Words good, for I assure him he would remove a terrible Block out of
 our way. My Senses plainly tell me, what I see and feel and taste is as
 much Bread after Consecration as it was before; how then comes it to pass
 that my Judgment that it was Bread before, was very good; but although
 there be the very same Evidence afterwards, without the least Alteration
 to Sense, yet then I am to judge just contrary, *i. e.* that it is not Bread,
 which I see and feel and taste just as I did before?

But he saith, *what is seen is only the Form, Shape and Figure of Bread and*
Wine, and that they believe to be there. But alas! This doth not reach to
 the Point. For the Question is not about external Appearances, but about
 the Judgment of the Mind upon the Evidence of Sense. I will make this
 Matter plainer, that they may know where the Difficulty lies. When
 Christ's Body appeared to the Disciples after his Resurrection, there was
 no Dispute among them concerning *the Form, Shape and Figure of his Body,*
 but the Doubt was, whether from these they were to conclude that it was
 Christ's real Body or not? If not, they could not believe from the Evi-
 dence of Sense that Christ's Body was risen from the dead; if they were,
 let them tell us how Christ's Body comes to be so much changed and to
 lose those Essential Properties of a Body which it once had and was judged
 by; and farther, what Ground there is for us now not to allow that Judg-
 ment of Sense which Christ himself appealed to, after the Institution of
 the Sacrament? For if Christ had therein declared that our Senses are not
 to be our Rule of judging concerning his Body; he would certainly not
 have appealed so soon after to the Senses of his Disciples concerning that
 very Body; and neither he nor his Disciples have given the least Intimati-
 on, that what we see and feel to be one Body, we must believe to be quite
 another which we can neither see nor feel.

Did not two Angels appear to Lot in the Figure and Shapes of Men; and
the Holy Ghost descend in the form of a Dove? and were they who saw them,
to believe according to the Evidence of Sense? I answer, that there is a great
 deal of Difference to be made between Invisible Powers appearing under
 bodily Shapes, and a natural, visible, palpable extended Body losing the
 Properties of a Body and becoming invisible, impalpable and indivisible;
 And withal there is a great difference, between Spiritual Powers uniting
 the real Particles of Matter into a Body, and the making the *Form,*
 Z z z z z *Figure,*

Figure, and Shape of a real Body to be where there is no Substance of a Body. We do not pretend to judge by our Senses of Invisible Substances under outward Appearances; but of the Truth of a bodily Substance by all the Appearances of a Body, under all the Circumstances necessary for the right Judgment of Sense.

Def. p. 3, 4. The other saith, *he knows of no Church which allows not People to believe all they see.* May we then believe that to be still Bread which we see to be so? No, he saith, *the What of a thing is not the Object of Sense.* I perceive then our Senses are very impertinent things; and only give an Account of the Circumstances and not of the Substances of things. But I pray did not the Disciples perceive the *What* of Christ's Body by their Senses? How do we know the *What* of any bodily Substance but by them? It is meer Collusion to say *our Senses do not judge of Substances*; for our bare Senses judge of nothing, but are the means of conveying the Impressions or Representations inward, whereby our Minds do pass Judgment upon things. And either we cannot know the Substance of any thing sensible, or we must know the *What of it* (as he speaks,) by our Senses.

We now come to the main Business; which for the clearer Proceeding I shall put under three distinct Heads.

I. Concerning the Unity of the Catholick Church.

II. Concerning the Authority of it.

III. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of England.

I. Of the Unity of the Catholick Church.

AND here the Point to be discussed, is, *viz. Whether that which is called the Roman Catholick Church, be that one Church which Christ has here on Earth?*

(1.) The first thing I objected against it was, that a Part cannot be the Whole; but that which is called the Roman Catholick Church is but a Part; and therefore it cannot be the One Catholick Church of Christ here on Earth.

Here, to prevent Cavilling, I must declare that I meant not the *Roman Diocese or Province*, but *all the Churches which live in Communion with and Subjection to the Bishop of Rome as Head of the Church*; and look on it as *necessary to Salvation so to do.* And this I still assert to be but a Part of the Catholick Church and a corrupt one too.

Pag. 5. The Author of the Defence saith, *All this Riddle of Part and Whole comes from my Inadvertence.* How so? *Because I confound the Roman Diocese with the Roman Catholick Church.* No, I assure him I did take it in their own Sense, for *all that embrace the Matters of Faith which are received in the Roman Communion.* And He need not fear my doing otherwise; for I intend to discourse of no other Church but this; and this I deny, as so taken, to be the *One Catholick Church.* *Doth not Catholick signifie all the Parts?* I am sure it ought to do so; but I say it doth not, when *Roman* is joyned to *Catholick*; for then it excludes all those from being Parts of the *Catholick Church*, which do not joyn in the *Roman Communion*; and this I say is unreasonable. And here I expected some Proof in so material a Point; but there is not a Word farther, than that *Catholick comprehends all*; but I say again, *Roman Catholick* excludes all that are not in its Communion. As suppose any one should say *the German Ocean is the whole Sea*; and to prove it, should reason as this Gentleman doth; *Ocean*

is the whole Sea, is it not? And is it the less the Ocean, because German is added to it? No, the Ocean is just as large as ever it was; but the adding German to it restrains the Sense of Ocean to it within certain Bounds; and excludes many parts of the great Ocean, which are without those Limits. Just so it is in adding *Roman* to *Catholick*; *Catholick* alone comprehends all the Parts of the Church, but *Roman* added to it confines the Sense of it to those who embrace the Faith received in the *Roman Communion*; and this excludes all other Parts of the *Catholick Church*; and so makes a Part to be the Whole.

(2.) I objected farther, that if this had been the *Catholick Church* meant in the Creeds, this Limitation ought to have been expressed in the Creeds, and put to Persons to be baptized; which being never done in the *Roman Church* it self, I thence infer'd that it did not believe it self to be the One *Catholick Church*, which we profess to believe in the Creeds.

Here the Author of the Reply answers, *That Catholick and Roman Catho-* Pag. 5.
lick were in the Language of Antiquity one and the same thing; and this Point being never called in Question in the time when the Creeds were published, there was no occasion to put Roman into the Creeds; no more than of putting in Consubstantial with the Father till it was denied.

This were a substantial way of answering the Difficulty, if it would in any measure hold. But I shall now prove just the Contrary to have been the Sense of Antiquity by plain and undeniable Instances in Matters of Fact, in most of the Ages of the Christian Church; from the very next to the Apostolical, down to the Council of *Trent*. To which I shall only premise this, which I think no *Roman Catholick* will deny me, viz. that the *Roman Catholick Church* doth imply Obedience to the Bishop of Rome as *Supream visible Head of the Church under Christ*. For *Bellarmino* and De Eccles. l. 3. c. 2.
others, make not only Faith and Sacraments necessary to the Being of the Church, but Submission to lawful Pastors, and especially to the Pope as *Christ's only Vicar upon Earth*; and he placeth the Essential Unity of the *Catholick* Ibid. c. 5.
Church in the Conjunction of the Members, under Christ and his Vicar, as Head of the Church. And from hence he excludes *Schismatics* out of the *Catholick Church*, though they have Unity of Faith and Sacraments and Hope and Spirit. And the *Roman Catechism* makes Union with the Pope as *visi-* Catech. Rom. Part. 1. c. 10. n. 10.
ble Head of the Church necessary to the Unity of the Catholick Church.

And the Proofs I bring shall not be from short or doubtful Sentences, but from remarkable Passages and notorious Acts of the Church.

In the First Age of the Church the Name *Catholick* was as little known, as the Authority of the *Roman Church*; it not being once found in the Apostolical Writings; for the Inscriptions of the *Catholick Epistles* are of latter times. And if they were allowed to be Apostolical, they would be far from proving any thing to this Purpose, since the *Roman Church* is never mentioned in these Epistles, unless under the Name of *Babylon*; and I suppose they would not like the Title of the *Catholick Babylonish Church*. But in all the Directions of the Apostles concerning Unity of Faith, there is not one which gives the least Intimation, that the *Roman Church* in any Sense was to be the Rule or Standard of Faith or Communion.

In the Second Age we find Two remarkable Instances that the Communion of the *Catholick Church* was not to be taken from Conjunction with the Bishop of Rome as Head of it.

The First is from the Bishop of Rome's approving the Prophecies of *Montanus*, *Prisca* and *Maximilla*. This would hardly appear credible if *Ter-*
tullian

Tertul. c.
Praxeas c. 1.

tullian had not expressly affirmed it; and he farther saith, That had it not been for Praxeas a Heretick, he had taken them into the Communion of the Catholick Church; and he prevailed with him to revoke his communicatory Letters already past. What a Case had the Catholick Church been in at this time, if the Bishop of Rome had been look'd on as the Centre of Catholick Communion, and if he had not been better informed by Praxeas a Heretick?

Nota Collec.
Concil. Baluz.
p. 10.

The Second in the same Age is when Victor took upon him to excommunicate the Eastern Bishops for not celebrating Easter at the same time they did at Rome. If now the Eastern Bishops did own the Roman Catholick and Catholick Church to be the same, they must shew it at such a time by their regard to the Pope's Sentence as Head of the Catholick Church: But they owned no such Authority he had over them; and instead of it Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus, with a Council of Bishops joyning with him about A. D. 197, wrote a smart Epistle to Victor, wherein they let him know they would go on in their way, notwithstanding his threats, and that it was better to obey God than Man. From whence it is observable, That they followed their own judgment against the Pope's; and that they believed the Pope required things of them so contrary to the Will of God, that they resolved to disobey him. And his requiring their Compliance was no Argument of his Authority, but of his Usurpation.

V. Epist. Cy-
pri. ep. 74. 75.

In the Third Age happen'd a famous Contest between Stephen Bishop of Rome, and the Eastern and African Bishops, about Re-baptizing Hereticks. I meddle not now with the Controversie it self, but with the Sense of these Bishops upon occasion of it as to the Roman-Catholick Church. The Bishop of Rome did at least threaten to Excommunicate the African Bishops. And if Firmilian may be believed, he did actually Excommunicate the Asian Bishops. How did these Primitive Bishops behave themselves under this Sentence? They charge Stephen with Insolence, Folly, Contempt of his Brethren, and breaking the Peace of the Catholick Church; and cutting himself off from the Unity of it. The words are, *abscindere se à Charitatis unitate, & alienam se per omnia fratribus facere*. Now I desire to know, whether these Bishops believed the necessary conjunction of Roman and Catholick together? And whether Bishop of Rome were thought to be the Centre of Communion in the Catholick Church? It is plain, they made him the Cause of the Schism, and thought themselves never the less in the Catholick Church for being out of the Roman Communion.

In the Fourth Age the Government and Subordination of the Catholick Church was established in the Council of Nice according to ancient Custom; but we read not a word of the Roman Catholick Church there; or any Privilege or Authority the Bishop of Rome had, but within his own Province, and such as the Bishops of Antioch and Alexandria had in theirs. And when the Bishop of Rome in that Age interposed to restore some Bishops cast out of Communion by the Eastern Bishops, they declared against it as a Violation of the Rules of the Catholick Church; and this became the Occasion of the first Breach between the Eastern and Western Churches. In the same Age Liberius, Bishop of Rome, joyned with the Eastern Bishops in casting Athanasius out of the Catholick Church, and subscribed the Arian Confession of Faith; as both Hilary and S. Jerome witness; and it appears from his Seventh Epistle, and the old Lesson in the Roman Breviary, 19 Kal. Sept. which hath been since expunged for telling Tales.

In the Fifth Age happened a greater Breach between the Bishops of Rome and the Eastern Churches. For *Acacius* the Bishop of Constantinople, not complying with what the Bishops of Rome desired from him, was solemnly excommunicated by *Felix III.* But notwithstanding this, the Emperor and Eastern Bishops continued still in his Communion; and they complained that the Proceedings against him were against the Rules of the Church, and favoured of great Pride, as appears by the Epistles of *Gelasius*, who succeeded *Felix*. And upon this a notorious Schism happened, which the Eastern Churches charged the Church of Rome with; and believed themselves to be still in the Communion of the Catholic Church. Epist. 4. 8.

In the Sixth Age *Vigilius* Bishop of Rome gives an undeniable Evidence of the Difference between Communion with the Catholic Church and with the Bishop of Rome. When he went to Constantinople, upon *Justinian's* Faund. l. 4. c. 4. Summons, about the Three Chapters, not only the Church of Rome, but that of *Africa, Sardinia, Istria, Illyricum* and others, earnestly entreated him not to consent to the condemning them; accordingly when he came to Constantinople he was so warm and zealous in the Cause, that he forthwith excommunicates the Patriarch and his Adherents; among whom the Empress her self was one: But soon after he was so much mollified, that he not only took off his Sentence, but privately agreed with the Emperour to condemn the Three Chapters. Which was discovered to the Western Churches by *Rusticus* and *Sebastianus*, who were then with him: Whereupon they cried out upon him for prevaricating and betraying the Council of Chalcedon; and the African Bishops not only condemned his Judgment, but excommunicated him and all that consented to it; and so did the Bishops of *Illyricum*. Which Schism continued many Years, as appears by the Epistles of *Pelagius II.* and *Gregory*. *Vigilius* finding how the Matter was resented in the Western Churches, yields to a General Council; which the Emperor Summon'd at Constantinople; in the mean time he publishes an Edict against the Three Chapters. *Vigilius* to recover his Credit with the Western Bishops, denounces Excommunication against those that yielded to it; but the Greeks despised his Censure, and immediately went to celebrate Divine Offices. When the Council sat he refused to come; which they regarded not, but went on and condemned the Three Chapters without him; but when the Council was ended he complied with it; as now appears from the Authentick Acts lately published. Victor. Tunn.
Post. Coſſ.
Basil X.

Nova Collect.
Concil. p. 1551.

Let any Man now judge, whether Communion with the Bishop of Rome were then looked on as a necessary Condition of being in the Catholic Church, either by the Eastern or Western Churches.

In the Seventh Age there is a Necessity to make a Distinction between the Communion with the Bishop of Rome; and with the Catholic Church; because *Honorius* then Bishop of Rome is condemned by the Sixth General Council, for contradicting the Apostolical Doctrine, and the Definitions of Councils, and for following the false Doctrines of Hereticks. And the same Judgment is confirmed by the Seventh and Eighth Councils, which are received for General in the Church of Rome. And *Leo I.* in his Epistle to the Emperour, wherein he confirms the Sixth Council, expressly Anathematizes his Predecessor *Honorius* for no less than betraying the Catholic Faith. And in the Profession of Faith made by every new Bishop of Rome (extant in the *Diurnus*) *Honorius* is Anathematized by Name. Was it then the Roman Catholic Church which joyned in Communion with *Honorius*?

In

In the Eighth Age the Bishop of *Rome* approved the Second Council of *Nice*; but notwithstanding the Western Churches stiffly opposed it, as *contrary to Faith*; which they could not have done, if at that time the Pope had been looked on as the *Head and Center of Catholick Communion*.

In the Ninth Age happened the great Breach between the Two Patriarchs of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, which in Consequence engaged the Eastern and Western Churches against each other. And although the restoring of *Photius* after the Death of *Ignatius* seemed to put an end to it; yet the Difference increased chiefly upon Two Points, that of *Jurisdiction* and the *Addition to the Creed*, made by the Western Church, which the Council under *Photius* did Anathematize; and the whole *Greek Church*, with the Four Patriarchs, joyned in it; as arguing Imperfection in the Creed and the Tradition of their Fore-fathers. And upon these Two Points this Schism began; although *Photius* did charge the *Latin Church* with other things; which made *Nicholaus I.* to employ the best Pens they had to defend the *Latins* against the *Greeks*. One of which was *Ratramnus* lately published, who lived at that time; and it is observable in him, That he supposes both to be still *Parts of the Catholick Church*; and he often distinguishes the *Latin Church* or the whole *Roman Communion*, from the *Catholick Church*; which he saith, was extended from the *East to the West*, from the *North to the South*.

In the Eleventh Age this Schism brake forth with greater Violence, in the time of *Leo IX.* and *Michael Cerularius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. To the former Occasions of Difference, a new one was added, never mentioned in *Photius* his time, viz. the use of unleavened Bread in the Sacrament, by the *Latin Church*. Of this, with other things, *Michael Cerularius* complained; the Pope sends Three Nuntio's to *Constantinople*, who behaved themselves rudely and insolently towards the Patriarch; as he shews in his Epistles to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, published lately by *Cotelerius*; there he declares he would not treat with them about Religion without the other Patriarchs; upon which they pronounced them obstinate, and proceeded to Excommunicate the whole *Greek Church* for not complying with them. And the Patriarch returned the Kindness and Anathematized them. The Form of the Anathema against the *Greeks* is printed with *Humbertus*; and the short of it is, whosoever contradicts the Roman See is to be excluded *Catholick Communion*, and be made Anathema Maranatha.

This was plain Dealing; but it was the Eleventh Age before things came to this height. And yet in that very Anathema one of the Reasons assigned, was because the *Greeks* like the *Donatists* confined the *Catholick Church* to themselves.

In the Thirteenth Age *Innocent III.* writes to the *Greek Emperor* to bring the *Greeks* back to the Unity of the Church; the Patriarch of *Constantinople* writes back again to know what he meant by it, and how he could call the *Roman Church*, the One *Catholick Church*, since *Christians* made but one Flock under their several Pastors, *Christ* himself being Head over all. The Pope answers, The Church is called *Catholick* Two ways; 1. As it consists of all particular Churches, and so he grants the *Roman Church* is not the *Catholick Church*, but a part of it, though the chief. 2. As it holds under it all particular Churches; and so, he saith, The *Roman Church* only is the *Catholick Church*. And so he makes owning the *Roman Church* to be Mother and Mistress of all Churches, as he there saith, to be a necessary Condition of *Catholick Communion*. And thus it becomes the *Roman Catholick Church*. But this was a very new Notion of the *Catholick Church*, which

Ratramn. c.
Græc. apud
Dacher. Spicil.
To. 2, p. 3,
24, 27, 29, 53,
54, 60, 61, 62.

Monumenta
Græc. To. 2.
p. 138, n. 6.
p. 164, n. 3,
4, 5.

Canis. Antiq.
Lect. To. 6.
p. 197.

Pag. 196.

Innocent III.
Ep. l. 1. 353.

Lib. 2. 2. 8.

Ep. 209.

which in the Fathers of the Church was taken in one of these two Senses.

1. *With respect to Faith*, and so *Catholick* was the same with *Sound* and of a right Faith, in Opposition to the Notorious Heresies of the First Ages. So it was used by *Ignatius*, against the Heresies of that time, which denied *Jesus to be Christ*, therefore, saith he, *Wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholick Church*. After him *Polycarp* is called by the Church of *Smyrna*, *Bishop of the Catholick Church in Smyrna*. So the Council of *Antioch* speaking of the Deposition of *Paulus Samosatenus* say, *They must set another Bishop over the Catholick Church there*. *Clemens* observes, *That in those Ages the Hereticks went by other Names, but the sound Christians were known by the Name of Catholicks, which had been of very ancient Use in the Church, though not found in Scripture; as Fulgentius likewise observes*. But *Lactantius* takes notice that the Hereticks had gotten the Trick of using that Name; and then his Rule is to discern the true Catholick Church by the true Religion. For he not only saith before, *That the Catholick Church is to be known by the true Worship of God; but when he comes to lay down the Notes of the true Church, the first of them is Religion*. So I find in an old *Lactantius*, printed at *Rome*, *A. D.* 1470. but, for what Reason I know not, it is left out in the latter Editions. In the Conference between the *Donatists* and the *Catholick Bishops*, both sides challenged the Name of *Catholicks* to themselves; and the *Roman Judge* determined, *It should belong to them who were found to have Truth on their side*. *Pope Innocent III.* in a Council at *Rome* declares, *That all the Churches in the World are called one from the Unity of the Catholick Faith*. And in the Canon before, he mentions the *Roman Church as distinct from the Catholick*, but comprehended under it while it adheres to the *Catholick Faith*. Which was not then understood to be what the *Roman Church* declares to be so; but what was universally received in the Church from the Apostles times, and was delivered in the Creeds to the Persons to be admitted by Baptism into the *Catholick Church*.

2. *With respect to Persons and Places*. And so *Catholick* was first taken in opposition to the Jewish Confinement of Salvation to themselves; and of God's appointed Worship to one Temple. So *Ignatius* saith, *The Church is one Body, made up of Jews and Gentiles*. And the Church of *Smyrna* writes to all the Members of the Catholick Church in all Places: and the Council of *Antioch* writes to the whole Catholick Church under Heaven. *S. Cyril* saith, *The Church is called Catholick from its Universal spreading and teaching the whole Doctrine of Christ to all sorts of Persons*. *Athanasius* saith, *It is called Catholick, because it is dispersed over the World*. *Theophylact* saith, *The Catholick Church is a Body made up of all Churches, whereof Christ is the Head*. And the *African Bishops* from the first beginning of the Dispute with the *Donatists* laid great weight upon this, *That the Catholick Church was to be taken in its largest Extent; or else the Promises could not be fulfilled; as may be seen in Optatus, who saith, The Church is called Catholick, not only from its having the true Faith, but from its being every where dispersed*. And *S. Augustine* hath written whole Books to prove it. In the Conference with the *Donatists*, the *Catholick Bishops*,

Bishops, and especially S. *Augustin*, plead, that they are called *Catholicks*

Baluz. Coll. Concil. p. 287, 288.

Nos universo orbi Christiano communi-
one coheremus, n. 100.

Et appellantur & merito sunt Catholici
ipsa sua communione nomen reserantes. Ca-
tholici enim secundum totum dicuntur. Qui
autem à toto separatus est, partemque de-
fendit ab universo præcisam, non sibi usur-
pet hoc nomen, sed nobiscum teneat veri-
tatem, n. 101.

because they hold communion with the whole World of
Christians, and not with those only of a particular
Title or Denomination. For therein they made the
Schism of the *Donatists* consist; not barely in a cause-
less Separation; but in confining the *Catholick Church*
to themselves, who at best were but a Part of it. And
because the Notion which *Innocent III.* gives, is lia-
ble to the same Charge, it cannot be excused from the
same guilt.

Thus we have found the Author of this Notion of the *Roman Catho-
lick Church*, viz. for such as own the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*,
as he explains it more fully in the same Epistle.

But yet this Notion of the *Catholick Church* was not Universally received
after *Innocent III.* For in the Fifteenth Age, in the Council of *Florence*,
Cardinal *Bessarion* disputing with the *Greeks* about the Authority of the
Concil. Florent. Roman Church, in making an Addition to the Creed, saith, That how
Sess. 9. great soever the Power of the Roman Church be, he grants it is less than
that of a General Council, or the *Catholick Church*. From whence it fol-
lows, that the Notion of the *Catholick Church* cannot be taken from
owning the *Roman Church* to be Mistress of all Churches; for then the
Catholick Church is bound to submit to the Decrees of the *Roman Church*
about Matters of Faith.

In the beginning of the same Age the Council of *Constance* met, and
in the Fourth Session declared, That a General Council represents the *Catho-
lick Church*, and hath its Power immediately from *Christ*; and that in Mat-
ters of Faith, Unity of the Church, and Reformation, all Persons, even Popes
themselves are bound to submit to it. And truly it was but necessary for
them to take off from the Pope's Authority in Matters of Faith, since they
charge *John XXIII.* with no less than frequent and pertinacious denying the
Concil. Con- Immortality of the Soul. Was not this Man fit to be an Infallible Head of
stant. Sess. 11. the *Catholick Church*, and the true Center of Christian Communion?
Concil. Gen. To. 12. p. 87. Bellarmine saith, this Article was not proved, but only commonly believed,
De Rom. Pont. because of the dissoluteness of his Life. But this is but a poor Defence;
l. 4. c. 14. since this Article stands upon Record against him in all the Editions of the
Council of *Constance*; which I have compared; even that at *Rome*, said to
be collated with Manuscripts. And why should so scandalous an Article be
suffered to stand, unless there were such a consent of Copies that it could
not for shame be removed?

The Doctrine of the Council of *Constance* was confirmed by the Coun-
cil of *Basil*, and is to this Day maintained by the Clergy of *France*, as
appears by their Declaration made A. D. 1682. From whence it follows,
that the Church is not called *Catholick* from relation to the *Roman Church*;
but to the whole Body of *Christians*: and that the Unity of it, is not to be
taken from the respect it bears to an external Visible Head which may fail,
but to *Christ* as the essential Head of the Church. This is the express
Doctrine of the Cardinal de *Alliaco*, *Joh. Major*, *Almain*, *Gerson* and many
others; and follows from the Decree of the Council of *Constance*.

Thus I have briefly deduced the Sense of the *Christian Church* in this
Matter from the Apostolical times; and that not meerly from the Sayings
of particular Men; but from publick, solemn, and undoubted Acts of
the Church. Which I have the rather done, because the *Defender* saith,
Def. p. 23. we have no Antiquity on our side in this Cause, but as much as since *Luther*. I
think

think I have produced a little more, and too much for him to *Answer*.

It is time now to consider what Proof the Replier brings, *that Catholick and Roman Catholick in the Sense of Antiquity were one and the same thing.*

He produces the Testimonies of *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, wherein the Church of Rome is called the Catholick Church. Who doubts that in Pag. 6.

those Days there was a *Catholick Church* at Rome? For every particular Church which agreed in the *Catholick Faith* was then called the *Catholick Church* of such a Place. And innumerable Instances of this kind may be gathered out of Antiquity; both as to the City of *Rome*, and other Cities as well as that; and surely they were not all *Catholick Churches* in his Sense; when he agrees there is but *One Catholick Church*; nay more, even *Parochial Churches* were called *Catholick*, as he may find in *Cotelerius*.

S. Ambrose's Testimony signifies no more, than that *Satyrus* coming into a Place suspected for the *Luciferian Schism*, asked if the Bishop joyned with the *Catholick Bishops*, i. e. with the *Roman Church*. Which is no mote than whether he agreed with his own Church; for *Satyrus* was a *Roman* born. But this would prove any other Church to be the *One Catholick Church* altogether as well as the *Roman*.

Not. in Monum. Græc. T. 2. p. 601.

The Patriarch of *Constantinople* writes to *Hormisdas*, that he would not hereafter recite in the *Diptychs* the Names of those who were excommunicated by the *Apostolical See*. And what follows? But he saith, *They were sever'd from the Communion of the Catholick Church*. And so were those excommunicated by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. But the Words are, *who do not in all things consent with the See Apostolick*; but the plain Meaning is, of those who were cast out of Communion, for the Words are too, *Sequestratos à Communione Ecclesie Catholicæ*. And doth this prove the *Roman Church* to have any more Relation to the *Catholick*, than the Church of the meanest Bishop in the *Catholick Church*?

As to the calling of *Catholick Romanists* by the *Gothick Arians*; that relates to the *Roman Empire*, and not to the *Roman Church*.

And now let any impartial Reader judge whether the Sense of *Antiquity* be not admirably cleared by these Passages, as to the making out *Roman* and *Catholick* to be the same. But to proceed.

(3.) I said farther, that if the *Roman Church* believed it self to be the *Catholick Church*, it must void the Baptism of those who are out of its Communion; but since Baptism doth enter Persons into the *Catholick Church*, by its own Confession, the *Catholick Church* which is owned in the *Creeds*, must be of larger Extent than the *Roman*.

In Answer to this, they both tell me *this Point hath been over-ruled long ago by the Catholick Church; the Baptism of Hereticks being allowed to be good*. But since it is granted, that Baptism doth enter Persons into that *Catholick Church* we believe in the *Creeds*, doth it not evidently follow, that the *Catholick Church in the Creeds* is larger than the *Roman Communion*? For it takes in those which the other doth not. Doth not the *Catholick Church* take in all that are admitted into the *Catholick Church*? But many more by their own Confession are admitted into it than are of the *Roman Communion*, and therefore it unavoidably follows, that the *Roman Catholick Church* cannot be the *Catholick Church* believed in the two *Creeds*.

Reply p. 8. Defence p. 7.

And although according to *S. Augustine*, the Validity of Baptism depends on the right Form of Words, and not the good Disposition of him that administers; yet Baptism where it is valid must have its due Effect, which is entring Persons into the *Catholick Church*.

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But

Pag. 8. But say they, *Doth not Heresie, &c. cast them out of the Catholick Church?* Suppose it doth, yet if Heresie do cast them out, they were in the Church till they were cast out of it. Their being allowed to be in it doth my Business; let them prove them cast out by Heresie when they please. But the Defender saith, *I suppose what I should prove, and then prove it by Means of that Supposition.*

Here I am to seek; for do I not prove from their *own Supposition* and not from *mine*, that Baptism doth enter Persons into the Catholick Church? And therefore from thence I prove, that themselves cannot believe the *Catholick and Roman Church* to be all one; since they allow many multitudes to be entred into the *Catholick Church*, which they deny to be of the *Roman Church*.

Pag. 9. Yet he goes on, *That such Persons are not truly Members either of the Catholick or Roman Catholick Church.* No? then Baptism doth not admit Persons into the *Catholick Church*. Which is very new Doctrine, and fit only for new Converts, and is directly contrary to the *Roman Catechism*, which saith, *Baptism is the Gate by which we enter into the Church.* They were so far Members, saith he, as Baptism could make them. And that I hope was to make them Members of Christ's Body; or else what becomes of the Council of Trent, which so expressly asserts, and that with an *Anathema*, the *Validity and Efficacy of the Sacraments in general*, and of *Baptism in particular*? And there is a special *Anathema against those who say that Children baptized are not to be reckon'd inter fideles*, and I hope those are Members of the *Catholick Church*. Is there Remission of Sins, Communion with the Holy Spirit granted out of the *Catholick Church*? Yet these are the *Effects of Baptism*, owned by all Persons in the Church of *Rome*; or else they cannot themselves be of the *Roman Communion*. What is it then I pray to be as much Members of the Church as Baptism could make them? What can make them more Members than Baptism doth? According to their own Doctrine. But they are as far off the *Roman Church* as they are off the *Catholick*. Say you so? Then no more is requisite to make a Man a Member of the *Roman Church*, than is necessary to his Baptism. This is great News, and would be very welcome to the Christian World. I have heard of many Projects of Accommodation; but none seem to be like this. For then no more is necessary to make us Members of the *Roman Church than of the Catholick*, i. e. owning the Creed and our *Baptismal Vow*. Nay, hold there, saith he, the *Profession of the Catholick Faith is necessary to make one a true Member of the Roman Catholick Church*. This is the Meaning of a whole Page, or else it has none: Suppose this to be true; and it proves what I intend. For either this *Catholick Faith* is the same which was required to Baptism, or not. If the same, then no more is required than owning the Creeds, to make a Member of the *Roman Catholick Church*; if not the same, then those who are Members of the *Catholick Church by Baptism*, are not Members of the *Roman Catholick* till a farther Profession of the *Roman Faith*; and consequently the *Catholick Church* and the *Roman Catholick* are not the same, since those may be Members of the *Catholick Church*, who are not of the *Roman Catholick*. Can any thing be plainer?

Catech. Rom.
Part 1. c. 10.
n. 20.
Sess. 7.
Can. 7, 8, 9
De Bapt.
Can. 13.

Pag. 10.

Pag. 7.

Reply p. 8.

And the Replier is so much a Gentleman, to own the Truth of it. For these are his Words, *That Baptism enters Persons into the Catholick Church, who though they be out of the Communion of the Roman Church, yet having the true form of Baptism, are Members of the Catholick Church.* Therefore

fore the Catholick Church, and Roman Catholick cannot be the same. Which was all I intended to prove.

But he saith, *That as Baptism enters them into the Catholick Church, so Heresie, Apostasie, or Infidelity casts them out; or else the old Hereticks, which he reckons up, were still Members of the Catholick Church.* I answer, That my Argument was not concerning the old Hereticks, who rejected any Article of the Creed, which was delivered at Baptism, and the owning of it required in order to it; but concerning the Roman Catholick Church, which makes the owning New Articles of Faith necessary in order to its Communion; and if this Church reject any from its Communion who do own the Articles of the Creeds, it follows from thence, that it is not the Catholick Church into which Persons are admitted by Baptism.

But no Man if an Heretick, though baptized, can remain in the Church. Pag. 9. If he be convicted of renouncing the Creed, upon the owning whereof he was received to Baptism, he casts himself out of the Church; for he doth not stand to his Promise. If you mean that any thing which the Roman Catholick Church declares to be Heresie, casts a Man out of the Catholick Church, I do utterly deny it, and I see no Reason brought to prove it.

(4.) I argued, that in a divided State of the Church, there may be different Communions, and yet both may remain Parts of the Catholick Church; for which I instanced in the Excommunications of old about keeping Easter, and the Differences between the Eastern and Western Churches; but to appropriate the Title of the One Catholick Church to any one of the divided Parties, so as to exclude the rest, was to charge that Party with the Schism, as in the Case of the Novatians and Donatists; and consequently, to apply the One Catholick Church to the Roman, was to make it guilty of the present Schism in the Christian World.

Both the Defender and Replier behave themselves in their Answers to this, as if they did not understand what I aimed at; and therefore run out into things by the bye, as if they thought there were no Difference between saying something to a Book, and giving an Answer to it. What I can pick up, which seems material, I will set down distinctly.

The Replier takes Notice that I said, *That before the Unhappy Divisions of the Christian Church it had been no Difficulty to have shewed that one visible Church which Christ had here upon Earth; to which he answers, That there were Divisions in the Apostles times, and the same Means which were then used to preserve the Unity of the Catholick Church, did equally serve for after Ages and continue to this Day, and so the Unity of the Catholick Church is still as visible as ever it was.* This in few Words I take to be the Force of what he saith. But certainly there was a time when the Unity of the Catholick Church was a little more discernable than now it is. Doth not the Scripture tell us, *the Multitude was of one Heart and one Soul?* Are all Christians so at this Day? I grant afterward there were Schisms and Heresies in the Apostolical Churches. But the Apostles had an Infallible Spirit, which they manifested by the Power of Miracles going along with it, by which Means the Heresies were laid open and the Schisms stopped. But what were those Heresies? Such as contradicted the Articles of the Creed, as about the Truth of Christ's Incarnation, and the Resurrection of the Dead, &c. and therefore the Apostles by the Assistance of that Infallible Spirit did write Epistles to the Churches, to declare that which was to be the standing Faith of all Ages; and by an unquestionable Tradition (in the Church of

of *Rome*) they summ'd up these Fundamental Points of Faith in that which is therefore called *the Apostles Creed*. This was therefore the Standard whereby to judge of *Faith* and *Hereſie*; and by this, they proceeded in the Ages ſucceeding the *Apoſtles*. Afterwards, ſome did not bare-faced contradict the Articles of the *Creed*, but broached ſuch Doctrines as did by Conſequence overthrow them; as the *Arians* by making a *Creature God*, the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* denying in effect the Truth of *Chriſt's Incarnation*; againſt theſe the *General Councils* aſſembled and the *Eastern* and *Western Churches* joyned in condemning them; not from their own Authority as *Supreme* or *Infallible Judges*; but as the moſt Authentick Witneſſes of the true *Apoſtolic* Doctrine. And thus the *Creed* was enlarged by general Conſent through the *whole Catholick Church*, and that which was called the *Nicene Creed* was made the Standard of *Catholick Communion*.

Concil. Ephes.
Part 2. Art. 6.
Chalcedon.
Art. 5.

But to prevent any Miſchief by overcharging the *Creed*, the *General Council of Ephesus* did *absolutely forbid any farther additions to be made to it*, and the *Council of Chalcedon* ratified that prohibition. All that they pretended to, was only to give the true Senſe of the Articles therein received about the *Incarnation of Chriſt*, and the ſame was declared by the *Fifth* and *Sixth General Councils*; whereof the one was to clear the *Council of Chalcedon* from favouring *Nestorianiſm*, and the other to ſhew that the *Humane Nature* in *Chriſt* was perfect, as to the Affections of the *Soul* as well as the *Body*.

But after this, a mighty Breach happen'd between the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*; and ſetting aſide the different Cuſtoms in both (which might eaſily have been compoſed) there were two things, which made this Breach irreconcilable.

1. The *Western Churches* taking upon them to make a *New Addition* to the *Creed*; as to *the Spirit's proceeding from the Son*; without aſking the Conſent of the *Eastern Churches*.

2. The *Bishop of Rome's* aſſuming to himſelf an Authority of *Headſhip over the Catholick Church*. They did not deny him a *Primacy of Order*, as he had the *Fiſt Patriarchal See*; but when he took upon him to exerciſe *Juriſdiction* in the other *Patriarchates* as well as his own, and ſent *Legates* for that purpoſe, they rejected his Authority, and ſo the Breach continued.

Def. p. 14.

But the *Defender* ſaith, *The Popes Supremacy, if his Memory fail him not, was not ſo much as made a pretence till near 200 Years after the Schiſm began, nor any where more acknowledged than in Greece, nor by any Body more than by him that began the Schiſm*. If his *Memory* fail him not, I am ſure, ſomething elſe doth. For nothing can be more notorious from the very *Epistles* of the *Popes* on Occaſion of this *Schiſm*, than that this was at the bottom of all; whatever Pretences might be made uſe of ſometimes to palliate the Matter. Let him but read the *Epistles* of *Leo I.* to *Anatolius* and concerning him; the *Epistles* of *Gregory I.* about the Title of *Oecumenical Patriarch*; the *Epistles* of *Nicolaus I.* concerning *Photius*; of *Leo IX.* concerning *Michael Cerularius*, and I think he will be of another Opinion; and that the Controverſie about Supremacy, to the Scandal of the *Chriſtian World*, was the true Occaſion of that dreadful *Schiſm*. But all the *Eastern Churches* I ſaid however different among themſelves to this Day, look on the *Pope's Supremacy* as an *Innovation* to the *Church*.

To which the Replier saith, *The Eastern Churches were divided from the Roman Catholick Church by such Doctrines as are inconsistent with the Church of England which professes to hold with the Four First General Councils.* Pag. 15.

I will not deny but the Breach as to the *Nestorians* began on the account of the Council of *Ephesus*; but whether the Christians under the *Turk* and *Persians* in *Asia* are truly *Nestorians* is another Question: I think not, for this Reason. In the beginning of this Century, the Patriarch of those Christians called his most Learned Men about him to consider what their Doctrine really was, and how far they differ'd from the Roman Church about Christ; since the Missionaries from thence, still charged them with Heresie: and they declared the difference to be only in Words and the manner of explication. For however they say that every Nature hath a Person inseparable from it (by which they mean no more than a Subsistence) yet from the Union of these two in Christ, they hold that there is but of one *Person* they call it, or *One Son* resulting from the Union of both Natures. And as long as they hold a real Union of both Natures and *one Filiation* (as they speak) resulting from it, it is beyond my Understanding that they should be guilty of the *Nestorian Heresie*. And this Account was given to *Paul V.* by one sent from their Patriarch, and ordered to be Printed by him at *Rome*. But is it not really a very hard Case for 300000 Families, who as is there said were under that Patriarch, to be excluded the Catholick Church, and consequently from Salvation, for not right understanding the Subtilties of the Distinction between *Nature* and *Person*; as, whether Subsistence can be separated from Individual Nature; or whether an Hypostatical Union doth imply that the Individual Nature doth lose its own Subsistence? I appeal to the Conscience of any good Christian, whether he thinks Christ and his Apostles did ever make the Knowledge of these Things necessary to Salvation; which the subtlest of their Schoolmen are never able to explain to the Capacities of the far greatest part of Mankind.

Pet. Seroz,
de Dogmat.
Chalde. in
Proleg. c. 3.
Rom. 1617.

The like may be said, as to those called *Eutychians*, I do not doubt but the Confusion of both Natures in Christ was a Doctrine justly condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, because he could not be true Man, if the Nature of Man were lost in him; but I think there is no Reason to condemn those for that Heresie, who declare they reject the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and that they hold *two Natures in Christ making up one Personated Nature without Mixture or Confusion*, as their Patriarch explained their Doctrine to *Leonardus Abel* Bishop of *Sidon*, whom *Gregory XIII.* sent his *Nuncio* into those Parts, on purpose to understand their Doctrines. And the latter Missionaries confirm the same thing; that they do not deny two Natures in Christ, but say that two Natures are as Parts making up by their Union one Nature with a Person. And herein they say, *Diostorus*, whom they follow, differ'd from *Eutyches*: And must such infinite Numbers of this Perswasion in the Eastern and Western Parts be excluded from the Catholick Church for not knowing the Difference between a Person resulting from the Union of two Natures; and one Nature without a Person arising from two Natures without Mixture or Confusion? A late Writer of the Roman Communion is so ingenuous to acknowledge that the Heresies charged on the Eastern Churches are imaginary and that they differ only in terms, from that which is owned to be the Catholick Faith.

Apud Thom. a
Jesu. l. 7. c. 14.

Philipp. a
SS. Trinit.
Itiner. Orient.
l. 5. c. 5.
Sacchin. Hist.
Societ. Jesu.
l. 6. 12. 123.
Voyage du
Mont Liban du
Daudini Re-
marques sur
Chap. 26.
Pag. 383.

Dissert. de Ori-
gine, Nomine
& Religione
Maronitarum.

And *Faustus Naironus* hath lately published a Book at *Rome* to prove that the *Maronites* have been all along good Catholics; although the Popes in their Bulls from the Time of *Innocent III.* have still charged them with Heresie.

As

As to the *Greeks*, there is yet less Reason to charge them with *Herésie*; since they adhere to the Four General Councils; and out of Zeal for the Decree of the Council of *Ephesus*, will not allow the Addition which the Western Church made to the Creed.

So that upon the whole Matter, there is nothing to exclude the Eastern Churches from being *Parts of the Catholick Church*, but denying the Pope's Supremacy.

Page 15.

Thom. à Jesu.
de Concil. omn.
Gent. l. 7. c. 6.

But he tells us, *Some of these (if his Authors deceive him not) as the Egyptians and Ethiopians have often made Overtures to the Pope for Peace and Communion, owning him for Supreme Head of the Church, provided only they might not be obliged to renounce Eutyches and Diolcorus.* I am extremely afraid his Authors have deceived him, I wish he had named them that others might beware of them. I suppose he means that which *Baronius* printed at the end of his Sixth Tome, of a solemn Embassy from the Patriarch of *Alexandria* and all the Provinces of *Egypt* to own the Pope as Supreme Head of the Church; which was soon after found to be a mere Cheat and Imposture. How far the *Ethiopians* are from owning the Pope's Authority he may find in *Ludolphus*, or *Balthasar Tellez*. It is true the Pope sent a Patriarch into the East upon a Division among themselves; but after a while, he was forced to withdraw to the remotest Parts of *Persia*, and to leave their own Patriarch in full Power. The Bishop of *Sidon* relates, what ill Success he had with the Patriarch of the *Jacobites*. And it is well known how soon the *Greeks* returned to their old Opposition after the Council of *Florence*. I had therefore Reason to say, that all the Churches of the East however different among themselves agreed in rejecting the Pope's Supremacy, and to this day look on it as an Innovation in the Church.

Page 16.

As to what he afterwards speaks of their *Blasphemies against the Divinity and Humanity of Christ*, I now leave the World to judge of them; and if they be true, all Men must condemn the Pope's *Missionaries* for notorious Liars; for the Judgment I make of them; is from the Relations they have given us. And if these be true, I can by no means allow them to be excluded from being *Parts of the Catholick Church*; and so that must be of far greater extent than the *Roman-Catholick Church*. But to go on.

I observed that which I thought a material Difference in the Schisms of the Church, some I said were consistent with both Parties remaining in the *Catholick Church*; for which I instanced in the Bishops of *Rome* Excommunicating the Bishops of *Asia*, about *Easter*; and those of *Asia* and *Africa* about *Re-baptizing*. Others were for excluding all out of the Church but themselves, as the *Novatians* and *Donatists*.

Page 17.

Aug. c. Donat.
p. 6. Collat.
c. 20.

The Replier tells me he doth not think this Difference at all material. For what Reason? Because the Church is the last Tribunal in all Differences; and whosoever separates from her is to be reputed as a Heathen or a Publican. It seems then the Bishops of *Asia* for not keeping *Easter* with Pope *Victor*, were as very Heathens and Publicans as the *Novatians* and *Donatists*. I hope this Gentleman after all, will not make the Church so severe in all its Censures, to cut Men presently off from being Members of the *Catholick Church*. I had learnt from *S. Augustin*, That Excommunications are sometimes used by way of Discipline to bring Persons to a sense of their Faults, and not to cut them off from the People of God. But suppose Excommunications should always cut Persons off from the *Catholick Church*, is it not to be supposed that they are just and reasonable? Suppose the Matter doth not deserve it, or there be false Suggestions, or a precipitate Sentence; is

is it really all one, if the Church happens to Excommunicate? But beside all this, suppose one Bishop in the Church takes upon him to Excommunicate others for little or no cause, and against the Advice of his Brethren; which was the Case of *Victor* about the *Asian* Bishops; must they be cut off from the *Catholick Church* as effectually, as if they had been guilty of the greatest *Herefie* or *Schism*?

But not to affix too severe a Censure on the *Replier*, in the next Page Pag. 12, 13. he doth acknowledge a material Difference; which he saith was, *That the whole Church was not yet engaged, and till a Decision be made by the whole Church, the Parts may Excommunicate each other, and remain Parts of the Church still.* Now this, in my Opinion, makes very much for me. For in this divided State of the Christian World, the whole Church is not engaged as to any Decision of the present Differences; and therefore no Parts can be cut off by other Parts from the *Catholick Church*. For, since the Breaches of *Christendom*, there hath been no Representative of the *Catholick Church*; and is not like to be; and so the divided Parts remain Parts of the *Catholick Church* still. The Council of *Trent* was so far from it, Prejugés legit. contre le Jan- senism. p. 133. that the famous Abbot of *S. Cyprian* called it a *Cabal of Schoolmen* influenced by the Pope. And there is a great deal of Difference between the Decision of Schoolmen and of the *Catholick Church*.

I cannot but still think it material to observe, that in *Schisms* of the most dangerous Nature, the Fault was laid on that Part which appropriated the Title of the *Catholick Church* to it self, as in the *Novatians* and *Donatists*.

Here the *Defender* puts in his Exceptions; for he saith, *It sounds, as* Pag. 14. *if I would have that Title never rightly applied, but to those who do not challenge it; in likelihood because they have no pretence to it.* The Insinuation is, as if I were willing any should be called the *Catholick Church*, but that which is. But in earnest, I am as much against any one Part being called the *Whole*, as another. And from the Case of the *Novatians* and *Donatists* I have learnt to charge the *Schism* on those, who at best being but a Part challenge the *Whole* to themselves. But he cannot understand how it comes to be *Presumption*, and a cause of *Schism* in one Part of a Division to assume it. I am very sorry for it, that he cannot understand it to be a *Presumption* in a Part, to call it self the *Whole*. He saith, *In a Division, it is not well intelligible how more than one Part can bear it.* I say it is not at all intelligible how any Part can bear it. What thinks he of the *Novatians* and *Donatists*? Was it not *Presumption* in them to arrogate the Title of the *Catholick Church* to themselves? And were they not therefore guilty of the *Schism*?

In the ancient Church there were two sorts of *Schisms*, which I think it material to observe.

1. A *Factionous Schism*.

2. A *Sacrilegious Schism*.

(1.) A *Factionous Schism*; when Men out of Opposition to their lawful Governours, in the Church set up separate Assemblies. Which by the Fathers are called *μεγαλυνήσεις*, as by *S. Basil* in his Epistle to *Amphilochius*, where he distinguisheth *Herefie*, *Schism* and unlawful Meetings. *Herefie* is against some necessary Point of Faith; *Schism* is a Separation from the *Catholick Church* about Matters of Discipline; And unlawful Assemblies are such as are set up against the Rules of the Church. Those who were guilty of these were received upon due Submission; those who were guilty of *Schism* were to renounce their *Schism*; and those who were guilty of

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Herefie,

Heretie, were to be re-baptized. This was S. Basil's Judgment, and is followed by Balsamon, Zonaras and Aristinus. And S. Basil himself saith, *This was the Sense of the Fathers before him.*

C. Parmen. l. 1.
c. ult. l. 2.
c. 1, 11.
C. Crescon.
l. 4. c. 10, 11.

(2.) A *Sacrilegious Schism* is that which robs the Church of God of that which belongs to it, i. e. which excludes all but their own Number from being true Members of the Church. And this was the *Schism* charged on the *Novatians* and *Donatists*. This S. Augustine very often charges upon the latter, as a very *high piece of Schism*; for saith he, *While they confine the Church to their own Communion, they are guilty of manifest Sacrilege, both against Christ and his Church.*

Pag. 14.

And whosoever follow their Steps, and exclude any Parts of the Church from being so, and confine the Church to their own Communion, they are guilty of the same *Sacrilegious Schism*; which is of a higher Nature than a meer *Factionous Schism*. But the *Defender* saith, *The Language of the World has always preserved the Title of Catholick to one Part, and given the Name of Sect or Part cut off to the other.*

Concil. Nic.
c. 19.
Arel. c. 8.

By the *Language of the World*, he must mean of that Part which excludes the rest. Which he calls *the World* by the very same Figure by which a Part challenges to be *the Whole*. But in Consequence to this, for all that I can yet see, these who were excluded out of the *Catholick Church*, must be taken in by *Baptism*. And S. Cyprian, *Firmilian*, and S. Basil saw this well enough. I confess it was after carried, That *Hereticks* were to be distinguished, and those only to be Re-baptized who renounced the Baptismal Faith, in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And the meaning, I suppose was, that nothing but that excluded Persons out of the *Catholick Church*; and those *Hereticks* whose Baptism was allow'd, were of an inferiour sort; and by not disowning their Baptism, they shew'd they looked on them only as *corrupted Parts of the Church*. And so did the Councils of *Nice* and *Arles*; which did not utterly reject *Re-baptization*, but only of those who preserved the *Baptismal Faith*. It was not therefore the Sense of the Ancient Church, that upon every Dissension in matters of Faith from the general Doctrine of the Church, one Party must be excluded from the *Catholick Church*, and that Title belong to the other.

But he proceeds, *That this Presumption cannot be the Cause of Schisms, which must happen before the Presumption.*

This is very easily answered. For a Breach there must be before; but the *Schism* belongs to those who were the *true Causes* of the Breach. If therefore any one Part assumes to it self the Right of the whole, and requires the owning it from all that joyn in Communion with it, this very act makes it justifiable (not to separate from the *Catholick Church*) but not to joyn in Communion with that Part on such unreasonable Terms.

Pag. 11.

Well, saith he, *Suppose the dividing Parts do still continue Parts of the Catholick Whole; cannot the Roman-Catholick be that Whole, i. e. Suppose there be many Parts, why may not one of them be the Whole? For still, the Roman-Catholick is but a Part, though Catholick be the Whole; as though the Ocean be the whole, yet the British, or Gallican, or Spanish, or Atlantick Ocean, it but a Part of the whole Ocean.* I am ashamed to pursue so clear a Point any farther.

Pag. 12.

But he hath one fetch behind still, viz. *That it is one Faith which makes the Catholick Church one; if therefore the Roman Catholick Church be a Part of this Catholick Whole, the other Parts must believe as she does, or else they cannot be Parts.*

I will endeavour to make this clear to him, and so end this Dispute.

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The Church is a Society of Persons who own and profess the Christian Faith; Therefore Faith is necessary to the very Being of a Church; for unless they believe the Christian Doctrine, they cannot be the Christian Church. This Faith which is necessary to make them Christians, is to be embraced by all who are Members of this Church; their Entrance is by Baptism; the Faith is the Creed delivered to those who are to be Baptized; which being universally received by Christians, that makes the common Bond of Union in the Parts of this great Body; and this is the *One Faith of the Catholick Church*.

But if he thinks the *Roman Catholick Church* can make all its Decisions a Part of this *one Faith*, he is extremely mistaken. As will more fully appear in the following Discourse.

II. Of the Authority of the Catholick Church.

THE whole and sole Design of the First Paper, as the Replier tells me, Pag. 11 was to evince this Point. That all Controversial Points of Faith, either about Holy Scripture, or other Subjects, do fall under the Judgment and Decision of the Church. But, under Favour, that is not the whole Design of it; for this implies no more than that the Church may, if it pleases, decide them; but the Design is, to prove, That in all Matters of Faith the Churches Authority is without farther Examination to be submitted to; so that all that Christians have to do is but to enquire into Two Things. 1. Where the Church is. 2. Whether the Church hath declared its Judgment or not.

And several Things are objected in the Papers against the not submitting to the Churches Judgment, *viz.* That every one will be his own Judge; which is not allowed in Common Matters, much less in Matters of Faith; that no such Authority is given to every particular Man by Scripture; but the Churches Authority is there established; and was owned in the Primitive Church in the Creeds, and about the Canonical Books; and since the Church had once such a Power, there is no reason to suppose it lost; but upon Differences happening, the Churches Judgment is to be submitted to.

This is the whole Strength and Force of the First Paper; and it is about a Subject of the highest Importance, both as to the Satisfaction of particular Persons, and the Peace of the Christian World. And the clearing these Two Points will go a very great way towards the putting an end to Controversies. 1. That in all Disputes we are to search no farther, but presently to yield to the Judgment of the Church. 2. That the *Roman Catholick Church* is that Church. How far I am from being satisfied with the latter doth already appear; I now set my self to consider the other.

And here are these Things necessary to be debated,

1. Whether Christ and his Apostles did establish such a standing Judicature in the Church, to which all Christians were bound to submit in Matters of Faith?
2. Whether the Primitive Church did own such a Judicature; And did accordingly govern their Faith?
3. Whether it be an unreasonable thing to suppose the contrary, *viz.* That Christ should leave Men to judge for themselves in Matters which concern their Salvation, according to the Scriptures?

(1.) Whether Christ and his Apostles did establish such a standing Judicature in the Church to put an end to all Controversies which should

Deut. 17, 8;
9, 10, 11.

arise about Matters of Faith? We do not Question but Christ might have done it if he had pleased; and there is no doubt he foresaw all those Inconveniences which are now objected against the want of it; But the point before us, is, Whether Christ, who alone could do it, hath declared this to be his Will and Pleasure? We are then to consider, that this being a Point of so great Consequence, the Commission for such a Court of Judicature in the Church ought to be delivered in the plainest and clearest Words that may be; for otherwise this were to beget Controversies instead of putting an end to them. When God under the Law, established a Supreme Court of Appeal as to the Differences which might arise about the Law, he tells them where that Court should sit, and commands the People to go up thither and hear their Sentence and submit to it. This was a plain and clear Declaration of the Will of God; and they had no more to do but to go up to the Place which God did chuse, viz. *Jerusalem*. And there was never any dispute afterwards among the *Israelites* what they were to do when Differences happened; for an Appeal lay to the Court of *Jerusalem*, and the Sentence of that Court they were to stand to on pain of Death. Our blessed Saviour knew this Constitution among the *Jews*, when he founded his Church, and if he had intended any such Thing therein, he would not have fallen short of the exactness of the Law in the Things necessary in order to the Establishment of it; i. e. he would not have failed to have told us, who were to make up that Supreme Court, and where it was to sit. For these Things were necessary to the end of it. Shall we then say, that Christ was not yet resolved where it should be? Or, that it was not fit to let it be known so soon? But why not, when he made Promises to the Apostles of *being with them to the end of the World*? There can be no pretence, why he should not then declare, where the Supreme and standing Court of his Church was to be; which was in all Ages to give Rules to the rest of the Church, and to Determine all Points of Faith which came before them.

But did the Apostles Determine this Matter after Christ's Ascension? If they had done it, we must have yielded, because they had an Infallible Spirit: But we find nothing like it in all their Writings. They mention *Heresies* often, and *damnable* ones they saw *creeping into the Church*, they lamented the Schisms and Divisions in the Churches of their own Planting, and used frequent and vehement Exhortations to Peace and Unity. But why not a word of the Infallible Judge of Controversies all this while?

Rom. 16. 17. S. Paul wrote to the Church of *Rome* it self, and even there mentions *Dissensions that were among them*, as well as in any other Church. What, could not he tell them they were to make Rules and give Judgment for the whole Church? Did S. Paul envy this Privilege to S. Peter's See, and therefore took no notice of it? That I suppose will not be said of him, though he once *withstood him to the face*. But, how happen the rest of the Apostles not to do it? Nay, how came S. Peter himself, writing for the Benefit of the whole Church, in a *Catholick Epistle*, never to give the least Intimation concerning it? These Things make it appear incredible to me, that Christ or his Apostles appointed any such thing; especially, when the Apostles in their infallible Writings give such Directions to particular Christians as

1 Thess. 5. 21. they do; *to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good; to try the Spirits whether they be of God or not*. What had they to do *to try the Spirits*, or *to prove any thing themselves*, if the Judgment of the Matters of Faith were so given to the Church, that others without farther enquiry are bound to submit to its Sentence? And if Christ and his Apostles knew nothing

1 S. John 4. 1.

nothing of such an Infallible Judge ; we have no Reason to hearken to any, who after their time should pretend to it. For the Promise of Infallibility must be made by him ; and such a Commission can be derived only from the immediate Authority of Christ himself.

But the *Defender* saith, *The Holy Scripture assures us that the Church is the Foundation and Pillar of Truth.* I confess, I cannot be assured from hence, that the Church hath such an Authority as is here pleaded for, I suppose it be understood of the whole Church. For how was it possible the Church at that time should be the *Foundation and Pillar of Truth*, when the Apostles had the Infallible Spirit, and were to guide and direct the whole Church ? It seems therefore far more probable to me, that those Words relate to *Timothy*, and not to the Church, by a very common *Ellipsis*, viz. *How he ought to behave himself in the Church of God, which is the House of the living God, as a Pillar and Support of Truth* : And to that Purpose this whole Epistle was written to him ; as appears by the beginning of it, wherein he is charged *not to give heed to Fables, and to take care that no false Doctrine were taught at Ephesus.* Now, saith the Apostle, *1 Tim. 3. 15. If I come not shortly, yet I have written this Epistle, that thou mayst know how to behave thy self in the Church, which is the House of God, as a Pillar and Support of Truth.* What can be more natural and easie, than this Sense ? And that there is no Novelty in it appears from hence, that *Gregory Nyssen* expressly delivers this to be the meaning ; and many others of the Fathers apply the same Phrases to the great Men of the Church. *S. Basil* useth the very same Expressions concerning *Musonius*. *S. Chrysostom* calls the Apostles *the immoveable Pillars of the true Faith*. *Theodoret* saith concerning *S. Peter* and *S. John*, *That they were the Towers of Godliness, and the Pillars of Truth.* *Gregory Nazianzen* calls *S. Basil*, *The Ground of Faith, and the Rule of Truth* : And elsewhere, *The Pillar and Ground of the Church* ; which Titles he gives to another Bishop at that time. And so it appears in the *Greek Catena*, mentioned by *Heinsius*, *S. Basil* read these Words or understood them so ; when he saith, *The Apostles were the Pillars of the New Jerusalem, as it is said, The Pillar and Ground of the Church.* I forbear more, since these are sufficient to shew that they understood this Place as relating to *Timothy*, and not to the Church.

Greg. Nyssen de vita Mos. p. 226. Basil. Epist. 62. Chrysost. Hom. 148. Tv. 5. Theod. de Prov. Orat. 10. p. 441. Greg. Nazian. Ep. 38. Orat. 19. Epist. 9. Heins. in loc.

As to what he brings of *Scriptures not being of private Interpretation* ; *Fag. 17.* It is so remote from the Sense and Scope of the Place, which relates wholly to *Divine Inspiration*, that this is a great Instance of that *private Interpretation* which ought to be avoided, viz. of minding only the Words, without regard to the Sense of Scripture.

It was said in the Papers, *That Christ left his Power to his Church, even to forgive Sins in Heaven ; and left his Spirit with them, which they exercised after the Resurrection.*

It was farther answered, That all this makes nothing for the *Roman Catholick Church* not then in being, unless she were Heir-General to the Apostles ; that the ordinary Power of the Keys relates not to this Matter ; that the Promise of the Spirit, made to the Apostles, implied many Gifts not pretended to by this Heir-General, as the Gift of Tongues, Spirit of Discerning, Prophecy, miraculous Cures and Punishments. If no more be understood of Divine Assistance, that is promised as much to keep Men from Sin as Error ; but the Church of *Rome* pretends only to the latter ; and yet it is granted too, that it may err in Matters of great Consequence to the Peace of the Christian World, as in the *Deposing Doctrine*. This

is

Def. p. 33.

is the Substance of the Answer; let us now see what they Reply. The force of what the Defender saith is this, *That though the Roman Church were not then in being, yet as soon as it was, it was a part of the Catholick Church, to which the Promises were made; and therefore the Roman Catholick Church being the One Church of Christ, these Promises must have their Effect in her.*

This is all I can make of it; though it cost me more pains to lay their Things together with an appearance of Strength, than to give an Answer to them.

The Roman Church it seems had not the Promises made to it; but as soon as it was a Church, she was a Part of the Catholick Church. This is very intelligible. Let us then go on. But how come the Promises made to the Catholick Church to belong to the Roman Catholick? How comes the Roman Catholick to be the One Church of Christ on Earth? But this is running forwards and backwards. And no good is to be done, without supposing Roman and Catholick to be Terms equivalent.

Pag. 33.

He tells me, *I am over-hasty in removing the Power of working Miracles out of the Church.* For, he saith, *God still works Miracles in the Roman Church; and if I would put the whole Issue on Miracles, he would undertake the Proof.*

Presugés legit.
c. le Jansenists,
c. 10.

Pag. 87.

There is nothing in this Case like working of Miracles among us, for our Satisfaction. For Miracles are a Sign to Unbelievers. But it is a pleasant Thing, that they should go about to convince us by those Things, which they laugh at one another for pretending to. I will give them an Instance past contradiction. Did not the *Jansenists* pretend to a Miracle at *Port-Royal* by one of the Thorns of our Saviour's Crown? And did not the *Jesuits* expose the very Pretence as idle and ridiculous? As appears by *F. Annat's* Book on that Occasion. The late Author of *the Prejudices against the Jansenists*, upon occasion of that Miracle, lays down some good Rules for discerning true Miracles and false. (1.) That such Miracles are not sufficient to convince, which may be effected by a created Power, unless they be attested by such Miracles which can only be effected by a Divine Power; such as Resurrection from the dead. (2.) We must not only attend to the Nature, but to the End of Miracles; which, he saith, is the true Worship of God, and the Love of Vertue. And by these Rules I shall be content to examine all his Miracles, when ever he produces them.

The Assistance which Christ promised, he tells us, was to all his Doctrine, and to all time.

But what a sad Thing is it, that we have nothing but his bare saying for the Proof of it! Never Man more needed Infallibility than this Defender does, when he undertakes to prove it. What! Can Christ afford no Assistance to his Church without Infallibility? What thinks he of the Assistance of Divine Grace? Doth that make all Infallible that have it? And is not that Assistance by virtue of Divine Promises? *Is this to ask which of the Parts of his Promise he will not perform?* We doubt not he will perform all he hath promised, but we desire to see where he hath made the Promise. We ask nothing unreasonable, and therefore out of pity to our Weakness, shew these Promises of standing Infallibility to us; and do not take it still for granted without proving it.

Rep. p. 23.

But the Replier saith, *The Promises of Christ imply whatever is necessary to the Church for the Support and Government of her self to the Worlds end.*

Is Infallibility then necessary for the Support and Government of the Catholick

Catholick Church? If not, then the Promises of Support and Government relate not to the Matter. But no less a Man than S. Augustine, frequently affirms, *That the Promises made by Christ to the Church, are only made to good and not to bad Men in it; and that the case of wicked Men in the Church, and of Hereticks and Schismatics out of it is alike; i. e. that both have true Sacraments, but neither any right to the Promises.* And this he doth not assert by chance, but it is the very Foundation of his Answer to the Donatists, in the Answer which himself valued the most. *Aug. de Bapt. c. Donatist. l. 3. c. 17, 18. l. 4. c. 18, 20. l. 5. c. 21. l. 6. c. 1, 3, 4, 14, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 40. l. 7. c. 12, 32, 43, 44. l. 2. c. 1. l. 7. c. 51. l. 5. c. 3, 11, 16, 18, 9, 20, 24. l. 6. c. 28, 29. l. 7. c. 6, 7, 10, 37.*

And he concludes with saying, *That some are in the House of God, so as to be that House of God which was built upon a Rock, and had the Promises made to it; and these are the Saints dispersed over the World and joyned together in the Communion of the same Sacraments; others are so in the House, as not to belong to the Frame of it; but are as the Chaff among the Wheat; and are rather of the House than any part of it.* If this be good Doctrine in S. Augustin, what becomes of all the Promises made to the Church, with respect to the External Government and Support of it?

I might name Multitudes of Places more, wherein he argues, *That wicked Men do not belong to the One Church; and are not the Spouse of Christ: For Christ saith to them, I know you not; and Hereticks, he saith, are but one sort of bad Men.* If therefore the Promises of the Catholick Church do not belong to one, neither can they to the other.

I had therefore Reason to ask, where God hath ever promised to keep Men more from Error than Sin? And how it comes to pass that very bad Men are allow'd in the Church of Rome to have this Promise of Infallibility?

The Defender slides off from this to a Matter he was better prepared to Answer. But the Replier tells us of *some of the Prophets who were great Sinners*; I suppose he means Balaam and Caiaphas. But however, this doth not reach to the Matter of the New Testament, wherein *doing the Will of God* is laid down as the best Means of knowing the Truth. But he offers at a Reason why Impeccability is not so necessary as Infallibility, *because without this the Church could not subsist; for if once she make Shipwrack of her Faith, she is no more a Church, an Effect not so proper to Sin.* There is a great Difference between absolute Impeccability and notorious Offenders; the Question I put was not concerning perfect Saints, but great Sinners; why they should believe that Christ would give an infallible Assistance to keep such Men from erring, when notwithstanding the Assistance of Grace, they run on in a Course of Wickedness? He saith, *One is necessary for the Church, and not the other.* Then there may be a Holy Catholick infallible Church made up of none but great Sinners. And was this such a Church as Christ purchased with his own Blood; and whom he redeemed from all Impiety to be a peculiar People, zealous of good Works: If they say, *The Grace of God will never fail to keep some from great Sins*; why may not the same hold as to great Errors? And that be as much as the Promises extend to.

But if the Church once makes Shipwrack of Faith, she is no more a Church.

How comes Faith to be separated from a good Conscience? I am sure S. Paul joyns them together. Is no Error consistent with the Being of a Church? Not an Error about the Seat of Infallibility? Not an Error about the Immaculate Conception? Nor about the Vision of God before the Day of Judgment? Not about the Son's being of the same Substance with the Father? Not about Christ's having a Will proper to his humane Nature? Then there can be no such Thing as the Roman Catholick Church, in the Opinion of those who are for personal Infallibility of the Pope, since the Head;

Heads of their Church have erred about these Things. The true Church can never make Shipwreck of that Faith which makes her a true Church: But other kind of Errors cannot overthrow her Being.

I urged farther, That notwithstanding the Pretence to Infallibility, they allow the Church may err in Matters of Practice of the highest Importance, as about Depositing Princes and Absolving Subjects from their Allegiance; but not about the least Matter of Faith; which made it very suspicious to be rather a Politick Device than a Thing they really believed.

Def. p. 34, 35. Here the *Defender* (I fear wilfully) mistakes my Meaning; for he argues as if he thought I were proving, *That the Church of Rome hath defined the Deposing Doctrine as a Matter of Faith*; and great Pains he takes to prove it hath not. And all to no Purpose. For I insisted only, that in this Point, they confessed their Church had grossly erred as to a *Matter of Practice*, though it had not expressly declared it as an Article of Faith. I desire him to speak out; hath it not erred notoriously as to Practice in this Matter? Whether they have made any such Declaration or not, as to oblige all others of their Communion to embrace the Doctrine; it is undeniably true, that their Popes and Councils have owned it and acted according to it, to the mighty Disturbance of the Peace of the Christian World. Now the Question I put was this, Since it is granted they have so notoriously erred in Matters of Practice, why should any believe them Infallible in Points of Faith? *i. e.* That so many Popes, so many Councils, should act upon this Principle, as believing it to be true, and yet preserve their Infallibility in not declaring it to be true. This I confess is an extraordinary Thing; and the *Defender* seems in earnest to think they were kept from it by an *over-ruling Assistance of the Divine Spirit*. Which is just as if a Man were set upon in the Road by some pretending to be his Friends, who should take from him all that he had, and afterwards he should admire the Providence of God, that these Men should not declare it lawful to do it. It is granted that so many Popes did great Mischief to the World, and especially to Christian Princes, by acting according to this Doctrine, and that they actually owned it in Councils, and made Canons on Purpose for it, but yet an *over-ruling Assistance kept them from making it a Point of Faith*. They declaring their own Belief by their Practice and Canons; they required the Observance of them under Pain of being cut off from the Church if they did it not; and Gregory VII. saith, *They cut themselves off who question this Power*; but they were deceived, notoriously deceived in this Matter, yet they might be Infallible still. Did not these Popes declare that to be Christ's Doctrine which is not? *But not Authoritatively*. What I pray doth this Mean? Did they not declare this Power by Vertue of the Authority given them by Christ over the Church? And declare those Excommunicate who did not obey their Sentence? Is not this proceeding *Authoritatively*? Suppose the Popes had in the same manner declared that Hereticks should be Re-baptized, *i. e.* made Canons for it, and required the Observance of them; I desire to know whether this had not been *Authoritative declaring* it, though they affixed no *Anathema* to those who held the contrary? Is it possible for any Man to believe, that if there were such a thing as Infallibility in the Guides of the Church, that Christ would suffer them to run into such pernicious Errors, and in such an *Authoritative Manner*, and yet make good his Promise of keeping them from Error, by not suffering them to define this Doctrine as an Article of Faith? But this will appear to be a very slender Evasion, if Men will reflect on the Nature of the Matter it self; for it is about the Exercise

Greg. 7. Epist.
Reg. l. 4. Ep. 2.

exercise of the Pope's Power over Princes; and can it be supposed that since they challenged it, they would ever suffer it to be debated in Councils; but they would still have it pass as an inseparable Right of their Supremacy derived from *S. Peter*. And all that they would allow in this Case, is a bare Recognition; and that was made in the Councils of *Lyons* and *Lateran*.

And the Deposing Power in the Church, was sufficiently owned in the Councils of *Constance* and *Trent*.

But there are two sorts of Articles of Faith to be considered in the Church of *Rome*.

1. Some are defined with an *Anathema* against Dissenters; and so we do not say the Deposing Power is made an Article of Faith.

2. Some are received upon the common Grounds of Faith, though not expressly declared. And whatever Doctrine being denied would overthrow them, may be justly look'd on as a Presumptive Article of Faith. As the denying the Deposing Power must charge the Church of *Rome* Representative and Virtual with such Acts, as are utterly inconsistent with the Promises of Divine Assistance supposed to be made to it. Therefore all those who sincerely believe those Promises to belong to the Church of *Rome* so taken, must in Consequence believe so many Popes and Councils could not be so grossly mistaken in the Ground of their Actings. And I find those who do now most contend that this Doctrine was never defined, do yet yield, that both Popes and Councils believed it to be true, and acted accordingly.

But if nothing will be allowed to be Points of Faith, but what passes under the Decision of Councils approved by the Pope as such, I pray tell me, which of the General Councils determined the Pope's Supremacy as a Point of Faith? Where was the *Roman Catholick Churches* Infallibility defined? Are these Points of Faith with you, or not? If they be, then there may be Points of Faith among you which never passed any Conciliar Definitions; or such Authoritative Declaration as the *Defender* means.

(2.) I now come to consider the Sense of the Primitive Church about this matter of an Infallible Judge of Controversies. Which I am obliged to do, not only because it is said in the Papers, *That the Church exercised this Power after the Apostles*; but because the *Defender* brings *Tertullian* as rejecting the Scripture from being a sufficient Rule for Controversies; and *S. Augustine*, as setting up the Authority of the Church above the Scripture in Matters of Proof. Pag. 18.

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The Point is, Whether according to the Sense of the Primitive Church, when any Controversie about Faith doth arise, a Person be bound to submit to the Churches Sentence as Infallible; or he be required to make use of the best Means he can to judge concerning it, taking the Scriptures for his Infallible Rule?

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had left such an infallible Authority in the Church to have put an end to them; it had been no more possible to have avoided the mention of it, than if a great Cause in Law were to be decided among us, that neither Party should ever take notice of the Judges in Westminster Hall.

There were two very great Controversies in the Primitive Church, which continued a long time under different Names; and we are now to observe what Method the Catholick Writers of the Church took for establishing the true Faith.

And these were concerning the Humanity, and the Divinity of Christ.

i John 4. 3.

That concerning the Humanity of Christ begun very early; for St. John mentions those who denied that Jesus was come in the Flesh; i.e. that he really took our Nature upon him. And this Heresie did spread very much after the Apostles Times.

Ad Smyrn.
P. 3.

Pag. 4.

Pag. 6.

Ignatius made it a great Part of the Business of his Epistles to warn the Churches he wrote to, and to arm them against it. And what way doth he take to do it? Doth he ever tell them of the Danger of using their own Judgment; or of not relying on the Authority of the Church in this Matter? I cannot find one Passage tending that way in all his Epistles. But instead thereof, he appeals to the Words of our Saviour in the Evangelist, *Touch me, and see if I be a Body, or a Spirit*: His words are an incorporeal Demon; but it was usual with the ancient Fathers to repeat the Sense of Places, and not the very Words. And a little after he saith, *That these Hereticks were not perswaded, neither by the Prophets, nor by the Law, nor by the Gospel*. And he advises the Church of Smyrna to attend to the Prophets, but especially to the Gospel; in which the Passion and Resurrection of Christ are declared.

Iren. l. 3.
c. 17, 18.

* L. 1. 1. 4. 69.
† L. 3. c. 1.
* L. 2. 47.
4. 66.

Irenæus disputes warmly and frequently against this Heresie; and he appeals to the Testimony of the Apostles in their Writings; especially to the Gospels of S. John and S. Matthew; but not omitting the other Gospels and the Epistles of S. Paul and S. John. And he calls the Scriptures, *The* * *immoveable Rule of Truth; the* † *Foundation and Pillar of our Faith*; and saith, *That* * *they contain the whole Will of God*. It is true, he makes use of Tradition in the Church, to those who rejected the Scriptures; and he finds fault with those who took Words and Pieces of Scripture to serve their turn; but he directs to the right use of it, and doth not seem to question the sufficiency thereof, for the Satisfaction of humble and teachable Minds in all the Points of Faith, which were then controverted.

De Carne Christi,
c. Marcion.
c. Valentin.

Tertullian undertakes the same Cause in several Books and several ways. One is by shewing that the Opinion of the Hereticks was novel; not being consistent with the Doctrine delivered by the Apostles, as appeared by the unanimous Consent of the Apostolical Churches; which did all believe Christ had a true and real Body. And this way he made use of, because those Hereticks either rejected, or interpolated, or perverted the Books of Scripture. But this way of Prescription look'd like Out-Lawing of Hereticks and never suffering them to come to a fair Trial. Therefore in his other Books he goes upon three substantial Grounds. (1.) *That the Books of Scripture do certainly deliver the Doctrine of the Christian Church concerning Christ's having a true Body*. (2.) *That these Books of Scripture were not counterfeit, nor corrupted and adulterated; but preserved genuine and sincere in the Apostolical Churches*. (3.) *That the Sense which the Hereticks put upon the Words of Scripture was forced and unreasonable; but the sense of the Church was true and natural*. So that Tertullian did conclude, that there was no way to end this Controversie but by finding out the true Sense of Scripture.

But

But the Author of the *Defence* brings in *Tertullian*, as representing all *Trial of Doctrine by Scripture*, as good for nothing but to turn the Brain or the Stomach; and that the Issue is either uncertain or none. Def. p. 18.
De Præscript. c. 17.

I grant *Tertullian* hath those Words; but for Truth sake I wish he had not left out others, viz. That those Hereticks do not receive some Scriptures; and those they do receive they add and alter as they please. And what, saith he, can the most skilful in Scriptures do with those who will defend or deny what they think fit? With such indeed, he saith, it is to little Purpose to dispute out of Scriptures. And no doubt he was in the Right; for the Rule must be allow'd on both Sides; or else there can be nothing but a wrangling about it. The first thing then here, was to settle the Rule, and for this the Testimony of the Apostolical Churches was of great Use. But to imagine that *Tertullian* rejected all Tryal of Doctrines by Scripture, is to make him to write to little Purpose afterwards; when he combates with all sorts of Hereticks out of Scripture, as appears by his Books against *Marcion*, *Praxeas*, *Hermogenes* and others. And *Tertullian* himself saith, That if we bring Hereticks only to Scripture, they cannot stand. Not because they went only upon Reason; but in the end of the same Treatise he saith, They made use of Scriptures too, but such as were to be confuted by other Scriptures. And therefore he makes the Hereticks to decline, as much as in them lay, the Light of the Scriptures, which he would never have charged on others, if he thought himself that Controversies could not be ended by them.

Aufer denique Hereticis quæ cum Ethnicis sapiunt, ut de Scripturis solis questionibus suas sistant, & stare non poterunt. De Resur. Carnis. c. 3.

Hæreses autem sine aliquibus occasionibus Scripturarum audire non poterant; idcirco pristina instrumenta quasdam materias illis videntur subministrasse, & ipsas quidem iisdem literis revincibiles. c. 63.

Lucifugæ isti Scripturarum, c. 47.

Clemens Alexandrinus speaking of the same Heresies, makes the Controversie to consist chiefly about the Scriptures, whether they were to be embraced and followed, or not. He saith, None of the Heresies among Christians had so darken'd the Truth, but that those who would might find it; and the Way he advises to, is a diligent search of the Scriptures; wherein the Demonstration of our Faith doth consist; and by which, as by a certain Criterion, we are to judge of the Truth and Falshood of Opinions. Which he there insists upon at large. He speaks indeed of the Advancement of the Church above Heresies, both as to Antiquity and Unity; but he never makes the Judgment of the Church to be the Rule of Faith, as he doth the Scriptures. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7. p. 755.
Οὐ πείραγμα ἀποστήνεται τῆς ἀληθείας, πλὴν ἐν τῇ ἀποδείξει αὐτῶν λαβόντων τὴν γῆν. ib. c. 757.

In the *Dialogue* against the *Marcionists*, supposed to be *Origen's*, this Controversie is briefly handled, the Point is brought to the Sense of Scripture; as in that Place, the Word was made Flesh; from which, and other Places the Catholick argues the Truth of Christ's Humane Nature; especially from Christ's appealing to the Sense of his Disciples about the Truth of his Body after the Resurrection. All his Demonstrations are out of Scripture, and by the meer Force of them he overthrows this Heresie. And it was nothing but the clear Evidence of Scripture, without any Infallible Judgment or Assistance of the Guides of the Church, which did at last suppress this Heresie. For no Council was called about it, but as the Authority of the New Testament prevailed, so this Heresie declined, and by Degrees vanished out of the Christian World. And it is observable, That the greatest and worst of Heresies were suppress'd, while no other Authority was made use of against them but that of the Holy Scriptures. So *Theodoret* takes notice, That before his Time these Heresies by Divine Grace were extinct. So that the Scriptures were then found an effectual Means for putting an end to some of the most dangerous Heresies which ever were in the Christian Church. Orig. Dial. c. Marcionist. §. 4. p. 108. p. 101.
Theod. ad hæres. Fab. Praef. c. 1. 2. p. 218.

The other great Controversie of the first Age, was about the Divinity of Christ; which begun with the *Ebionites* and *Cerinthians*, and was continued down by Succession, as appears by *Theodore's* Account of Heresies in his second Book. Those who first embraced this Heresie rejected the whole *New Testament*, and received only the *Nazarene Gospel*. But after a while *Artemon* had the Boldness to assert that the Apostles deliver'd the same Doctrine in their Writings, and then the Controversie was reduced to the Sense of Scripture. *Paulus Samosatenus* follow'd *Artemon*, as *Photinus* afterwards follow'd him. But *Theodore* again observes, That all those Heresies against the Divinity of Christ were in his time so extinct, that not so much as any Remains of them were left; but saith he, The true Doctrines of the Gospels prevail and spread themselves over the World. And we may find what Course was taken for putting an end to this Controversie, by the Management of it with *Paulus Samosatenus*. In the Fragment of an Epistle of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, we read the Testimonies of Scripture which he produced against him; and more at large in the Epistle of the six Bishops to him; who makes use of the very same Places of Scripture which are most applied to that Purpose to this Day. To which they only add, That this had been the Doctrine of the Christian Church from the beginning; and all Catholick Churches agreed in it. But here is no such thing thought of as *Infallibility* in the Guides of the Church; for there is great difference between the Consent of the Christian Church, as a Means to find out the Sense of Scripture, and the Authority of Church Guides declaring the Sense by Vertue of an *Infallible Assistance*; the one is but a Moral Argument, and the other is a Foundation of Faith.

Har. Fab. l. 3. p. 226, 231. *Theodore* further observes, That there was another set of Heresies distinct from the two former in the Primitive Church, which related chiefly to Matters of Discipline and Manners; and most of these, he saith, were so far destroyed, that there were none then left, who were Followers of *Nicolas*, *Nepos*, or *Patroclus*, and very few *Novatians*, or *Montanists*, or *Quartodecimans*; so that Truth had prevailed over the World, and the Heresies were either quite rooted out, or only some dry and withered Branches remained of them in remote and obscure Places.

Which being affirmed by a Person of so much Judgment and Learning, as *Theodore* was, gives us a plain and evident Proof, that the Sense of Scripture may be so fully clear'd, without an *Infallible Church*, as to be effectual for putting an end to Controversies.

And altho' we own a great Esteem and Reverence for the Four General Councils; yet we cannot but observe, that Controversies were so far from being ended by them, that they broke out more violently after them. As the *Arian* Controversie after the Council of *Nice*; the *Nestorian* after that at *Ephesus*; and these Gentlemen believe that Heresie continues still in the East: The *Eutychian* Controversie gave greater Disturbance after the Council of *Chalcedon*, than before, and continued so to do for many Ages: Which is an Argument that the *Infallibility* of Councils, or of the Guides of the Church, was not a Doctrine then received in the Church.

But I proceed to shew what Means were used in the Primitive Church for putting an end to Controversies. Of which we have a remarkable Instance in the Dispute about *Rebaptizing Hereticks*. This was managed between *S. Cyprian* and other Bishops of *Africa* and *Asia*, on one side, and the Bishop of *Rome* on the other. He pleaded Custom and Tradition: The other, That Custom without Truth was but *Ancient Error*; and that the Matter ought to be examined by Scripture; and many Reasons they bring from thence; because Christ said in his Gospel, *I am Truth*; and the only way.

S. Cyprian.
Epist. 74, 75.

to prevent Errors, is to have Recourse to the Head and Fountain of Divine Tradition, i. e. to the Holy Scriptures; which S. Cyprian calls the Evangelical and Apostolical Tradition. So that we have the clear Opinion of the African Bishops, that this Controversie ought to be decided by Scripture. But here the Replier saith, That Right stood for the Bishops of Rome, and a General Council determined the Point, and the whole Church came to an Acquiescence. If the Council was in the Right, the Bishop of Rome was not; if St. Cyprian represent his Opinion truly, and he saith he did it in his own Words, which are, *Si quis à quacunque Hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur nisi quod Traditum est.* Now, no Council ever determin'd so, That whatsoever the Heresy was, none should be Rebaptized. For the Councils of Arles and Nice both disallow'd the Baptism of some Hereticks; and therefore, if the Council put an end to the Controversie, it was by deciding against the Bishop of Rome, as well as S. Cyprian. Reply, p. 13.

The Donatists afterwards made use of S. Cyprian's Authority in this Controversy, which gave occasion to S. Augustine, to deliver that noted Sentence, concerning Scripture and Fathers, and Councils, viz. That Canonical Scripture is to be preferr'd before any other Writings, for they are to be believed without Examination; but the Writings of Bishops are to be examined and corrected by other Bishops and Councils, if they see Cause; and lesser Councils by greater, and the greatest Councils, by such as come after them, when Truth comes to be more fully discovered. It is hardly possible for a Man to speak plainer against a standing infallible Judge in Controversies, than S. Augustine doth in these Words, wherein he neither limits his Words to Matters of Fact, nor to Manners; but he speaks generally, as to the Authority of the Guides of the Church compared with Scripture. Which are enter'd in the Authentick Body of the Canon Law, approved and corrected at Rome, only that part which relates to the correcting of Councils, is left out. But to make amends, Gratian in another Place, hath with admirable Ingenuity, put the Pope's Decretal Epistles among the Canonical Scriptures, and quotes S. Augustine for it too. But the Roman Correctors were ashamed of so gross a Forgery, and confess S. Augustine never thought of the Decretal Epistles, but of the Canonical Scriptures; but yet they let the Title stand for good Canon Law. Aug. de Bapt. c. Donatist. l. 2. c. 3.

In the Controversy about the Church with the Donatists, S. Augustine's constant appeal is to the Scriptures; and he sets aside, not only particular Doctors, but the Pretence to Miracles, and the Definitions of Councils. He doth not therefore appeal to Scripture, because they disputed about the Church; but because he looked on the Testimonies of Scripture, as clear enough to decide the Point, as he often declares. And he calls the plain Testimonies of Scripture, the support and strength of their Cause. If he then thought that that Scripture alone could put an end to such a Controversie as that, no doubt he thought so as to any other. But we need not mention his Thoughts, for he declares as much: Whether it be about Christ or his Church, or any Matter of Faith, he makes Scripture so far the Rule, that he denounces Anathema against those who deliver any other Doctrine than what is contained in them. Nor doth he direct to any Church Authority to manifest the Sense of Scripture, but leaves all Mankind to judge of it, and even the Donatists themselves whom he opposed. The same Way he takes with Maximinus the Arian, He desires all other Authorities may be laid aside, and only those of Scripture and Reason used. To what Purpose, unless he thought the Scripture sufficient to end the Controversie. De unit. Eccl. c. 3. 4. 6. c. Petil. Donat. l. 3 c. 6. c. Maxim. Arian. l. 3. c. 14.

Against

c. Faust. l. 11.
c. 5.

Against *Faustus* the *Manichean*, he saith, *The Excellency of the Canonical Scripture is such, as to be placed in a Throne far above all other Writings, to which every faithful and pious Mind ought to submit. All other Writings are to be tried by them; but there is no doubt to be made of whatever we find in them.*

De Peccator.
Merit. & re-
miss. l. 1. 22.
De Nuptiis &
Concupisc. l.
2. c. 33.
De Grat. & lib.
Arbitrio. c. 18.
In Psalm 67.

The same Method he uses with the *Pelagians*, and advises them to yield to the Authority of Scripture, which can neither deceive nor be deceived. This Controversie, saith he, requires a Judge; let Christ judge, let us hear him speak. Let the Apostle judge with him, for Christ speaks in his Apostle. And in another place, Let St. John sit judge between us.

And in general he saith, *We ought to acquiesce in the Authority of Scripture; and when any Controversie arises, it ought to be quietly ended by Proofs brought from thence.*

Def. p. 18.

But St. *Augustine* is the Man, whom the Defender produces against me; because against the *Manicheans*, he saith, he believed the Scripture for the sake of the Church; and to bring any proof out of Scripture against the Church, does weaken that Authority, upon which he believed the Scripture, and so he could believe neither. The meaning whereof is this, S. *Augustine* was reduced from being a *Manichean* to the *Catholick Church* by many Arguments; and by the Authority of the Church delivering the Books of Scripture, he embraced the Gospel, which before he did not. Now, saith he, *You would make use of this Gospel to prove Manichæus an Apostle, I can by no means yield to this way.* Why so? Do not you believe it to be Gospel? Yes, saith he; but the same reason which moved me to embrace this Gospel, moved me to reject *Manichæus*, and therefore I have no reason to allow a testimony out of it for *Manichæus*. Not that S. *Augustine* feared any Proof that could be brought from thence; but he begins with general Topicks, as *Tertullian* did against the Hereticks of his Time, before he came to close with them. And such was this which he here produces. For in case *Manichæus* his Name had been in the Gospel as an *Apostle of Christ's* appointing, this Argument of S. *Augustine* had not been sufficient. For there might be sufficient Reason from the Churches Authority to embrace the Gospel; and yet if the Scripture had been plain, he ought to have believed *Manichæus* his *Apostleship*, though the Church disowned it. As I will prove by an undeniable Instance: Suppose a *Jewish* Profelyte to have argued just after the same manner against *Jesus being the Messias*; the Apostles go about to prove that he was so, by the Testimony of the Prophets: No, saith he, I can allow no such Argument: because the same Authority of the *Jewish Church*, which perswaded me to believe the Prophets, doth likewise perswade me not to believe *Jesus to be the Messias*. If it be so far from holding in this case, neither can it in the other. For it proceeds upon a very feeble Supposition, that no Church can deliver a Book for Canonical, but it must judge aright concerning all things relating to it. Which unavoidably makes the *Jewish Church* infallible at the same time it condemned Christ as a Deceiver. But this was only a witty velitation in S. *Augustine*, used by Rhetoricians, before he entered into the Merits of the Cause. And it is very hard when such Sayings shall at every turn be quoted, against his more mature and well weighed Judgment.

Def. p. 2.

What Noise is there made in the World with that one Saying of his, *I should not believe the Gospel, unless the Authority of the Catholick Church moved me?* And the Defender brings it to prove the Church more visible than Scripture. Whereas, he means no more by it, but that the Authority of the Church was greater to him, than that of *Manichæus*. For he had been swayed by his Authority to reject the Gospel; and now he rejects that Authority,

thority, and believes the Catholick Church rather than him. And this doth not make the Churches Authority greater than Scripture, but more visible than that of *Manichæus*.

But if *S. Augustine's* Testimony here be allowed to extend farther, yet it implies no more than that the constant, universal Tradition of the Scripture by the Catholick Church, makes it appear credible to us. What can be deduced hence as to the Churches Infallibility in interpreting Scripture, or the Roman Churches Authority in delivering it?

The *Arrian* Controversie gave a great Disturbance to the Christian Church; and no less a Man than the Emperor *Constantine* thought there was no such way to put an end to it, as to search the Scriptures about it; As he declared to the Council of *Nice* at their Meeting, as *Theodoret* saith. It is true, he spake to the Guides of the Church assembled in Council, but his Words are remarkable, viz. *That the Books of Scripture do plainly instruct us what we are to believe concerning the Diety, if we search them with peaceable Minds.* Methinks *Bellarmino* bestows no great Complement on *Constantine* for this Saying, when he saith, *He was a great Emperour, but no great Doctor.* This had been indeed sawcy and scurrilous in others, but it was no doubt good manners in him.

Theod. l. i. c. 6.

Bellar. de Ver. Dei. l. 4. c. 11.

S. Hilary commends his Son *Constantius*, because he would have this Controversie ended by the Scriptures; and he desires to be heard by him about the sense of the Scriptures concerning it; which he was ready to shew, not from new Writings, but from God's Word.

Hilar. l. 2. ad Constant.

Athanasius seems to question the usefulness of Councils in this matter, because the Scripture of it self was sufficient to put an end to it. And elsewhere saith, *That it is plain enough to those who search for Truth.* And in general he asserts their sufficiency and clearness for the discovery of Truth.

Athanas. de Synodis Tom. 1. p. 873.

Tom. 2. p. 197.

Tom. 1. c. Grat.

When a Controversie was raised in *S. Basil's* Time about the Trinity, the best Expedient that great Man could think of for putting an end to it, was to refer it to the Scriptures. In another place he commends it as the best way to find out Truth, to be much in the study of the Scriptures; and saith that the Spirit of God did thereby lead to all things useful.

Basil. Epist. 80.

Tom. 3.

Epist. 1, & 284.

Epiphanius was well acquainted with all the Heresies of the Church, and the best Means to suppress them; and certainly he would never have taken such Pains to refute so many Heresies out of Scripture; if he had look'd on the Church as the Infallible Judge of Controversies. For he not only undertakes to give the Sense of Scripture for the ending of Controversies, but he supposes all Persons capable of understanding it, that will apply themselves to it. Which he several times affirms in the Confutation of his last Heresie.

Hær. 76. p. 923,

943, 989.

I shall conclude with *S. Chrysostome*, who speaks to this purpose, to a Person so offended at the Sects and Heresies among Christians, that he did not know whom or what to believe: *The Scriptures*, saith he, *are plain and true, and it is an easie matter to judge by them; if a Man agrees with the Scriptures, he is a Christian; if not, he is out of that Roll.* But Men differ about the Sense of Scripture. *What*, saith he, *have ye not a mind and judgment?* And after the answering several other Cavils, he concludes, *Let us submit to the Divine Law, and do what is pleasing to that, and that will bring us to Heaven.* And in another place, *If we study the Scriptures, we shall understand both true Doctrine and a good Life.* And again, *the Scriptures are the Door which keep out Hereticks, which establish our Minds in the Truth, and suffer us not to be seduced.*

Chrysost. in

Acta Apost.

Hom. 33.

In Joh. Hom.

53.

Ib. Hom. 58.

Thus I have given somewhat a clearer view of the sense of the Primitive Church in this Matter, than could be taken from two single Passages of

of *Tertullian* and *S. Augustine*; and I have been so far from swelling or enlarging this as far as I could, that I have made choice only of these, out of many others which I could have produced. But if these be not sufficient, a Volume will not satisfy; which it were not hard to make on this Subject, out of the Fathers.

(3) It is time now to examine the *Inconveniencies* alledged against Persons judging of Matters of Faith according to the Scriptures.

(1) That God Almighty would then leave us at Uncertainties, if he gave us a Rule, and left every one to be his own Judge; for that were to leave every phantastical Man to chase as he pleases.

To this was answered, (1) That this Objection doth not reach thole of the Church of England, which receives the Three Creeds, and embraces the Four General Councils, and professes to hold nothing contrary to any Universal Tradition of the Church from the Apostles Times; And that we have often offer'd to put the Controversies between us and the Church of Rome upon that issue.

Reply, p. 18.

To this Answer the Replier saith, That they do not charge our Church with not professing these things, but for erring against her own Profession, and deserting that Church to which all these Authorities bear Testimony, and of which her Progenitors and first Reformers had been Members, and from whose Hands she received whatsoever she had, either of Scripture, Creeds, Councils or Tradition, and consequently whose judgment she was bound to follow.

Whether we act against our Profession or not, it is plain the Rule of our Church doth not by this Profession leave every one to follow his own fancy, and to believe as he pleases. But wherein is it that we thus act against our Profession? Do we reject the Creeds, Councils, and Universal Tradition in our Deeds? Wherein? In deserting the Communion of the Church of Rome? And is the necessity of that contained in the Creeds here receiv'd? In the Four Councils? By Universal Tradition? For this I refer to the foregoing Discourse about the Unity of the Catholick Church. But we receiv'd these things from the Church of Rome. So we do the Old Testament from the Jews, must we therefore hold Communion still with them? Are we bound therefore to follow the Judgment of the Jewish Church? But I do not understand how we receiv'd these Things from the Authority of the Church of Rome. We receiv'd the Scriptures from Universal Tradition derived from all the Apostolical Churches; and so the Creeds and Councils; and such an Universal Tradition is the Thing we desire; for the Trent-Creed, our forefathers never knew or receiv'd as part of that Faith without which there is no Salvation.

Def p. 21.

But here the Defender grows brisk, and saith, All Hereticks since the first Four General Councils, may say the very same which I say for the Church of England; and all before them the Equivalent. Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, might have said as much of the Creeds before them; and all complain of the Villainous Factions in the Church against them. My Plea for the Church of England hath justified them all. [The same thing is said in fewer Words by the Replier.] That this Plea justifies the Arrians, and condemns the Nicene Fathers, vindicates the Eutychians, Nestorians, and Donatists, and confounds all General Councils.

Reply, p. 19.

Left therefore I should seem to betray the Church of England, instead of defending it, I shall shew the Reasonableness and Equity of this Plea, and its great Difference from that of the Ancient Hereticks condemned by General Councils, or the ancient Church.

(1) The Ancient Hereticks were condemned by that Rule of Faith which the Church always receiv'd, viz. the Scriptures; but the Council of Trent set up a new Rule of Faith on purpose that they might condemn us for

for Hereticks, viz. in making *Tradition equal with Scripture*, which is directly contrary to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church; as I have already shewed. The Method of General Councils was to have the Books of Scripture placed in the middle of them on a Table, as the Rule they were to judge by. And *Richerius*, a Doctor of the *Sorbon*, not only affirms the Custom, but saith it was for that Reason, *That the Fathers of the Councils might be admonished, that all things were to be examined by the Standard of the Gospel.* Aet. Synodi Eph. p. 175. Hist. Concil. To. 1. p. 498.

Bellarmin affirms the Council of *Nice*, *To have drawn its Conclusion out of Scriptures*; and the same he affirms of the 6th General Council; and he might as well have done it of the rest; their main Design, being only to establish the Doctrine of the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ. But the Case of Councils came to be very different, when they took upon them to define other Matters for which they had no Colour in Scripture (as the 2d Council of *Nice* did, which was the first that went upon Tradition) and then the Christian Church did not shew such Respect to them; as was most apparent in the Case of this Council of *Nice*, which was universally rejected in these *Western* Parts, (*Rome* excepted) as appears by the Council of *Frankford*, and the unexceptionable Testimonies of *Egbinardus*, *Hincmarus*, and others. Would this have been a sufficient Argument against *Charlemaign* and the *Western* Bishops, that they joyned in the Plea of the *Ancient Hereticks*, and none were ever condemned by the Church, but they made such Complaints against the Proceedings of Councils, as they did? Bell. de Concil. l. 1. c. 12. It is certain that *Leo Armenus* in the *East*, as well as *Charles*, and the *Western* Church, rejected that Council, *as contrary to Scripture*; which shews that neither in the *East* or *West*, did they think themselves so tied up by Definitions of Councils, proceeding in such a manner; but that they were at full Liberty to examine, and if they saw Cause, to reject such Definitions. While Councils did declare, That they intended to make use of no other Rule but Scripture, and to deliver only the Sense of the Catholick Church from the beginning, a great regard was to be shew'd to them: but when they set up another Rule, the Christian Church had just Reason not to submit to their Decrees. And to say, *This is the Plea of all Hereticks*, is just as if an innocent Person might not be allowed to plead *not Guilty*, because the greatest Malefactors do the same. There must be some certain Rules whereby to proceed in this Matter: and this is the first We fix upon, That they proceed as the Ancient Councils did according to Scriptures. Niceph. cum Leone Armeno Disput. ed. Combefis, p. 162.

(2) The Ancient Hereticks were condemned by such Councils, as did represent the *Universal Church* after another manner, than the Council of *Trent* did. I do not say, There was ever such a General Council, as did fully represent the *Universal Church*, which could not be done without *Provincial Councils* summon'd before in all Parts of *Christendom*, and the Delegation from them of such Persons as were to deliver their Sense in the Matter of Faith, to be debated in the General Council; and I have Reason to question whether this were ever done. But however, there is a very great Difference in the Ancient Councils from the Modern, as to this point of *Representing*; for in them there was the Consent of all the *Patriarchs*, and a general Summons for the Bishops from all Parts to appear. But in the Modern Councils, *Four Patriarchs*, and the Bishops under them, have been excluded; and the Fifth hath summon'd the Bishops under him to meet together, and then hath called this a *General Council*. Which is just as if in the time of the *Heptarchy*, the King of *Mercia* should assemble the States under him, and call the Convention of them, *The Parliament of England*. Thus in the Council of *Trent*, the Pope Summons the Bishops that owned his Supremacy, and had taken Oaths to him, to meet together, and would have this pass for a *General Council*. When the Council met, and Cardinal

Hof. Oper. p. 373.
Quandoquidem solus ille verè dicitur & est Oecumenicus patriarcha, quod Concilium ipsius est Auctoritate Congregatum, id verè dicitur Oecumenicum.
De Concil. l. 1. c. 6.

Hofius was appointed President in it; Stanislaus Oreckovius, a warm and zealous Romanist, writes to Hofius, That it would very much conduce to their Reputation and Interest, if the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch were summon'd to the Council, because the Greeks and Armenians depended upon them: And he could not understand how the Catholick Church could be Represented without them, nor how the Council could be called Oecumenical. To which Hofius replied, That the Pope being Oecumenical Patriarch, a Council called by him, was an Oecumenical Council. Now this we say, is extremely different from the Notion of an Oecumenical Council in the Ancient times, and overthrows the Rights of other Churches, as they were settled by the Four General Councils; and therefore the Case is very different as to being condemned by General Councils, and by the late Conventions assembled by the Pope's Authority.

(3.) Themselves allow that some Councils may be, and ought to be rejected, and therefore all our Business is to enquire whether we may not with as much Reason reject some Councils, as they do others. They reject the Council of Ariminum, which together with that of Seleucia (which sat at the same time) make up the most General Council we read of in Church-History. For Bellarmine owns that there were 600 Bishops in the Western part of it. So that there were many more Bishops assembled than were in the Council of Nice; there was no Exception against the Summons, or the Bishops present; and yet the Authority of this Council is rejected, because it was too much influenced by Constantius, and his Agents. The 2d. Council of Ephesus wanted no just Summons, no Presence of Patriarchs, or Number of Bishops, yet this is rejected, because its Proceedings were too Violent. The Councils of Constantinople against Images are rejected; because, but one Patriarch was present in either of them. Now I desire to know, whether it be not as lawful to except against other Councils, as against these, supposing the Reasons to be the same; and greater Evidence to be given in these latter Times, of the Truth of the Allegations. Besides, we find they are divided in the Church of Rome, concerning their latter Councils: Some say, The Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basil, were true General Councils, and that the Council of Lateran under Leo X. was not so; others say, That the former have not the Authority of General Councils, but the latter hath. Some say, That there have been 18 General Councils; so the Roman Editors of the Councils, and others; but a great Number of these are rejected by others, who allow but 8 of the Number, viz. those wherein the Eastern and Western Bishops met. And so the Councils of Lateran and Trent, besides others, are cut off. What becomes then of the Articles of Faith, defined by those Councils? For they cannot be received on the Account of their Authority. However, we find this Objection lies equally against them, as against us. For, do not both these differing Parties side with the Ancient Hereticks, as much as we do? For they except against the Supreme Judicature in the Church, and decline the Judgment of these Councils, as much as those Hereticks did the Councils of their own Times.

These are therefore but ordinary Topicks, which may be reasonable or not, as they are applied.

(2.) It was answer'd, That the way propos'd, doth not hinder Mens believing as they please, i. e. without sufficient Reason for their Faith; several Instances were given: As, believing the Roman Church to be the Catholick, without any Colour of Scripture, Reason or Antiquity; (as is now fully shew'd in the foregoing Discourse) believing against the most convincing Evidence of their own Senses. Believing the Lawfulness of the Worship of Images can be reconciled with God's forbidding it; the Communion in one Kind with Christ's Institution; and Praying in an unknown Tongue, with the 14th Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Repl. p. 8.

To this the Replier saith only, That these are voluntary Assumptions without Proof: and his saying so, needs no Answer.

Def. p. 23.

The Defender shelters himself under the Catholick Church, and resolves not to put to Sea with the Answerer about these things. But he knows very well, we utterly deny any of these to have been the Practice of the Universal Church according to Vincentius Lerinensis his Rules; by which we are content to be tried. And although he seems to which for such a Trial, yet I know a Reason why they ought to decline it, because I am certain they can never make it good in any one of them.

(2.) The second Inconvenience objected was, That this would make the Wisdom of God fall beneath the Discretion of prudent Law-givers; who do not make Laws, and leave every Man to be his own Judge as to right or wrong.

It was answered three Ways.

(1.) That there are Inconveniencies on both sides, and one ought to be provided

ded against, as well as the other; for as the People are not to be their own Judges, so it may happen that an Usurper may pretend to the right of Interpreting the Laws, only to justify his Usurpation.

(2.) That the People are allowed in some Sense to interpret the Laws, or else they could never understand the Duty they owe to their lawful King, and to justify his Rights against all the Pretences of Usurpers.

To this the Replier saith nothing, and the Defender saith that which is next to nothing to the first, and takes no notice of the second Answer; and I think I therein tell him plainly enough, what I would be at. He saith, *I mean receiving and holding the true Faith by Usurpation.* Nothing was farther from my Thoughts. But I had thought it were easie enough to know whom I meant, viz. such a one as pretends to an Infallible Chair, which they cannot deny themselves to be the highest Usurpation, if he cannot prove his Title by Scripture, as we are sure he cannot. Def. p. 24.

(3.) That in this Case a Rule is given to direct Persons in the way to Heaven, and therefore must be capable of being understood by those who are to make use of it for that end. Which being the greatest Concernment to Mankind, they are therefore obliged to search into it for their own Salvation; but we exclude not the help of Spiritual Guides, and embrace the ancient Creeds of the Church.

To this the Replier answers two Things:

(1.) *That an Infallible Guide is necessary to secure Persons from wilful Errors, which he saith God hath provided. From wilful Error!* This is new Doctrine indeed, *That God hath provided a Remedy for wilful Error.* Had not our Saviour himself an Infallible Spirit, and yet we do not read that ever he secured Men from wilful Error; or ever designed to do it. But suppose an Infallible Judge could do this, he doth not tell us where he is to be found, who he is, and in what manner he doth thus secure Men, which are very necessary Enquiries; and without being satisfied in all these Points, we are still left to be our own Judges, so far as concerns the Way to Salvation; since at the Day of Judgment we must answer for our selves, than which there can be no greater Obligation to Care and Sincerity in judging. Suppose a Man's Life depends upon the Benefit of his Clergy, and one comes to him and tells him, You are an ignorant Man, and liable to great Mistakes in reading, therefore I advise you by no Means to trust to your own Skill in Reading, for it is a horrible dark Letter, and many have been mistaken that were more Book-learned than you; therefore take my Counsel, there is Mr. Ordinary who understands Book-learning a thousand Times better than you or I, trust him for the Reading, and no doubt you will escape. Ay, Sir, saith the Man, all that is very true that you say, but my Life lies at stake; and how if Mr. Ordinary's Reading will not be allow'd by the Judge for mine, then I am a lost Man past recovery; therefore I am resolved to learn to read my self; and to that end I will make the best use of his Skill to instruct me before-hand that I may be able to answer for my self. This needs no Application.

But I do not see how an Infallible Guide should be necessary to particular Persons in order to their Salvation, upon the Principles owned and received by the greatest Divines in the Roman Church. For *Aquinas* determines that every one that hath saving Grace, hath likewise a Gift of Understanding whereby he is sufficiently instructed in all Things necessary to Salvation, and that it is never withdrawn from them as to those Things. If this Doctrine hold good, I do not see any such Necessity for Persons to look after an Infallible Guide, as there is to look after saving Grace.

Gulielmus Parisiensis saith, *That Mens not looking after the way of Salvation themselves, is that which will damn them.* And in case of Difference among Guides, if a Man sincerely makes Application to God, to know the Truth, he doth not question but such is the Mercy of God to keep such a one from dangerous Error; or if he doth suffer him to fall into Error with a good Mind, it shall not be imputed to him. It is a Doctrine generally received in the Schools, *That where-ever God doth bestow his Grace, there goes along with it such a Gift of Understanding, as keeps them from being deceived in the Matters they believe in order to Salvation.* *Henricus à Gandavo* thus expresses it. *That as Faith makes the Mind to rest on the Authority of the Scripture, so this Gift of Understanding makes them perceive the Truth of what they are to believe.* And what need then such an Infallible Guide?

(2.) He saith. *That ancient Creeds will not serve, unless there be a Power in the Church to make new Decisions in Matters of Faith.*

This ought to have been a little proved. For in Truth we are apt to think the Faith once delivered to the Saints as sufficient to carry us to Heaven, as it was in the Apostles times. A Man is Heir to a good Estate, which by many Generations is

D d d d d 2

derived

Circa ea quæ sunt de necessitate salutis, sufficienter instruuntur à Spiritu sancto, 2, 2 Qu. 8. ar. 4. ad. 1. Donum Intellectus nunquam se subtrahit sanctis circa ea quæ sunt necessaria ad salutem. ib. ad 3. Gul. Parisien. de Legibus. c. 21, p. 57, 58. Pag. 59. D. Col. 1. Henr. a Gand. Sum. Art. 13. q. 4. n. 3.

derived down from his Ancestors, and he hath the Original Deeds in his Hands; one comes to him and tells him, it is a very fine Estate you are Heir to, and it is a thousand Pities you should want a good Title to it; I will put you into a way to get it, if you will give up your *musty old Deeds*, and put your self into the hands of such Persons as I shall name to you, they shall make you a new Settlement, and add several Parcels to your Estate which you had not before. I am content, saith the Heir, with my Ancestors Estate, and I will never part with my old Deeds for all your *new Settlements*; for I am sure my Ancestors would never deceive me; But I know not what Designs you with your new Settlements may have upon me, and therefore I pray let me alone with my old Deeds.

Def. p. 26.

The *Defender* here Dances upon Ropes, he makes swift and quick Motions, but he stands on a slender bottom; and he knows not whereon to fix, but would seem to say something, but not enough to afford scope for an Answer. That which he aims at, is, *That unless a Man by judging Controversies by the Infalible Rule, be able to come to an Infalible Determination, then Controversies will not be infalibly determined, if every Man be left to be his own Judge.* And I am clearly of his Mind. But the point is, whether such an infalible Determination of Controversies be the necessary Way to Heaven? If a man can judge well enough to carry him thither, that is as much as I am concerned for at present.

P. 27.

But he goes on. *Who can hope to be saved without pleasing God? And every Body knows that without Faith it is impossible to please him.* There wants only one little thing to be added, *and without an Infalible Judge of Controversies, there can be no Faith.* But this was forgotten.

But after all he saith, *I confess That Scripture is not the Rule of Controversies.* I pray why? For I take it not only to be the Rule, but to be the only Rule. For saith he, *they are not ended till one side or other be certain.* What then? Is there no Rule that doth not put an end to Controversies? Nay, their own Writers say a Rule, as a Rule cannot put an end to them, and therefore a Judge is necessary. But I must answer such Things as they bring.

In Matters of Good and Evil, I said every Man's Conscience is his immediate Judge, and why not in Matters of Truth and Falshood, unless we suppose Mens involuntary Mistakes to be more dangerous than their wilful Sins.

Here the *Defender* triumphs. *How?* saith he, *Are we before we are aware come to Conscience at last?* I heartily wish we were, that would tend more to the ending of Controversies than an Infalible Judge.

But he wonders that in Disputes of Religion *it should before we are aware come to Conscience at last.* Good man! *he was not aware* that there was any thing of Conscience in the Matter. Doth he think it is only Matter of Interest we contend about? So those who believe no Religion themselves, think all Controversies about Religion, to have nothing of Conscience in them.

P. 28.

But after a long Harangue, he saith, *That Conscience can do no more than secure a Man from being judged for sinning against his Conscience: But if it lead him to do ill Things, or embrace a wrong Faith, what can he answer for the in of having that Conscience?*

I grant where it is a Sin to have such a Conscience, the Conscience doth not excuse the Faults a Man commits by it. But the Question we are upon is, whether it is not a Sin for a Man to have such a Conscience; and we are not upon the point of an *Erroneous Conscience*, but of an *Infalible Judge of Conscience* in Matters of good and evil. And it is strange the *Defender* should not see this. There is no question,

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but there are as disputable Points in Morality, as in matters of Faith; and we think Mens committing Sin, is at least as dangerous to their Souls, as embracing what they call *Herefy*. Now I desire to know, why it is not as necessary to have an infallible Guide in Manners, as in Faith? But, if they think that Men may be let alone to judge as well as they can in such Matters, as their Salvation certainly depends upon; what monstrous Inconvenience is it, if they use the same Liberty in matters of Speculation? I would he had given some better Answer, that I might have had an occasion to have enforced this matter. For in truth it seems to me, a very strange thing, when I read in the *New Testament*, such terrible Denunciations against the practice of Sin, and that Mens Happiness or Misery depends so much on their doing Good or Evil; and so very little said as to Mens Errors or Mistakes of Judgment (where there is a general Sincerity, as to a good Life, and a care to please God) that so much weight should be laid on an infallible Judge in matters of Controversy, and no care taken for an infallible Guide in matters of Practice.

But I am to consider, that it tends more to the interest of some People to swagger about an infallible Faith, than to secure the Practice of Virtue, and a good Life, which yet is certainly the great design and concernment of the Christian Religion, however it may seem to some, that an infallible Faith and Church are all in all.

To shew we do not allow every Man to believe as he pleases, I said, We not only allow the Assistance of spiritual Guides, and embrace the ancient Creeds; but think no Man ought to follow his own fancy, against Doctrines so universally received from the Apostles times.

But all this signifies nothing to him, unless our Guides be Infallible; and he saith, *They are plainly no Guides of Christs appointing, who teach any other Doctrine than he taught.* Very well! Let this then be the Rule, whereby we are to judge whether Guides are Infallible or not. But then have a care of telling us we must believe what Doctrine it was that Christ taught, upon the word of these Infallible Guides, for by that Doctrine we are to judge whether they are Infallible or not. The different methods of his Proceeding and mine in this matter, will be best understood by this Comparison. A Man that goes to enquire the way to a Place (he had a great desire to be at, but was afraid of mistaking the way) of two Men, and how he should avoid the dangerous passages in it; the one like a plain honest Man, tells him there are Difficulties in it, but he will give him a *Book of the Roads*, which acquaints him with all the dangerous turnings; he bids him look well to his Steps, and observe the way he goes, and when he is to seek, to search his Book, and ask such as understand the way better than he does: Alas! saith the other Man, this is a very sad Direction to him, for his Book may be misunderstood, and the Guides may mistake themselves with all their Care; but I will put him into an Infallible Way, whereby he may avoid all the Dangers. Ay Sir, saith the Traveller, you speak indeed to the purpose, I pray acquaint me with it. There is saith he to him, at such a Hill, a Person, who by the help of Wings, not only flies over all that dangerous Passage, but carries all those safe who take hold of him: You have therefore no better way than to pinion your self to him, and you will be safe. But saith the Traveller, how if he and I should tumble down together, what would become of us both? Never fear that, saith he: But how should I help fearing of it? Have any that he carried thither, come back and assured others of the safety of the Passage? No. But how then? Why saith he, You are bound to believe what he saith, for he af-

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firmly that he can do it. But, saith the Traveller, this is very hard, I must venture Body and Soul upon his Skill and Strength, and I must take his Word that he hath both. This seems very unreasonable to me, and therefore I am resolved to take the other course, which tho' it do not make such big boasts of itself, is much more likely to be safe in the Conclusion, having better Reason on its side, and requiring a more constant care of myself, to which God hath promised more of his Grace and Assistance to secure me from all fatal mistakes of my way.

Where I mention *Doctrines so universally received in the Christian Church from the Apostles times, as those in the Creeds*; The Defender makes a notable Exception, *As if, saith he, any part of the universal Christian Doctrine were lost, and all had not been always as universally retained as the Creeds.* Then I hope all the Points in Controversy between us and them, can be proved by as clear and evident a Succession, as the Articles of the Creeds. If he can do this, he will be a *Champion* indeed. I desire him to take his choice, either *Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Infallibility of the Roman Catholick Church*, or which he pleases. I grant all true Christian Doctrine was universally retained, as far as the Rule of it was so received; but if he means any of those distinguishing points between us and them, when he comes to make it out, he will be of another mind.

(3.) A third Inconvenience objected in the Papers, against the want of an infallible Judg, was, *That Scripture would be interpreted by Fancy; which is the same thing as to follow Fancy.*

To this it was answer'd.

(1.) That our Church owns the Creeds, Councils, Fathers and Primitive Church, more frankly than any other Church, and therefore cannot be suspected to leave Scripture to be so interpreted.

Reply, p. 21.

The Replier saith, *We only pretend it, and do it not.* That is to be proved, for bare saying it, will never convince us. But his proof is, *because, if we had done it, we had never deserted the Church of Rome*; and our Answer is, we therefore deserted the Communion of that Church, because She required owning things from us, for which She had no Authority, either from Scripture, Creeds, Councils or Fathers.

Def. p. 30.

The Defender would have me answer directly, *Whether it be not the same to follow Fancy, as to interpret Scripture by it?* As tho' I were examined at the Catechism, which requires all Answers to be made by *Yea* or *Nay*. I said enough to shew the Question doth not concern us; for we do not allow Persons to interpret Scripture by Fancy. And withal. (2.) I asked some other Questions to shew, That those who pretend to Infallibility, may do things as unreasonable as leaving Scripture to be interpreted by Fancy. And I have our Saviours Example for answering one question with another.

The Instances I gave, were these; The Church of *Rome* assuming to it self the Power of interpreting the Rule, which concerns its own Power of interpreting; which was to make it Judg in its own Cause, and to give it as great Power, as if it made the Rule; and I further added, that *Interest* is as mischievous an Interpreter of Scripture, as *Fancy*; and therefore, those who are so much concerned, are not to be relied on, either in Councils, or out.

The Power of declaring Tradition is as Arbitrary a thing in the Church of *Rome*, as interpreting Scripture by Fancy. There being no other Rule allowed by it, but the Sense of the present Church.

The Replier, like a fair Adversary, gives his answer plainly; which consists in two things. (1.) *That their Church gives no Sense of Scripture, but*
 Reply, p. 21. *what*

what She received from Tradition of the foregoing Church, and so he calls it *Apostolical Tradition*. But suppose there happen a Question, whether it be so or not, must not all be resolved into the Authority of the present Church, declaring what is *Apostolical Tradition*? And so it comes all to one.

(2.) He saith, *Tradition is publick, and Fancy is private*. But I say, according to their Rules, *Tradition* is but *publick Fancy*, and so *Fancy* in particular Persons is a *private Tradition*; but whether publick or private, if it be equally Arbitrary, the Case is alike.

The Defender saith, *All this is besides the Business*, and therefore slides off Def. p. 31. as well as he can, with some slight touches, which deserve no Answer.

(4.) *If there be no infallible Judg, the Power of deciding matters of Faith will be given to every particular Man, for which no place can be shewed.*

The answer was, That if by deciding matters of Faith, no more be meant, but every Mans being satisfied of the Reasons, why he believes one thing to be true, and not another; that belongs to every Man as he is bound to take care of his Soul, and must give an account both to God and Man, of the Reason of his Faith.

This, the Replier saith is bringing every Article of Faith to the Test of ones own Reason; whereas Authority is the Correlative of Believing, and Reason of Knowledg. Reply, p. 22.

We do not pretend that every one that believes, should be able to judg from meer Principles of Reason of the Credibility of the Doctrine propos'd; it is sufficient, if he finds it to be of Divine Revelation, by being contained in Gods word. And it is not the Authority of the Church, but of Divine Revelation, which Faith bottoms upon; the former is no more than an inducement to believe those Books we call Scripture, to contain the word of God in them. But when we find any Doctrine therein, we account that sufficient Reason for believing it.

The Defender finds no fault with our saying, *We ought to be satisfied of the Reason why we believe*; but the Question he puts, is, *Whether there be indeed any Reasons why they should believe besides the Authority of the Church?* Def. p. 32. He doth not deny that particular Men ought to judg; but the meaning of the Papers, he saith, is, *that they ought not to judg unreasonably.*

Then we have no difference, for I assure him I never pleaded for mens judging unreasonably. The Question then between us, is, *Whether those who do not believe upon the Infallible Authority of the Roman Catholick Church, Do judg unreasonably? i. e. Whether there be equal Grounds to believe the Roman Catholick Church Infallible, as there are to believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God?* We utterly deny the Roman Churches Infallibility to be necessary to our believing the Scripture; for we receive that by an *Universal Tradition* from all the Apostolical Churches; which is as clear for this, as it is wanting for the other. And therefore we must judg more reasonably. What follows about the Infallibility promised to the Church, hath been answered already.

As to the *Canonical Books*, I shewed it was no *Authoritative Decision* by a Power in the Church to make Books *Canonical* which were not so, but a meer giving *Testimony* in a *Matter of Fact*, in which all parts of the Church are concerned; and it depends as other Matters of Fact do, on the Skill and Fidelity of the Reporters: And so far I own the truly *Catholick Church* to have Authority in any Testimony, delivering down the Books of Scripture; but this proves no more *Infallibility* in the Christian Church as to the Books of the *New Testament*, than it doth in the *Jewish Church* as to the Books of the *Old Testament*.

And thus much of the *Authority of the Catholick Church in Matters of Faith.*

III. Of the Reformation of the Church of England.

There are so many Passages in the Papers relating to the Church of *England*, on the Account of her Reformation, that I thought it the best Method of proceeding to handle this Subject by it self. And there are these things charged upon it, either in Terms or by Consequence, in the Papers, which as I am a Member of this Church, I think my self bound to clear; for I could not justifie continuing in her Communion, if she were justly liable to these Imputations.

1. That she hath made a causless Breach in the Communion of the Catholick Church.

2. That she hath been the occasion of a World of Heresies crept into this Nation.

3. That she hath not sufficient Authority within her self, and yet denies an Appeal to a higher Judicature.

4. That she contradicts her own Rule, *viz.* the Holy Scriptures.

5. That she subsists only on the Pleasure of the Civil Magistrate.

All these I shall examine with Care, and consider what hath been said in Defence of the Papers upon these Heads.

As to the charge of causless Breach in the Communion of the Catholick Church, it lies in these Words, *And by what Authority Men separate themselves from that Church?*

Which being spoken with respect to the Members of the Church of *England*, do imply that they have made a Separation from the Communion of the Catholick Church, and that they had no sufficient Authority for so doing, and therefore are guilty of Schism in it.

To the Question two Answers were given, 1. By distinguishing the truly Catholick Church from the *Roman-Catholick*: And a Distinction between these being made out, (which is done in the first part of this Defence) It doth not follow that we have made a Breach in the Communion of the Catholick Church, because we do not join in Communion with the *Roman-Catholick*: This was illustrated by the Example of a prosperous Usurper in a Kingdom, who challenges a Title to the whole, by gaining a considerable part of it, and requires from all the Kings Subjects within his Power, to own him to be rightful King; whereupon the Question was put, Whether refusing to do it, were an Act of Rebellion or of Loyalty? So in the Church, the Popes Authority over it, so as to restrain Catholick Communion only to those who own it, is not only looked on as an Usurpation by Us, but by all the *Eastern Churches*; and is in Truth altering the *Terms* of Christian Communion from what they were in the truly Catholick and Apostolick Church: Therefore since the Conditions required are unreasonable, because different from them, what Breach hath followed, is not to be imputed to those who refuse these Terms, but to those who impose them, and so the Guilt of it lies upon the Church of *Rome*, and not upon the Church of *England*. This is the Substance of the Answer.

Reply. p. 25. To which the Replier saith, *That the Eastern Churches cannot be parts of the Catholick Church, because they hold not the Apostolick Doctrine contained in the Creeds and Councils owned by the Church of England.* This hath been fully answered already. But he goes on, *There were no other Churches then*

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in being, but those which were in Communion with the Church of Rome; consequently the Church of England going out from them, separated her self from the Catholick Apostolick Church.

And the Defender saith, *He expects I should shew That truly Catholick and Apostolick Church we held Communion with, when we separated from the Roman. He desires to know where the men live, that people may go to them, and learn of them, what their Faith is, &c.* Def. p. 39.

In answer to this, I say, That there is no necessity for us to shew any Church distinct from others, which in all things we agreed with; because we hold all particular Churches liable to Errors and Corruptions; and that the notion of the Catholick Church may take in such Particulars from which we may see reason to dissent: But we do not thereby exclude them from being parts of the Catholick Church; but we say they are no Infalible Rule to us, and therefore we ought to proceed by what the Church hath receiv'd as an Infalible Rule, and not by the Communion of other Churches. And supposing there were no particular Church we did in all things joyn with, the Church of *England* might Reform it self without separating from the Catholick Apostolick Church. For it was then in the Case, particular Churches were in after the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*; for then the Standard of Catholick Communion, set up by the Council of *Nice*, was taken down; and the setting of it up again, was to oppose the Consent of the Christian Church in the most General Council that ever assembled. I do not say, this Council obliged Men to profess *Arrianism*, but that it took away the Authority of the *Nicene Creed* in as valid a manner as the Council by its Acts could do it; I ask then, by what Authority any particular Church could set up the *Nicene Faith*; and if not, how it was possible to be restored? And *I desire to know in what Country the people lived, who then owned the Nicene Faith against such a General Council? And where were the Churches in being, which at that time adhered to it?* But if in this Case the *British Church*, tho' alone, was bound notwithstanding such a general consent, to Reform it self, and to restore the Authority of the *Nicene Creed*; the same Case it is, when the Western Church was oppressed and hindered from Reforming Errors and Abuses by the Usurpation and Tyranny of the Papal Faction; the Church of *England* was then obliged to exercise its own Inherent Right, in bringing things to the state they were in, in the time of the first General Councils. In matters of Reformation, the main enquiries are, whether there be just Occasion, and due Authority for it, and a certain Rule to proceed by; the last and least important Question is, what Company we have to joyn with us in it? For there is a Natural Right in every Church to preserve its own just Liberties, and consequently to throw off such an Usurpation as that of the Popes was. And the main Point in order to a Reformation, was casting off the Popes Power, as an encroachment upon the Ancient and Canonical Privileges of the Western Churches, which was done here by a General consent even of those Bishops, who held in Communion with the *Roman Church*, as far as those could do who rejected the Head of it. And this is the Fundamental Point as to the matter of Schism: If the Pope, as Head of the Church, doth influence Catholick Communion so far, that it is necessary to Salvation to live in subjection to him, it will be very hard to justify separation from that Body whereof he is the visible Head. But if there be no Scripture, no Councils, no Universal Tradition for this, as the *Roman Catholick Bishops* here declared in the time of *H. 8.* then there can be no Schism in acting without Authority from him, or against his Authority. And whether any other

other Church joyned with ours or not, is no more material to the justification of the Reformation; than the lawfulness of any one Countie acting for the Royal Family in the late times of Usurpation, did depend upon the concurrence of others with it. What more commonly talked of, and magnified in the Church of *Rome*, than the *Reformation* of the *Monastick Orders*? And some of the Persons have been Canonized who have done it; But in this Case, the Governour of a Monastick Order, proceeding according to the Rules of his Order, doth a very justifiable thing, tho' never another Monastery joyn with him in it; because he only doth his Duty, and proceeds by the Rules which are receiv'd by the whole Order. This, I say, was the Case of the Church of *England* in Reforming according to Scripture, and the sense of the Primitive Church; and if others joyned, so much the better; if not, the Act justifies it self, and needs not the concurrence of others to make it good.

(2.) The 2d Answer was, That there is a difference between voluntary Separation, and that which is unavoidable, in case unreasonable conditions of Communion be required.

Def. p. 39.

The Defender pretends *He can by no means understand this unavoidable Separation; because tho' Men be separated from the Communion of the Church, yet they may continue of the same Faith if they please: but if they have another Faith, they separate themselves, even supposing Usurpation, or whatever I would have.*

Now this seems very strange to me from a Person who knows the Terms of Communion with the *Roman Church*. Can any Man be a true Member thereof, who doth not own and profess to believe the Popes Supremacy, Transubstantiation, &c. Is he not by the constitution of that Church required to believe all that the *Roman Church* believes? But suppose Men do not, and cannot for their Hearts believe as that Church believes; can they notwithstanding be Members of it? No, he confesses *a different Faith unavoidably casts them out*. But then to believe otherwise than the *Roman Church* believes, casts them out unavoidably. The Question now is, who is the cause of this casting out, those who cannot believe those Doctrines, or those who require the belief of them in order to Communion? If these Doctrines be evident in Scripture, or were defined by the four General Councils, or are contained in the ancient Creeds, or can be clearly proved by Universal Tradition, then we confess the blame falls on those who refuse; but if none of those can be made appear to the satisfaction of a mans mind who desires to search out Truth, then their separation is unavoidable, and there is no reason to make it their voluntary act. But, saith

Def. p. 40.

the Defender, *a mans faith is his own voluntary act*. I grant that; but not a voluntary cause of Separation: which two ought to be distinguished in this case. As in the case of Usurpation, the owning the lawful King is a voluntary act; but if an Usurper threatens to banish him if he doth not abjure him; upon whom must the blame be laid, upon the Mans voluntary Act, or the Usurpers voluntary imposing such a penalty on those who do nothing but what is just? The Defender did not consider that the making such terms of Communion was a voluntary act too, and being a thing unreasonable and unjust, it leaves the blame upon the Imposers.

But he denies any such thing as Usurpation in the Pope, because he hath shewed by his reiterated Approbation of the Bishop of Meaux's Book, that he is content with that submission and obedience, which the Holy Councils and Fathers have always taught the Faithful.

These are very fine words to deceive the unwary. But I pray tell us, who

who is to declare *what the Councils and Fathers have always taught the Faithful?* *Who is to be Judg?* Is not the Pope himself? For no Council will be allowed without his Approbation and Confirmation. And is not this then a very pretty Artifice to draw weak Persons into a Snare? For my part, I do not wonder at the *Popes Approbation of the Bishop of Meaux's Book*, no more than I would at a Gentlemans Approbation of a fine spun Net when he goes a fishing, which is not so easily discerned, and yet doth as effectually catch the Game: Some there are still who love to be deceived, and some have more arts of deceiving than others; and those who gain most by it, will be sure to give them the greatest Approbation.

The Defender proceeds: *Suppose there were Usurpation, must People therefore believe otherwise than they did before; as that there is no change of Substance, no Purgatory, no more than two Sacraments, and the rest?* Pag. 41.

The Question about Faith is one thing, and about Separation is another. We are now upon the latter of these; and in this case we are most concerned about the Popes Authority, since he is look'd on by you as the Head of the Catholick Church, and the Center of Communion. If there were no such Usurpation, yet we should never decline giving an account of the Reasons of our Faith, as to Sacraments, Purgatory, or what you please of the Points in difference between us. Which I neither desire to make greater or lesser, than really they are. For there may be deceit both ways.

As to his renewing the Question, *by what Authority we separate?* I answer, Def. p. 42. by the same Authority which makes it unlawful for us to profess what we do not believe; and to practise what we believe God hath forbidden: This is just as if one should ask by what Authority Men are bound to be honest and sincere; and to prefer Gods Laws before Mens? For the Church of Rome requires from the Members of her Communion, besides matters of Faith, such acts of Worship, which, whatever they be, to those who believe as they do, must be *Idolatrous* to those that believe as we do. For Example, suppose in *China*, where they believe God to be the same with the World, some of the *Chineses* (who on that account think they may lawfully give Divine Worship to any part of the World) to be converted by the *Missionaries*, who tell them the parts of the World cannot be God, for he is Infinite and Immutable, and Wise, and Powerful, which the Parts of the World are not, and cannot be, and therefore they cannot without Idolatry give Divine Worship to them; the *Mandarins* require their giving the same *Adorations* that others do; they refuse and say, Whatever you may do, who believe God and the World to be the same, certainly it would be gross Idolatry in us, who believe the thing you worship, to be nothing but dull insensible parts of the World. And if now it should be asked, By what Authority they separate? Is there not a plain Answer, By the Authority of God himself, who requires Adoration to be given to himself alone?

But *who shall be Judg*, saith the Defender? God himself will be Judg at Pag. 43. the great Day, whether we will or not. And I think that is more to be regarded, than putting an end to Controversies. if we be not sincere and faithful to him and his service, if we do not act and judg with a regard to the Judgment of that day, all the pretences in the World of a Judg in Controversies, then will stand in no stead. If we do use our careful endeavours to know the will of God, and to do it, we have great reason to hope God will shew Mercy to us; and then the Question will not appear of such wonderful Importance, *Who shall be Judge here?*

But we do not decline a reasonable Judgment in this World; we only desire our Judges may be fair and equal, and such as God hath appointed. And if

if those who would judg for us, pretend that they have a Divine Commis-
 sion, we desire to know who shall be Judg of this pretence? We have no rea-
 son to trust them; and they will not trust us. So that here we art stopt at
 first, unless the Commission be produced, which impowers those Persons to
 judg, who challenge such Authority over our Judgments. A general inde-
 finite obscure Commission, which may extend to all other Guides in the
 Church as well as to them, will by no means be sufficient. Let us see whom
 Christ hath appointed in his own words, and we will submit; for we look
 on him as Supreme Judg and Legislator to his Church; and if he hath
 thought fit to appoint an Infallible Judg, we have done. But we desire to
 know where he hath done it? Hath he granted any new Commission from
 Heaven? No. Is it to be found in Scripture? Yes. But then I pray ob-
 serve, you tell us Scripture cannot be Judg in any Controversy, being am-
 biguous, uncertain, general, mute, flexible, and what not? and because it
 cannot hear Parties, nor give a decisive Voice, it can by no means be a Judg
 of Controversies. How then can the Scripture put an end to this Contro-
 versie, when it can put an end to none? Are the Expressions in this matter
 so particular, so clear, so peremptory, that we cannot mistake about the
 sense of them? If so, then I perceive, notwithstanding all the hard words
 given it, Scripture may be Judg as well as a Rule, because it is fitted to put
 an end to such a Controversie, which is as doubtful as any; and why not as
 well to all the rest? We are not then afraid of this Question, *Who shall be
 Judg?* But we desire to be satisfied about it; and to know not only who hath
 appointed him, but who he is, whether the Pope *in Cathedrâ*, or a General
 Council? For this is very material for us to know, since even at this day
 you are far from being agreed about it. The Assembly of the Clergy of
 France, have solemnly declared within few years, *That they do not believe
 the Popes Judgment to be Infallible.* The Clergy of Hungary have rejected
 and censured this Declaration as *absurd and detestable*, and have forbidden any
 to read, hold, or teach the Doctrine, and own the Pope to be the only Infallible
 Judg of Controversies. A Sorbon Doctor in his Notes on the Hungarian Cen-
 sure, calls this, *The new Heresie of the Jesuits*; on the other side, large Vo-
 lumes have been Printed to prove, *that the right of judging infallibly, belongs
 only to the Pope.*

Cler. Gallica.
 Declaratio
 Prop. 4. 1682.
 Censura Hun-
 garica. 24 Oct.
 1682.

Traſtat. de
 Libertat. Ec-
 cleſ. Gallican.
 Leodii, 1684.
 Regale Sacer-
 dotium Ro-
 mano Ponti-
 fici aſſertum.
 Auctore Eu-
 genio Lom-
 bardo, 1684.
 De Antiqua
 Eccleſiæ Diſ-
 ciplina Diſ-
 ſert. 5. Auct.
 Lud. Ellies
 DuPin, 1686.

Differt. 5. c. 1.
 ff. 2.

And now very lately comes out a Learned Book by another Doctor of the
 of the Sorbon, to prove *not only that the Popes Judgment is not Infallible, but
 that it is a dangerous thing to believe it; and that no Man ought to do it, unless
 infallible proof be brought of it.* But he proves at large, that not so much as
 probable evidence can be brought for it, either from *Scripture or Tradition.*

I pray now the Defender to tell me, *Who is the Judg?* Is the Pope Infallible
 or not? *It is easily answer'd I, or no.* And it is necessary to be answer'd, if
 we must know, *Who is the Judg?*

The common Evasion is, *That you are agreed, that Popes and Councils to-
 gether are?* but this is but an Evasion. For the Infallibility is by virtue of
 Divine Promises, and those must either relate to the Church as the subject of
 them; or to the Successors of St. Peter in their capacity as such. If to the
 former, the Popes have nothing to do in it, but as included in the Church;
 if the latter, the Councils have no Infallibility, but the Pope. To say *the
 Council is Infallible, when confirmed by the Pope*, is Nonsense. For, either it
 was Infallible in its Decree, or not. If not, it can borrow no Infallibility
 from the Popes subsequent Confirmation; but the Popes Judgment may be
 said to be Infallible, but by no means the Councils. And *Du Pin* hath pro-
 ved, that there cannot be two Seats of Infallibility; for wherever there is
 Infalli-

Infallibility, it can receive no addition or force from another Infallibility; and whatever is Infallible, must be believed for it self, and not depend on anothers Judgment. And therefore I again desire the Defender to make no harangues about this matter, but to answer directly, *Who is the Judg?* For we would fain be acquainted with this *some body*, as he speaks; but I am afraid his *some body* of Infallibility, will prove a more *pleasing Dream* than what he charges me with in what follows. Pag. 44.

I had given a fair account of the proceedings in *England* upon the Reformation, how the search began, the Popes Authority to be discarded, and the Articles of Religion to be drawn up, which ought not to be looked on as particular Fancies, but the sense of our Church.

All this he calls a *pleasing Dream*; I am sure the pretence of Infallibility is so; but I related matter of fact, which he hath no mind to meddle with, but he runs again to his, *Who shall be Judg?* And concludes, *that I think between Churches there's none at all.* I do think the Church of *England* in this divided state of the Catholick Church, is under no Superior Judicature, but that it hath sufficient Power and Authority to reform Abuses, and to declare Articles of Religion so as to oblige its Members to Conformity; especially since it proceeds by such excellent Rules, as the *Holy Scriptures*, the ancient Councils, and Universal Tradition. And I hope this may pass for a direct Answer. Pag. 45.

The Replier takes another course besides this, for he makes use of these two Topicks against the Church of *England*: 1. *That the Church of Rome was in possession of all those Truths we rejected.* 2. *That we ought to bring positive Texts for our Negative Articles.* Reply, p. 25.
Pag. 27.

1. As to the Plea of *Possession of all those Truths now question'd by us.* This were a pleasant thing for us to question them, if we owned they were *Truths*; but he means only that he thinks them so. Well then, how is it their Church was in possession of those *Truths*? Do they become *Truths* by their possession, or only that they were *Truths* they were then possessed of? If so, he must first prove them to be *Truths*, or the *Possession* signifies nothing. And that is the point I went upon, that no *Possession* gives a right to *Truth*; but the Church of *England* had just reason to examine whether these were *Truths* or not; and upon examination finding them to be otherwise, it had reason to reject them.

But to inforce this, he saith afterwards, *That their Church had a thousand years prescription here, and that their Religion came into this Nation with Christianity.* Reply, p. 40.

Although according to St. Cyprian's Rule, *all this proves no more than the Antiquity of Error, unless the proof be made from Scripture*, yet because this goes a great way with some People, I do not only deny the truth of it, but shall give evident proof to the contrary.

For I suppose it will not be questioned, that the Religion brought in here by *Augustin* and his Companions, was the Religion of *Gregory the Great*; I shall therefore compare the Doctrine of the Council of *Trent* with that of *Gregory*, in some remarkable Particulars, and shew the great Difference between them as to these things.

1. *Scripture and Tradition.*

Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

DEclares, That it receives Traditions with an equal Veneration with Holy Scriptures, Sess. 4.

Affirms, That all things which edifie and instruct, are contained in the Volume of Scriptures, in Exek. Hom. l. 1. cap. 8.

That Gods Mind is to be found in his Words, Regist. Epist. l. 4. Ep. 40.

That the Scripture is the Glass of the Elect, in Reg. l. 4. c. 10. in Job l. 2. c. 1.

That to be born of God, is to love his Will revealed in Scripture, in 1 Reg. c. 14.

That Preachers are to instruct their People in what they learn, out of the Holy Scriptures, Greg. Sacram. in Consecr. Episcopi.

That the Staves being in the Rings on the sides of the Ark, do shew that Teachers should have the Holy Scriptures in their Hearts, that from thence they may presently teach whatever is needful, de Cura Pastor, l. 2. c. 11.

2. *Apocryphal Books.*

The Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

Reckons the *Maccahees* among the Canonical Books, Sess. 4.

Plainly rejects them from being Canonical; for he excuses taking an Example out of them, not being Canonical, Moral. in Job l. 19. c. 13.

3. *Merit of Good Works.*

The Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

Anathematizes those who deny good Works to be truly meritorious of Grace and Eternal Life, Sess. 6. Can. 32.

Denies the most sanctified Persons to procure Divine Wisdom by their Graces, in Job l. 18. c. 26.

Affirms, that the best Men will find no Merit in their best Actions, Moral. l. 9. c. 2.

That all human Righteousness will be found unrighteousness, if strictly judged, lb. l. 9. c. 11.

That if he should attain to the highest Virtue, he should obtain eternal Life, not by Merits, but by Pardon, lb.

4. *Auricular*

4. *Auricular Confession.**The Council of Trent,**Gregory the Great,*

DEclares secret Confession of all sins to be necessary in order to Remission and Absolution by the Priest, Sess. 14. c. 6, 7, 8.

Speaks of no other Confession than what was required in order to the Reconciliation of those who had undergone publick Penance, the Custom whereof at Rome, is set down in Gelasius his Sacramentary, p. 63. And Gregory refers to the Custom then used, in his Sacramentary, p. 225. And there is no Form of Absolution in either of them, but by way of Prayer to God, which is different from a Sacramental, Judicial Absolution, required by the Council of Trent.

He makes no Absolution true, but that which follows the judgment of God, which he parallels with the loosing of Lazarus after Christ had raised him from the Grave, Hom. 26. in Evangel.

5. *Solitary Masses.**The Council of Trent,**Gregory the Great,*

A Nathematizes those who say such Masses wherein the Priest only communicates, are unlawful, and to be abrogated. Sess. 22. Can. 8.

Forbids the Priest to celebrate alone, and saith expressly it ought not to be celebrated by one, because the People are to bear their share, Greg. lib. Capital. c. 7. apud Cassandr. Liturg. c. 33.

6. *Transubstantiation.**The Council of Trent,**Gregory the Great,*

DEclares the Body of Christ to be in the Eucharist under the Species of Bread, Sess. 13. Cap. 1.

Aserts the Body of Christ after his Resurrection to be palpable, i. e. That it may be seen and felt where it is, and that he proved this against Eutychius of Constantinople, Moral. 1. 14. c. 31.

That asserts only the Species to remain after Consecration, ib. c. 4.

He frequently declares, That our Bodies as well as our Souls, are nourished by the Eucharist, which cannot be done by mere species; for no Accidents can produce a Substance, Greg. Sacram. 16. Kal. Mart. in Sexages. Hebd. 3, in Quadrag. Fr. 4.

7. Communion in one Kind.

Council of Trent,

DEclares against the necessity of
Communion in both kinds, Sess.
13. Cap. 13.

Gregory the Great,

Affirms it to be the constant pra-
ctice for the People to receive in
both.

Sacram. in Quadrag. Fr. 3.

6 Kal. Julii ad Complend.

Hebd. 3. in Quadr. Sabbato.

Miss. Temp. Belli.

Sexages. ad Complend.

Domin. in Ramis Palm.

VI. Non. Julii ad Complend.

VIII. Kal. Aug. ad Compl.

Kalend. Aug. ad Compl.

The like may be observed in Gela-
sius his *Sacramentary*, who declared
it *Sacrilege to do otherwise*; as appears
by the known Canon, *Comperimus.*
De Consecr. Dist. 2. who was one of
Gregory's Predecessors, and not long
before him.

8. Purgatory.

Council of Trent,

DEclares that there is a Purgato-
ry after this Life, out of which
Souls may be helped by the Prayers of
the faithful, Sess. 25.

Gregory the Great,

Affirms, That at the time of Death,
either the good or evil Spirit
seizeth upon the Soul, and keeps it with
it for ever without any change. Moral
in Job, l. 8. c. 8. ed. Basil. c. 9. ed.
Novæ. That, in the day of death, the
just goes to Joy, and the wicked with
the Apostate Angel is reprobated. Mo-
ral. in Job, l. 12. c. 4.

The Passages in his *Dialogues*, which
seem to contradict these, do not come
up to the Council of Trent's Purgatory;
for they only speak of a Purgation
for light and venial Sins, and not for
the temporal pain of mortal Sins,
* whose Guilt is remitted: But in the
former places he plainly denies any
change of State after this Life; so
that the Purgation he speaks of, must
be consistent with a State of Joy; and
in that very place, he saith, *Per-
sons shall be at the day of Judgment,
as they were when they went out of the
World.*

9. Masses

9. Masses for the Dead.

The Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

DEclares, That they are intended for those who are dead in Christ, not yet fully purged from their sins, Sess. 22. c. 2.

Supposes those to be in a state of Bliss, for whom the Oblation was made at the Altar, as appears by the Sacramentary IV. Kalend. Julii, where the Oblation is first mention'd; and after follows, *Deus qui animæ famuli tui Leonis eternæ beatitudinis præmia contulisti.*

10. Worship of Images.

The Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

DEclares, not only that Images are to be placed in Temples, but to be worshipped there, Sess. 25.

Allows their being in Temples, but denies any worship to be given to them. For he not only often denies any Adoration to be given them; but he saith, *They are only for Instruction*; which excludes Relative Worship. Registr. Epist. l. 9. Ep. 9. l. 7. Ep. 110.

The Epistle to *Secundinus Guffanvillæus* in his late Edition of S. Gregory, saith, was not to be found in the most Ancient MSS.

11. Extreme Unction.

The Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

Anathematizes those who do affirm it not to be a true and proper Sacrament, appointed by Christ for Remission of Sins, and conferring Grace. Sess. 14. Can. 1, 2.

Mentions the Unction then used in order to the Recovery of sick Persons; and in the Prayer applies S. James his Words that way; and then adds, *Sana quoque quæsumus, omnium medicator ejus Februm, & cunctorum languorum cruciatus ægritudinemq;*, &c. Sacram. p. 253. And immediately before, in the Unction, these words are said, *Per hanc sacramenti olei Unctionem*—*pristinam & emmelioratem recipice meritis sanitatem.* Ib.

And that it was not looked on as the last Sacrament, appears by things in that Sacramentary:

1. The Eucharist was to be given after it.

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2. It

Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

2. It was to be continued for seven days if there were occasion; & *suscitabit eum Deus*; which shews that it was designed for bodily health.

12. Pope's Supremacy.

Council of Trent,

Gregory the Great,

OWned it from beginning to end; and referr'd the Confirmation of its Decrees to the Pope, as *Supreme Head of the Church*.

DEclares the *Headship* of the Church to be peculiar to Christ. Registr. Ep. 1. 4. Ep. 36, 38. where he speaks not of an *Essential Head*, but of the *Fountain of Jurisdiction*.

He urges it as an inconvenience, If there were a *Head* of the Church, the Church must err with him. Epist. 32. 36.

Which *Bellarmin* owns to be a true Consequence. *De R. Pont.* l. 4. c. 5.

He makes it the *Pride of Lucifer*, and the forerunning of *Antichrist*, for one Bishop to set himself above the rest. Ep. 36.

Not to be the *Sole Bishop*; but to have all the rest in *subjection* to him.

These things may be sufficient at present, to shew how little ground there is to say, That the Religion now owned in the Church of Rome, was brought in hither with Christianity in the time of *Gregory the Great*.

(2.) The Replier saith, *We ought to bring positive Texts for our negative Articles; as no Praying to Saints, no Purgatory, no Worship of Images, no Transubstantiation, and the like; with which, he saith, the 39 Articles are stult* But why must we be obliged to bring Texts for the Negative? Because he saith, *we make these Articles of Faith*.

To answer this, Let us suppose the Common Council of the City should agree to make Men swear that the Monument near *London Bridge*, is a living Creature, and should exclude all those from the City Privileges who do not; and that others having examin'd the Monument, and found nothing but Stones and Iron, were resolved to follow their Senses, and declare their Minds, That upon due Consideration, they did judge the Monument to be no living Creature; Would any say, these Men made it an Article of their Faith, when they only rejected a false Proposition imposed upon the Faith of others? Why may not a Church declare what it doth not believe, as well as what it doth? And when it declares what it doth not believe, doth it make such Declarations Articles of Faith? The plain case is, Those of the Church of Rome impose things we think as hard and unreasonable as the former Example: Our Church not only denies its belief of them; but signifies it to its Members by a body of Articles which they are to sign, to testify their consent: How doth this come to make every one of these Declarations an Article of Faith? They are only Articles of Agreement, and not of

of Faith. And the difference between these may be easily understood. *An Article of Faith* supposes a *Divine Revelation*, as the Replier yields; but if Men offer that for a *Divine Revelation*, which is not, the rejecting of that cannot be called an *Article of Faith*; because there is no need of *Revelation* to declare the other to be none, supposing there be a Rule to judge what is of *Divine Revelation*, and what not. That Rule we say is the *Holy Scripture*, not interpreted by Fancy, but by the *Primitive Church*; by this Rule so interpreted, we reject *Invocation of Saints*, *Purgatory*, *Worship of Images*, *Transubstantiation*, &c. And why then should our rejecting them, be called so many *Articles of Faith*? We own the *Scripture* for our Rule, and for our compleat and adequate Rule of Faith; and therefore it serves us both for what we are to believe, and what we are not to believe. In positive *Articles*, we resolve our Faith into *Divine Revelation* contained in *Scripture*; in Negative, the *Article of Faith* is, *That Scripture is our Rule*; but from thence it is a necessary Consequence of Reason, That we are not to believe any thing but what is contained in *Scripture*, or may be deduced from thence. Which deductions being within the force of the Rule, are not to be looked on as different from it; and what can neither be proved by *Scripture*, nor by deductions from it, if our Principle be allowed, we can never be blamed if we reject it. For otherwise we should not act reasonably, nor agreeable to our own Principles.

But as to the Particulars mentioned, we do not meerly reject them as not contained in *Scripture*, but as repugnant to such Principles concerning *Divine Worship*, *Remission of Sins*, the *Nature of Christ's Body*, &c. which are evidently contained therein: But I go no further than the Replier leads me.

At the Conclusion of the first Paper, there was a Suggestion, *As tho' the Schism were raised by particular Men, for their own Advantage.*

It was answered, That the Advantage of the Clergy lay plainly on the other side; which is yielded by the Replier; and yet he would have the Clergy byast: What, byast against their Interest? For that is the Point, Whether they got or lost by the Reformation? and besides other Considerations, if there were so much *Sacriledg* committed by it, as is said in one of the Papers, it is hard to suppose that they should raise the Schism for their own Advantage. I am of the Defenders mind, *That matter of Interest ought not to be regarded in these things*; but when that was said to lie at the bottom of the Reformation, we had reason to consider on which side lay the greater Advantage. Reply, p. 28.

The 2d Charge is, *That the Reformation hath been the occasion of a World of Heresies creeping into this Nation.* With this the 2d Paper begins. Def. p. 46.

In answer it was said, That either this respects the several Sects of Dissenters from the Religion established by Law, and then it seems hard, considering all Circumstances, to charge the Church of *England* with them; or it takes in all that dissent from the Church of *Rome*, and so it is a Charge on the whole Church since the Reformation, as guilty of *Herésie*; which was a Charge I said could never be made good.

The Defender avoids the Charge as to the Church of *England*; but the Replier in plain terms owns it; saying, *That establishment of a Religion by Law, cannot protect it from being a Herésie*; which I readily grant. And then he adds, *Let him defend his own, and his work is done.* The best way to do that, is to consider first what *Herésie* is, and that I said was *an obstinate opposing some necessary Article of Faith*; and then, how it comes to be in the Power of the Church of *Rome* to define *Heretical Doctrines*, so as that

that any Doctrine comes to be *Heresie*, by being contrary to its Definitions?

He answers, *By the same way the Church had Power in her General Councils, to make Creeds, and to Anathematize Hereticks.*

So that whatever Power the Catholick Church exercised in declaring Matters of Faith, he challenges as of Right belonging to the Church of *Rome*, which wholly depends on the first Point already discussed; viz. That the *Roman* and *Catholick Church* are the same.

But I shall now wave that, and consider, Whether if that were allow'd, the Church could now have the same Reason to declare the Points in difference to be *Heresies*, as the Primitive Church had the Doctrines of the *Trinity*, and *Incarnation of Christ*.

I am of Opinion it cannot; and yet if it could, that alone is not sufficient to charge *Heresie* upon us.

And in making out of both these, I shall argue from the Nature of *Heresie*, as it is stated among their best Writers, who agree that there are three Things necessary to make up the charge of *Heresie*. 1. The Nature of the Proposition. 2. The Authority of the Proponent. 3. The Obstinacy of the Party.

1. The Nature of the Proposition; for it is allowed among them, that there is a difference between a *Proposition erroneous in Faith*, and *Heretical*.

In ititurenim
Fides nostra
Revelationi
Apostolis &
Prophetis
factæ qui Ca-
nonicos li-
bros scripse-
runt, non au-
tem revelati-
on si qua fuit
aliis Docto-
ribus facta. 1.
q. 1. Ar. 8. ad
2. 2. 2. q. 1.
Art. 5. ad 2.

But for our better understanding this matter, I shall set down something very pertinently observed by *Aquinas* and others.

1. *Aquinas* saith, *That Faith in us depends upon Divine Revelation, not such as is made to any Person, but that which was made to the Prophets and Apostles, which is preserved in the Canonical Books; and therefore he saith, the proofs from Scripture are necessary and convincing; those from other Authorities are but probable: Which is a Testimony of great Consequence in this matter; for from hence it appears, that whatsoever Article of Faith is made necessary to be believed, must be proved from Scripture; and Heresie being an obstinate opposing a necessary Article of Faith, there can be no Heresie, where the Doctrine is not founded on Scripture: And elsewhere he makes the Principles of Faith to be the Authorities of the Scripture.*

2. That all matters of Faith are not equally revealed in Scripture: For some, he saith, are principally designed, as the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*; and these are directly against Faith; and to hold the contrary to them, especially with obstinacy, is *Heresie*; but there are others which are indirectly against Faith; from whence something follows which overthrows Faith; as, for any one to deny that *Samuel* was the *Son of Helcanah*, the Consequence would be, that the *Scripture* was false.

3. He makes a distinction between those who discern the Repugnancy, and continue obstinate, and those who do not; not intending to maintain any thing contrary to Faith; and in this case there may be an erroneous opinion in Faith, without *Heresie*. So that an erroneous Opinion lies in not attending to the Consequence of that Opinion, as against Faith, and not maintaining it obstinately. But he asserts it to be in the Churches Power to declare such an Opinion to be against Faith, and then he makes it *Heretical* to deny it: His Instance is about the five Notions of the *Trinity*; and his Conclusion is, *That it cannot be Heretical in it self to have different Opinions about them*, but it is very hard to understand how the Church by its declaration can make the holding one or the other Opinion to be more or less repugnant to Faith. But then the Reason of *Heresie* must be resolved into the Authority of the Church; of which afterwards; yet still *Scripture* is the Rule by which the Church is to judg.

(4.) That

(4.) That there are some things revealed in Scripture which immediately tend to make mankind happy; and those are the Articles of Faith which all Men ^{2.2.q.2.art.5.} are bound to believe explicitly; other things are revealed by accident, or secondarily, as that Abraham had two Sons, that David was the Son of Jesse. Now as to these latter points he saith, That it is enough to have an inward preparation of mind to believe all that is contained in Scripture; and those things in particular as soon as they are known to be there. But we believe all Persons bound to search the Scriptures, that they may know what is contained therein. However we gain this Point hereby, that by their own Doctrine, besides the Articles of Faith receiv'd on both sides, no other Points can become necessary, till they be made appear to us to be contained in Scripture, otherwise it is sufficient for us to be ready to believe whatever is contained therein. And consequently, we cannot be charged with *Herésie* for rejecting them.

Alphonsus a Castro makes this distinction between *Herésie* and a Proposition ^{De Hæret. punit. l. 1. c. 3.} erroneous in Faith; That the former is against such a point of Faith, as all Men are bound to believe; but there are some Propositions, he saith, relating to Faith, wherein a Man is under no obligation to believe either part of the contradiction. But if he asserts either of them to be an Article of Faith, and pronounces the other *Heretical*, he then errs in Faith, and is become a *Heretick*. From whence I observe, that supposing any points in Controversie, not to be so determined as to bring on Men an obligation to believe them, those who make them to be Articles of Faith, and condemn the others for *Hereticks*, are in so doing *Hereticks* themselves.

Melchior Canus saith, That although a Proposition be thought by wise Men to be ^{Loc. Theo. log. l. 12. c. 11.} a matter of Faith, yet if it be not plainly defined by the Church, nor demonstrated by Reason, then the opposing of it is no *Herésie*, but *Erroneous Doctraine*. Nay he saith further, That if an Opinion do contradict a point of Catholick Faith in the most probable and almost necessary Opinion of all wise Men, yet if it do not manifestly contradict, it is barely *Erroneous*, and not *Heretical*.

Suarez saith, that Melchior Canus his Doctrine in this matter is generally ^{Suarez. de Fide Disp. 19. Sect. 2. n. 13.} receiv'd. But he adds one thing more, viz. That in *Herésie* there must be the highest opposition to immediate Revelation; but if it implies only a repugnancy to a bare Catholick Truth, or Theological conclusion, it is erroneous in Faith, but no *Herésie*. The highest opposition lies in three things: 1. The Revelation must be immediate, and not deduced by Consequence. 2. That it must be most certainly and undoubtedly of Faith. 3. That the erroneous Proposition do most certainly and undoubtedly contradict it. For, saith he, if there be a defect in any one of these, it is not an *Heretical Proposition*.

These are the Principles laid down by their own Writers of greatest esteem. And therefore if the Replier think fit to make good his Charge of *Herésie* against the Church of England, he may from hence see what he hath to do.

1. He must prove the Points in Controversie to be of immediate Divine Revelation; and not drawn from thence by Consequences and Suppositions.

2. That the Doctrine of our Church doth in the highest, plainest, and most certain manner contradict such Propositions of Faith.

And supposing it were possible for him to do the former; yet if their own *Expositor* of the Articles of our Church may be believed, he can never do the latter. For he endeavours to prove them capable of a Catholick sense. The five first he allows for Catholick as they stand. The sixth about Canonical Scripture, with St. Jerom's Explication, is Catholick enough. The 7th, 8th, first part of the 9th, and the whole 10th, are very Catholick. The four next he examines. The 15th needs only a Gloss of St. Augustins. The 16th

very good. The 17th Catholick, and so the 18. The 19th only wants a Gloss; and so the 20th and 21. The 22d he examines, 23d is allow'd. The 24th being only against a custom of the Church, he proves from *Canus*, can imply no *Herésie*; and yet he thinks it capable of a good Gloss. The 25th he allows in the genuine sense of it. The 26th and 27th are confessed to be the *Doctrines* of the Church, and all the *Fathers*. Even the 28th against *Transubstantiation* he thinks may be glossed into a good sense. The 29th is explained from *S. Augustin*. The 30th from *Canus*, not to contain any *Herésie*: The 31st he saith only opposes the common Opinion. The 32d capable of a sound sense, 33, 34th agreeable to *Scripture* and *Antiquity*. 35th about the *Homilies*, passable. 36th about *Ordination* valid. 37th agreeable to the *French Opinion* and *Practise*, the *Popes Jurisdiction* may be understood of *Temporal*. The two last he allows to be *Catholick*.

So that of 39 *Articles*, but five are reserved for Examination, and of these, the 11th he saith, is about words; the 12 and 13 capable of a good sense; the 14th goes upon a mistake of their sense; the 22d determines nothing against the true Faith. I do not go about to justify his *Exposition*; but I say, that upon your own grounds, it sheweth that our Church cannot be justly charged with *Herésie*. For if it be required that such Propositions as are *Heretical* must in the highest and clearest manner contradict the *Doctrines* of Faith; and your own *Expositor* grants they do not; then however you may think them *Erroneous*, yet you cannot condemn them for *Heretical*.

(2.) As to *Herésie*, a sufficient Proposition of the matters of Faith is required. For they grant that the matters of Faith must be proposed in such a manner as to induce an obligation to believe them, before any can be guilty of *Herésie* in rejecting them. Therefore it is necessary for us to know what they mean by a sufficient Proposal.

Suarez de Fi-
de Disp. 19.
Sect. 2. n. 8.
Disp. 4. Sect.
2. n. 3.

Suarez yields this to be a necessary Condition; and elsewhere discourses about the Nature of it. And there he shews, 1. That a sufficient Proposition of a matter of Faith is not barely to deliver it as a *Divine Truth*, but it must be done with such *Circumstances*, that it may appear to be prudently credible, i.e. so as to see such reason for it, as to put him beyond doubt or fear of the contrary. 2. That it must appear evidently credible to be revealed by God, and therefore certain and infallible. 3. That it must appear not only so, but evidently more credible, than the *Doctrine* repugnant to it. 4. That according to natural Reason, the assent to it is to be prefer'd before the contrary Opinion. Now to make good the Charge of *Herésie* against our Church, he must not bring the *Motives of Credibility* for the *Christian Faith* in general, which are owned on both sides; but as to those Points which are asserted by them as matters of Faith, and rejected by us. As for Instance, *Transubstantiation* is declared by them to be a matter of Faith; and it is denied by us; and they charge us with *Herésie* for it. We say, it hath never been proposed to us in such a manner, as to make it appear to be a prudent Judgment in us to believe it, or that it was ever revealed by God, or more credible than the contrary Opinion, in the judgment of Reason. Not any one of these things doth appear to us, but the contrary; for we can see nothing of the Credibility, but a great deal for the evident Incredibility of it. How then can this matter of Faith be said to be sufficiently proposed to us?

It may be said, All this is done by the Authority of the Church proposing it; and if it be made evidently credible that you ought to believe the Church, then we are *Hereticks* for rejecting her Authority.

I answer, That if by the Churches Authority, be meant that of the *Roman Catholick Churches* Infallible proposing matters of Faith to us, we are as far to seek as ever, and for our hearts we cannot find this made out with any degree

gree of *Credibility*. We have searched all your Grounds, examined your Motives, weighed your Reasons, (your Miracles we have not seen) but we can meet with nothing that should make it a prudent judgment for us to take all matters of Faith upon trust from her. And if there be no *Evidence of Credibility*, there is no sufficient Proposal; and if there be not, there can be no obligation to believe; and where that is not, there can be no *Heresie* in not believing, according to the judgment of your greatest Divines.

(3.) As to the Charge of *Heresie*, there must be *Obstinacy in the Party*; which they all make necessary to *formal Heresie*.

Aquinas quotes the noted passage of *St. Augustin* to this purpose, *That although Men hold a false Opinion, without pertinacious animosity, especially if they derive it from their Parents; and do with diligence and caution seek after the Truth; and are ready to lay it down when they have found it, they are not to be reckon'd for Hereticks.* 2.2.q.11. Art. 2. ad 3. Aug. Epist. 162.

And we do not think a better Plea can be made for us as to this Charge, than what is contained in these words of *St. Augustin*. But here we must observe the artifice of *Aquinas*. He saw this would never do their business against the Enemies of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore he pretends to give the Reason for this, *because they do not contradict the judgment of the Church*; and so draws the power of declaring *Heresie* to the Pope, as having the chief Authority in the Church. Of whom *St. Augustin* saith not a word. But however *Aquinas* himself requires *Obstinacy* even in this case to make a *Heretick*. And the *Obstinacy* is not placed by him in the meer resisting the Authority of the Church, but in the manner of doing it.

Cajetan there affirms, *that if there be no pertinacy in the Will, there is no Heresie*. So that if a Man holds an Opinion contrary to Faith in it self, and he thinks he holds right, and doth not intend to dissent from the Church; he is not guilty of *Heresie*. And so *Cajetan* defines *Pertinacy to be a consent to an error in Faith, knowing it so to be*.

Melchior Canus saith, *It is the general Opinion of Divines and Canonists, that there can be no Heresie without Obstinacy. And no Man is a Heretick, he saith, who doth not, seeing and knowing, chuse a Doctrine contrary to Faith.* Non est ergo hæreticus nisi qui videns prudens doctrinam eligat Fidei contrariam. Loc. 12. c. 9. Suarez de Fide Disp. 19. Sect. 3. n. 9.

Suarez saith, *that all the Doctors are agreed, that Obstinacy is required to Heresie; and that it is expressed in the Canon Law*. So that I need to produce no more to that purpose.

But the difficulty is, to know what they mean by *Obstinacy*. It is not hard to understand what is meant by the word; for *pertinax* is one that is *obstinacious*, i. e. that holds an Opinion, when he sees no ground for it, or will yield to no Reasonable conviction; or that hath not a desire to find out Truth, and submit to it. And so it is plain *St. Augustin* understood it, in the place before mention'd. And in another place, he makes it to lye in a *Man's resisting the Catholick Doctrine made known to him, without which he did not judge him a Heretick, though he held Heretical Doctrine*. And again he declares those to be *Hereticks that contumaciously resist those that correct and instruct them, and will not amend their wicked Doctrines, but go on to defend them*. These passages of *St. Augustin* are enter'd in the Body of the *Canon-Law*; and the Gloss there saith, *If one holds Doctrines against Faith, and be ready to be better instructed, he is no Heretick*. The same Authorities *Ockam* insists upon, and from them he declares *Obstinacy* to be so necessary, that without it no Man can be a *Heretick*. And he concludes from *St. Augustin*, that if a Man be ready to yield to Truth when he finds it, he is not guilty of *Obstinacy*. And he proves that such are no *Hereticks* from these Reasons: (1) Because *Hereticks* are to be Excommunicated; but such by the *Canon-Law* are not to be De Bapt. c. Donat. l. 4. c. 16. De Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 51. C. 24. q. 3. c. 29, 31. Ockam Dialog. l. 3. c. 3. &c. c. 6. ad fin. Cap. 8. C. 24. q. 1. Schism.

And he proves that such are no *Hereticks* from these Reasons: (1) Because *Hereticks* are to be Excommunicated; but such by the *Canon-Law* are not to be

L. 4. c. 2.

Excommunicated. (2.) Because they are ready to be better instructed. (3.) Because many have erred and were not accounted *Hereticks* on this account. *Ockam* distinguishes a twofold *Obstinacy*: 1. *Internal*. 2. *External*. *Internal* may be known, he saith, by these Rules: 1. If a Man be not convinced by Miracles. 2. If he will rather question the truth of the Christian Faith, than be convinced. 3. When he doth not use means for his own Conviction, but resolves to persist in his Errors, such a neglect argues an obstinate mind.

C. 5, &c.

External, of which he gives many Instances, of which I shall mention some, as (1.) If a Man willingly saith, or doth something whereby he discovers his disbelief of the whole Christian Faith. (2.) If he denies any part of the *Old* or *New Testament*. (3.) If he holds the whole Christian Church to have erred; which he by no means understands of any part of it assuming the Titles of *Catholick* and *Infallible* to it self; for he saith, some say, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to his Church, may be made good, if but one Person in it holds the true Faith; but he declares *that the Catholick Faith may be preserved in a very few*. (4.) If the contrary Doctrine be known to be universally received among Christians, as if one should deny that Christ was crucified; and on this account, he charges *John 22.* with Heresie, for denying that the Souls of the Wicked are in Hell, and of the Saints in Heaven, before the day of Judgment. (5.) If he refuses to be informed, being reprov'd by the Learned. (6.) If he protests he will never alter his Opinion. (7.) If he forbids reading the Scriptures, or preaching *Catholick Doctrine*. (8.) If a Pope commands an erroneous Opinion to be believed as matter of Faith. (9.) If a Man consents to such a Definition of the Pope, and imposes it on others.

C. 9.

C. 10.

C. 27.

C. 28.

C. 29.

C. 30.

Job. Gerson treats at large about the *Obstinacy* which makes one a Heretick, in several Discourses before the Council of *Constance*; and he follows *St. Augustins* Doctrine in saying, *That it consists in not seeking after Truth, and not obeying it when he hath found it.*

Gerson. To. 1. p. 408.

Can. Loc. Th. l. 12. c. 9.

Melchior Canus, finds fault with the uncertain Marks of *Obstinacy* given by others, and he resolves it at last into this, *That a Man holds an Opinion, which he knows to be contrary to the Catholick Faith*; but then he requires, (1.) That he be certain that it belongs to it, and it is not enough that learned Men say so. (2.) That he must know it by an infallible Authority. For otherwise a Mans persisting in his Opinion, may be great rashness and presumption, but it is not *Heresy*. But in case a persons Ignorance be such as makes his Errors involuntary, it doth excuse him from *Heresy*, because that is not a voluntary Error.

Disp. 14. de fide Sect. 3. n. 10.

Suarez, and others after him, in plain terms make the *Obstinacy* to lie in *not submitting to the Judgment of the Church*; because, while a Man doth yield to the *Churches Authority*, they account him no Heretick. This is indeed an Argument according to their way of declaring *Hereticks*, but we are now enquiring what that *Obstinacy* is, which doth really make a Man such. *St. Augustins* Opinion is reported by *Aquinas*, as the Reason of his Judgment, that is adopted into the Body of the Canon-Law: and therefore, that ought to be the *Standard*, according to which they are to pronounce a Person *Obstinate*. If Men do not with Diligence and Caution seek after Truth, and are not willing to embrace it when they find it, then they are to be accounted *Hereticks* for being *Obstinate*. But *St. Augustin* goes no further; however *Suarez* would seem to agree with him: But it is worth the while to consider his Doctrine about it.

N. 11.

(1.) He affirms, That it is not enough for one to be ready to submit to Gods Word, either written or unwritten; but the Submission must be with respect to the Church, as proposing both to us. (2.) That

(2.) That those who believe any Doctrine, *because their Judgment tells them, it is the sense of Scripture*; if they therein follow their own Judgment, and not the sense of the Church, they are guilty of such an *Obstinacy*, as makes Hereticks. Ibid.

(3.) That it doth not excuse, *if he be willing to believe the Church, if he sees Reasons and Arguments to move him*; for this, he saith, *is not to believe the Churches Authority as Divine, but after a human manner*, which may consist with *Obstinacy* against the Church, as a Rule of Faith. N. 13.

(4.) That it is not yet necessary in order to this *Obstinacy*, to believe the Church to have *Infallible Authority*, for then those must be excused from *heretical Obstinacy* who denied it: but it is sufficient that the *Church* is proposed as a true Church, whose *Authority* he is bound to submit to.

The short of all this matter is, If a Man resolve to believe as the Church believes, a very small thing will excuse him from *Heresy*: but if not, nothing according to *Suarez* will do it: unless it be *Ignorance* as to the Churches proposing. And this is the modern Notion of *Heresy*, which appears to me, to be very unreasonable on these accounts.

(1.) Suppose a Person have a general Disposition of mind to believe whatever is sufficiently proposed to him, as revealed by God, and believes sincerely whatever he knows to be contained in Scripture. I would fain know whether this Disposition of Mind do not really excuse him from *heretical Obstinacy*? And yet this is very consistent with doubting whether the Church be accounted as the *Proponent* of matters of Faith.

(2.) Is it necessary in order to *heretical Obstinacy*, that the Person believes the *Proponent* to be *Infallible* or not? If it be, then none can be convinced of *heretical Obstinacy*, but such as reject the Churches Authority, when they believe it *Infallible*; and then none of us can be charged with it; for we do not believe the Churches *Infallibility*. If it be not necessary, then the Churches *Infallibility* is not necessary to Faith; for in order to *Heretical Obstinacy*, he must be convinced of resisting that which was necessary in order to Faith; from whence it will follow, that the Churches *Infallibility* is not required as the Ground of Faith.

(3.) Suppose a Person thinks himself bound in Conscience to believe those Guides which God by his Providence hath set over him; and he believes to be sincere and honest: and these tell him, there is no ground to believe on the Churches Authority, as being founded neither in Scripture, nor Antiquity, nor Reason, is not he excused hereby from *Heretical Obstinacy*?

(4.) Suppose he declares himself ready to believe the Churches Authority, if it be sufficiently proposed to him; *i. e.* with such Reasons and Arguments as are proper to convince him; but after all, he declares, that he cannot see any such. And yet *Aquinas* affirms, *No Man can believe, unless he sees Reason why he should believe*. 2.2.q.1. art. 4. How then can a Man be liable to *Heretical Obstinacy*, because he only refuses to believe, when he sees no Reason to believe?

(5.) Suppose he doth believe that which the Church proposes, not meerly upon its *Authority*, but upon the *Reasons* which the Church offers; why must this Man be liable to *Heretical Obstinacy*, for believing upon the Churches Reasons? What a wonderful nice thing is *Heresy* made? It seems by this rare Doctrine, it doth not excuse from *Heresy* to believe even Truth it self, if it be upon grounds of Reason which the Church it self gives. But it must be taken meerly from the *Churches Authority*; and yet that very Authority must be believed on the grounds of Reason, or the *Motives of Credibility*.

(6.) Sup-

(6.) Suppose a Person hath used the best means he could to find out his Obligation to believe on the Churches Authority, and after all, he cannot find any such thing, what Obligation is he under to enquire farther; and from whence doth it arise? And if he be not under any, how can he be guilty of *Heretical Obstinacy*, who is under no Obligation to search any farther? For *Obstinacy* must suppose resisting some Obligation.

(7.) Suppose he be willing to believe on the Churches Authority, if that Church be made appear to him to be the *One Catholick Church* of Christ, but when he comes to examine this, he finds that he must exclude very great and considerable Parts of the Catholick Church, to reduce the Authority of the Catholick Church to that of the *Roman Communion*; how can it then be *Heretical Obstinacy* not to suppose a Part to be the Whole?

(8.) Suppose he hath overcome this, yet if he should mistake about the Seat of Infallibility, is he not still as liable to the Charge of *Heretical Obstinacy*, because the true Reason of it is, that such a Person rejects that which God hath chosen as the proper means to propound matters of Faith to us: But if he should be mistaken in the true Proponent, he is in as much danger of *Heretical Obstinacy* still. As suppose a Man takes a General Council, as representing the *Catholick Church*, to be the only true Proponent of Faith; and therefore rejects the Authority of the Pope in this matter, I desire to know, whether this be *Heretical Obstinacy*, or not? If not, then rejecting the true Proponent, doth not make any liable to it: If it doth, then there is *Heretical Obstinacy* in the Church of Rome, as well as out of it. And so much in Answer to the Repliers Charge of *Heresie* on the Church of England.

(3.) The next Charge relates to the *Insufficient Authority of the Church of England*, and that on these Accounts:

(1.) In that it leaves every Man to judge for himself.

(2.) Because she dares not use the true Arguments against Sects, for fear of their being turned upon her self.

(3.) Because she denies an Appeal to an higher Judicature:

(1.) It is urged in the Papers, *That among us every Man thinks himself as competent a Judge of Scripture, as the very Apostles.*

It was answer'd, That every Man among us doth not pretend to an Infallible Spirit, but all yield the Apostles had it. And by being a Judge of Scripture, if no more be meant, than that every Man must use his Understanding about it, that was no more than was necessary in order to the believing the matters contained in it: But if by being a Judge of Scripture, was meant, giving such a Judgment as obliges others to submit to it, then it was denied, that every Man among us is allow'd to judge of it. But yet we own the Authority of the Guides of the Church, and a due Submission to them; but we do not allow them to be as competent Judges of Scriptures as the very Apostles.

This seems to me to be a full and clear Answer.

But the Replier offers some things against it.

Reply p. 31.

(1.) *That I suppose Men cannot be deceived in understanding the Scriptures; and consequently their Spirit is infallible.*

I never said, or thought, that they could not be deceived; but I said, they must use their Understandings, to prevent being deceived, and must judge of the sense of what they are to believe in the Scriptures, in order to their own Salvation.

But he saith, *Whosoever useth his Understanding in opposition to the Churches Tradition, makes himself a Judge indeed, but not to his own Salvation.*

To

To make this matter clear, we must consider, *That Matters of Faith necessary to Salvation*, are of another nature from *Matters of Controversie concerning the Sense of Scripture* in doubtful places.

As to the *matters necessary to Salvation to particular Persons*, we assert the Scriptures to be so plain, and the Tradition of the Church as to the Creeds, so well known and attested, that no Man without gross and culpable neglect, can mistake about them; but in case of invincible or unaffected Ignorance, their Errors shall not be laid to their charge, and so their Mistakes shall not hinder their Salvation: And herein we assert no more than we can justify, not only from Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity, but from the best of their own Writers, who assert,

1. That there are some Points of Faith necessary to be explicitly believed by all in order to Salvation; for altho' they say there may be such invincible Ignorance of them, as may excuse from Sin in not believing them; yet without believing them, they are not capable of Salvation. As to the *prima credibilia*, as *Aquinas* calls them, he determines, *That every Man is bound to believe them explicitly*, as much as he is bound to have Faith; but as to other things, *a preparation of mind is sufficient to believe all contained in Scripture, and so much explicitly, as is made plain to him to be contained therein*. From whence it follows, That by the Doctrine of the Schools, every Man is to judg what he is to believe; for his Words are, *Quando hoc ei consliterit*, when it is made clear to him; and how can any thing be made clear to a Man, unless he be the Judg of it?

2. That particular Persons may certainly know what is sufficient to their Salvation by the inward assistance of Divine Grace, without depending on the Churches Infallibility. This follows from what is mention'd before concerning the *Divine Gifts* which accompany Grace. And so much is owned by *Melchior Canus*, as to what is necessary for every Man as to his own State and Condition. So that the greatest Divines of the *Roman Church* do yield all we contend for, as to the Matters necessary to Salvation.

Loc. 2. c. 8.
Concedimus
enim liberali-
ter doctrinam
cuique in sua
vita & statu
necessariam il-
li fore perspe-
ctam & cogni-
tam, qui fece-
rit voluntatem
Dei.

The only Question is about *Matters of Controversie* raised in the Church concerning the *Sense of Scripture*; and as to these they yield these materi-
al Points:

1. That an implicit Faith as to what is contained in Scripture, is sufficient; and that particular Persons are bound to no more, till the Doctrine be made clear to them, which appears from the words of *Aquinas* lately mentioned.

2. That particular Persons may disbelieve many things determined by the Church, without sin. This *Sancta Clara* proves from *Vega* and others: and he saith himself, *Their Ignorance in such cases, is either Invincible, or at least such as excuses from sin*. And he farther saith,

Deus Natura
Gratia Probl.
15 P. 96.

3. That it is the common Opinion of the Schools, and of their Divines, *That Laymen erring with their Teachers, are excused from any fault, and as long as it is out of obedience to their Teachers, it is rather a meritorious Act*.

P. 97.

Let us now lay these things to the present Case, and all the Difficulty will soon disappear.

As to the *Matters of Salvation*, they grant that God will not suffer those to be deceived about them, who do sincerely seek after the knowledg of them.

As to *Matters of Controversie*, they are in no danger, if they trust their *Spiritual Guides*.

And I asserted that we owned the Authority of Guides in the Church, and a due submission to them.

But the Replier is not satisfied with this, for he saith,

2. That

2. *That no other Submission is sufficient, but such as Men lose Heaven without it.* This is somewhat hard to understand: Doth he in earnest think Men cannot go to Heaven without a blind Obedience to the Church? Is there no allowance to be made for Ignorance, Education, reasonable Doubts? Is all other submission to Authority in the Church merely *ad Pompam*? But this Gentleman did not take time to consider the Doctrine of their own *Schools*, about these matters, for I cannot imagine he could be ignorant of it.

Def. p. 49.

But the Defender seems to be wholly unacquainted with it, otherwise he could not talk so crudely and unskilfully as he doth, about *Mens Judgment in matters that concern their Salvation*. And he may now see how far their own *Divines* allow particular Persons to be competent Judges about matters that relate to their own Salvation: And therefore I need give him no other Answer, till he hath better informed himself about these things: but we have been upon such a Point as may in some measure excuse him, but not those who ought to understand their own Doctrine better.

(2.) The next Argument to prove the *Insufficient Authority* of the Church of England was, *That she dares not bring the true Arguments against the other Sects, for fear they should be turned against themselves, and confuted by their own Arguments.*

To this it was answered, that the Church of England did wisely disown the pretence of *Infallibility*, and made use of the best Arguments against Sectaries from a just Authority, and the Sinfulness and Folly of the Sectaries refusing to submit to it.

To take off the force of this Answer, two different Ways are taken.

Reply, p. 32.

(1.) The Replier saith, *The Argument is as forcible without Infallibility as with it.*

Def. p. 51.

(2.) The Defender saith, *Authority signifies nothing in this Case without Infallibility.*

I shall consider them both, tho' both cannot stand together.

(1.) The Replier goes upon this Ground; *That the Church of England can never justly charge Sectaries with Disobedience to Her, because they may as well cast it in her Teeth, that she disobeyed her Mother Church, whether she were Infallible or not.*

But the Force of this depends upon a double Mistake.

(1.) That the Church of Rome hath as much Authority over our Church, as the Rulers of it have over the Members. Which ought not to have been supposed, but substantially proved, since the Weight of the Cause depends upon it. But I see nothing like a Proof produced.

(2.) That the Sectaries have as much reason to reject the Terms of Communion required by our Church, as our Church had to reject those of the Church of Rome. But this is as far from being proved as the other.

(II.) The Defender desires to be instructed, *how such an Authority can be in a Church without Infallibility*? I hope he believes there may be Authority without *Infallibility*; or else how shall Fathers govern their Children? But not in the Church. Why so? Have not Bishops, out of Councils, Authority to rule their Dioceses? Have they not a *Provincial Synods* Authority to make *Canons*, tho' they be not Infallible? What then is the meaning of this? He tells us soon after; *To say a Church is Fallible, is to say she may be deceived.* There is no doubt of that. And if she may be deceived her self, they may be deceived who follow her. And if a Church pretends to be Infallible, which is not, she certainly deceives those that follow her, and that without Remedy. But all this sort of Reasoning, proceeds upon a false Suggestion, viz. That our Faith must be grounded on the Church's Authority as the *formal Reason*

Reason of it. Which he knows, is utterly denied by us, and ought to have been proved. We declare, the ground of our Faith is the Word of God; not interpreted by Fancy, but by the Consent of the whole Christian Church from the Apostles Times. This is our Bottom, or if you will, the Rock on which our Church is built. This is far more firm and durable, than a pretence to Infallibility; which is like a desperate Remedy, which Men never run to, but when they see nothing else will help them. Had the Church of Rome been able to defend her Innovations by Reason or Antiquity, she had never thought of Infallibility. It is a much better expedient to keep Men in Error, than to keep them from it; and tends more to save the Authority of a sinking Church, than the Souls of Men.

But he will not let the Church's Infallibility go thus; For he pretends to prove, That if we take that away, we make Christianity the most unreasonable Thing in Nature; nay, absolutely impossible. What! whether God hath promised to make the Church Infallible or not! we understand those who offer to prove the Church Infallible by Scripture; but these *Scientifical Men* despise such beaten Roads, and when they offer to demonstrate, fall short of the others Probabilities. As will appear by examining his Argument: *Faith requires an assent to a thing as absolutely true; but a fallible Authority cannot oblige me to a thing as absolutely true; and therefore this would be an Effect without a Cause; a down-right Impossibility; a flat Contradiction.* I will match his Argument with another; Faith is not an Assent to a thing as absolutely true, upon less than a Divine Testimony; but the Church's Testimony is not Divine; and therefore to believe upon the Church's Testimony, is an Effect without a Cause; a down-right Impossibility; a flat Contradiction. Page 52.

Let him set one of these against the other, and see who makes Faith unreasonable or impossible. But I will clear this Matter in few words. I grant that Faith is an Assent to a thing as absolutely true; and that what is absolutely true, is impossible to be false: I grant, that a meer fallible Authority is not sufficient to produce an Act of Faith. But here I distinguish the Infallible Authority of God revealing (into which my Faith is resolved, as into the formal Reason of it) from the Authority of the Church conveying that Revelation, which is only the Means by which this Revelation comes to be known to us: As when a Man swears by the Bible, there is a difference between the Contents of that Book by which he swears, and the Officers putting the Book into his Hands.

(3.) The Church of England is blamed, for allowing no Liberty of Appeals to a higher Judicature.

The Question is, Whether this makes her no true Church; or not to have any just Authority over her own Members?

The Replier saith, *She makes her self the last Tribunal of Spiritual Doctrine.* Repl. P. 33.

I know not where she hath done so, since we own the Authority of Free and truly General Councils, as the Supreme Tribunal of the Church upon Earth. And accordingly receive the four first; which even *S. Gregory the Great* distinguished from those that followed, as to their Authority and Veneration.

The Defender had a good mind to cut off the Church of England from being a Church, because she hath renounced Communion with the Church of Rome; but his heart failed him: And I hope he will think better of it, when he sees Cause to prove a little more effectually, that the Church of Rome in its largest extent is the *Catholick Church*. Def. p. 54.

He argues, *That there must be such an Authority in a Church, which may* Pag. 55.

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give a final Sentence conclusive to the Parties, as the Judges do Temporal Differences. But is it necessary for all Churches to have such a Power? Then there must be as many Supreme Courts as there are Churches. If not, we desire to know where the Supreme Court is, and who appointed it? And where Christ hath ever promised to his Church a Power to end Controversies when they arise, as effectually as Judges do Temporal Differences? For the freest and most General Councils yet assembled, have not been so happy; and those we look on as the most Venerable Authority to decide Differences in the Church.

Page 56.

But still our Church wants sufficient Authority, in his Opinion. Doth it want Authority to govern its own Members? To Reform Abuses in a divided State of the Catholick Church? To cast off an usurped Power, as it was judged by the Clergy in Convocation, who yet concurred in other things with the Church of Rome? I pray what Authority had the Gallican Church so lately to declare against the Pope's Infallibility, and to reduce him in that respect to the Case of an ordinary Bishop? If Absolute Obedience be due to him as Head of the Church, what Authority have the Temporal Princes in other Countries, sometimes to forbid, sometimes to restrain and limit the Pope's Bulls. This at least shews, that there may be just Authority to examine and restrain the Pope's Power. And I see no reason, why the several Churches of Christendom may not act as well against the Pretence of the Pope's Authority, as the Gallican Church hath done against his Infallibility; especially, since this Gentleman hath told us, that Authority without Infallibility, signifies nothing. And those who think they may examine and reject his Dictates, may do the same by his Authority, the one being as liable as the other.

It was said in the Papers, That no Country can subsist in Quiet, where there is not a Supreme Judge, from whom there can be no Appeal.

The Answer was, That the natural Consequence was then, that every National Church ought to have the Supreme Power within it self. But how comes Appeals to a Foreign Jurisdiction to tend to the Peace and Quiet of a Church?

Page 57.

The Defender saith; That a National to the whole Church, is but as a Shire to a Kingdom; and a very natural and consistent Consequence it is, that every Shire should have a King.

One would think by such an Answer, this Defender is a mighty Stranger to the ancient Polity of the Church. Did he never hear of the Power of Metropolitans being settled by the Council of Nice for governing the Churches, and calling Provincial Synods? Did he never hear of many other Canons relating to the Power and Frequency of Provincial Synods? Did he never hear of the Decrees of the Council of Ephesus, forbidding all Incroachments on the ancient Rights of Churches? Did he never hear that Provincial Councils have declared Matters of Faith, without so much as advising with the Bishop of Rome? As the African Councils did in the Pelagian Controversy; and the Councils of Toledo, in the Case of Arianism; which reformed the Spanish Churches, and made Canons by their own Authority; which were confirmed by their Kings, Reccaredus and Sisenandus? Did he never hear that it was good Doctrine among Catholick Divines, That particular Churches might take upon them to declare the true Catholick Faith? And if so, they must judge what is so. Did he never hear, that in a divided State of the Church, Errors and Abuses may be reformed by particular Churches? And that this was owned and defended by great Men in the Church of Rome? If he did not, he was very much unprovided for the handling such a Controversy;

verſy; if he did know theſe things, he ought not to have ſpoke with ſo much contempt of the Power of Particular or National Churches.

And to aſſert their Authority, is very far from being like *ſetting up a King in every Shire*; for this were the higheſt Diſloyalty to the King, who hath a juſt and unqueſtionable Authority over all the Shires. Let him prove that the Pope hath ſuch a *Monarchy* over all *particular Churches*, before he make ſuch a Parallel again. But the way he takes is rather like making the Imperial Crown of this Realm to be in ſubjection to a Foreign Power, becauſe the Roman Emperors once had Dominion here, and therefore this Kingdom could never recover its own Rights.

But he ſaith, *A Foreign Jurisdiction is hardly ſenſe with reſpect to the Church, for Foris is out, and unleſs the ultimate Jurisdiction be out of the Church, it cannot be ſaid to be foreign.* This is a ſhameful begging of the Queſtion, that what they call the *Roman Catholick Church*, is the *Catholick Church*; for if it be not (which I hope I have ſufficiently ſhewn) then the pretended and uſurped Jurisdiction of the *Roman Church* over the Church of *England*, is a *Foreign Jurisdiction*. Pag. 57.

He adds, *That it is impoſſible to re-ſettle the Church among us, without that which we call Foreign Jurisdiction; becauſe Diſſentions in matters of Religion cannot otherwiſe be removed.* Pag. 58.

But ſuppoſe this *Foreign Jurisdiction* be the occaſion of theſe Diſſentions; ſome maintaining it, others aſſerting the Rights of our Church againſt it; Is not this *Foreign Jurisdiction* like to put an end to it? Yes certainly. For, if all Parties ſubmit, there will be no longer diſputing. But our Queſtion, as yet, is, whether this be reaſonable or not?

I complained of the Inconvenience of Appeals to a Foreign Jurisdiction. He gives us a ſmart Answer, and ſaith, *That holds no Compariſon with the Inconvenience of Heresy.* As tho' it were ſo plain a thing that we are guilty of Heresy, that it needed no manner of Proof. Alas! what need a Man prove that it is day when the Sun ſhines? We are juſt as much guilty of *Heresy*, as the good Biſhop was, who, for aſſerting the Antipodes, was condemned by Pope Zachary. But it is a comfortable thing in a Charge of *Heresy*, to find it no better proved. Pag. 59.

He ſaith, *I miſtook the matter of Appeals, and that it was not underſtood with reſpect to Cauſes, but to matters of Doctrine and Worſhip.* Pag. 59.

An Appeal muſt relate to a *Superiour Authority*; and a conſtant Appeal to a *ſtanding Authority*; and whatever the pretence be, the *Court of Rome* will challenge *Supreme Jurisdiction*, where-ever the Pope is owned as *Head of the Church*: And then all thoſe Conſequences will follow I mentioned before. If other kind of Appeals were meant in the *Papers*, yet they muſt relate to an *Authority ſuperiour to our Church*; which we could wiſh had been more fully expreſſed, that we might have known to whom the Appeal was to be made; whether to a *free General Council*, which we never diſowned; or to the *Popes Authority*, which we yet ſee no cauſe to make our Appeals to, eſpecially as to what concerns his own Jurisdiction.

He pleads, *That Supreme Power muſt be Judg in its own Cauſe; for no Authority ought to be ſet up againſt the King, ſuppoſing a Queſtion be ſtarted about his Prerogative.* Pag. 61.

I anſwer; This is a Caſe extreamly different: for in matters of *Prerogative*, the King's Supream Power is not the Queſtion; for his Right to the Imperial Crown is, and ought to be out of diſpute; but all the Queſtion that can be ſtarted, muſt relate only to the Exercise of his Power, in ſome particular Caſes, where former Laws made by the King's Conſent, are ſuppoſed

sed to limit it; which the Courts of Judicature take Cognizance of, and so are a kind of Legal Arbitrators between the King and his People.

But in the Case before us, the Jurisdiction it self, and the Right to exercise any such Authority, is the very thing in Question. And I desire this Gentleman to resolve me, whether in the late times of Usurpation this had been good Doctrine, that those who enjoy, or pretend to Supream Power, are to be Judges in their own Case? If so, then it had been impossible for Men to have justified their Loyalty to the Royal Family, then very unjustly put out of Possession. If not, then there may be a pretence to Supream Authority, where it is by no means allowable for the Pretender to judg in his own Cause.

Pag. 63.

As to his *Appeal to the Catholick Church*; we by no means reject it, provided he mean the Church truly Catholick, as it comprehends the Apostolical Church in the first place; and then all other Christian Churches, which from the Apostles times have delivered down the Catholick Doctrine and Worship, which they received from them. But if he means that which is called a *Catholick Church*, but is neither Catholick nor Apostolical; we beg his pardon, if we allow no Appeal to it, since its Errors and Corruptions are the great and just Cause of our Complaints.

Pag. 64, 65.

He runs into a long Discourse about *Church-Security*, and his design is to shew *there can be none without Infallibility*.

Infallibility is no doubt a very good thing, but where is it to be had? Is it not possible for Men both to be deceived and to deceive, with a pretence of Infallibility? All that we desire is to see some Infallible Proofs of it; without which all the talk about it doth not end one Controversy, but beget many. And this kind of Talk is, as if a Man were to advise with two Lawyers about making a Purchase, but would fain be secure of a good Title; the one desires to see all the Evidences that belong to the Estate, and after the perusal of all, he tells him, that as far as he can possibly discern, the Title is very good, and he would venture all he had upon it. He goes to another, and tells him what the former had said to him. And was this all, saith he? Would he not say, it was impossible for you to be cheated? No. And will you venture your Money without such Security? Why, saith the Client, what would you have me to do? I will tell you, saith he, there is but one way in the World for you to be safe. What is that, Sir? I should be glad to know it with all my Heart. I will discover it to you, provided you follow my Counsel; and that is, to deal with a Man who hath such a Gift from Heaven bestowed upon him, that he never did, nor ever can deceive you, and then it is impossible you should be cheated: for, all these Deeds and Writings, and Lawyers, may deceive you; but if you deal with such a Man, you are safe enough. I thank you, Sir, saith the Client, for your good Advice; but I pray, where is there such a Man to be found? For, if I cannot find him out, I am just where I was before, and I must use the best means I can, and rather trust to good Deeds and real Honesty, than wait for a Chimerical Infallibility.

Pag. 65.

It is alledged still, *That without Infallibility, we have not Judgment but Fancy*.

Repl. p. 34.

And the Replier saith, *That in Competition with the Churches Authority all is but Fancy*.

The difference of these must depend upon the Reason we produce; and by that we are still content *the world should judg*, so we understand those, who are unprejudiced in it.

It was said in the Papers, *That if the Fancies of those who are now for the Church*

Church of England vary, they are ready, or (as the Defender saith it ought to be read) really to embrace or joyn with the next Congregation of People, whose Discipline or Worship agrees with their Opinion at that time.

I will take his own Reading, which in my Opinion alters the matter very little; for still it implies, that those of the Church of England have nothing to hold them to it, but a present Fancy, and when that varies, they may as well be of another Perswasion; for Fancy, we all know, is a very mutable thing.

But, to shew that those of the Church of England are not so apt to vary their Fancies or Opinions in these matters, I alledged their adhering to the Crown in the times of Rebellion.

He answers, *That my Zeal for the Church of England is wondrous unlucky.* I am sorry if it prove so, since I unfeignedly design to serve her, and there-Pag. 66. fore should be much more concerned, if I should do her Injury under a pretence of Service. But wherein is it? He confesses, *The Doctrine of our Church is in this Point very Orthodox, and her Practice in the times of Rebellion conformable to it.* And what was the Practice of the Church then, but the firmness of the Members of it? But many, he saith, *deserted her and her Doctrine in this Point at that time, so many that the Rebellion was peradventure indebted for its success to those Deserters.* But they were Deserters still; and the Practice of the Church of England was agreeable to her Doctrine, by his own Confession. How then comes this to shew, that it is only a variable Fancy which keeps Men to it? He saith, *If those who deserted her, had ever adhered to her with a Perswasion, that they were obliged to believe what she taught, they could not have deserted her in this Point, who always taught Loyalty; and till they do so, there is no security of adhering to her.*

This seems to me to be a wondrous unlucky Answer. For doth *Infallibility* secure a Church against *Deserters*? Have no Men, no Provinces, no whole Nations *deserted* a Church which pretends to *Infallibility*? And since there may be such Multitudes of *Deserters*, where *Infallibility* is challenged, what greater Security can that give against them, more than our Church doth? Nay, I think so much the less, because the very pretence to *Infallibility* is suspicious and hard to be made out, and every Error overthrows it. And I do not think the Church of Rome did her self greater Mischief, or made more total *Deserters* by any one thing, than by pretending to be *Infallible*. For, when such gross Errors and Corruptions were complained of that one of the Popes at that time confessed them, and owned the necessity of a Reformation, when the Princes of the Roman Communion called for it, and pressed it very hard by their Ambassadors in the Council of Trent (as appears by the French Collection of *Memoires* relating to it) when after all, no one thing, as to the Doctrine of Worship, could be redressed, it convinced the World, that let things be as they would, they would Reform nothing; this made the Breach irreconcilable. For, till the Council of Trent was ended and confirmed, there was still hopes of Reconciliation, upon a due Explication of some Points, Reforming Abuses, and leaving School-Doctrines at liberty; but when they saw every thing defended, and the Errors complained of, made Articles of Faith, and put into a New Creed, there was no hopes of any Accommodation left. And all this was the blessed Effect of pretending to *Infallibility*; for if one Error had been owned, there had been no farther pretending to that.

It is some comfort however, that our Church is confessed to teach the Orthodox doctrine of Loyalty, and her Practice to be conformable in the worst of Times; and so I hope it will always be. But it hath been said by some Body, *That we had our Government and Ceremonies from his Church, our Doctrine from*

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Luther and Calvin; and that we had nothing peculiar to our Church, but our Doctrine of Non-Resistance; and much good may it do us. And we hope we shall never fare the worse for it. This might give occasion to enquire, Whether the Church which pretends to be Infallible, doth teach it so *Orthodoxly* or not? Or whether those who do think themselves obliged to believe what she teaches, are thereby obliged to the strictest Principles of Loyalty? But I forbear. It is sufficient to my Purpose to shew, that our Church doth not only teach them, as her own Doctrine; but which is far more effectual, as the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, and of the Primitive Church; which I think ought to have more force on the Consciences of Men, than the pretence to Infallibility in any Church in the World.

P. 67, 68.

But all this while it is said, *There is no firm Motive produced for adhering to the Doctrine of our Church.* And this is repeated over and over: As though there could be any greater Motive in the World, than that our Doctrine is no other than that of Christ and his Apostles. And unless you prove this as to the Doctrine of the *Church of Rome*, all your other *Motives* signify nothing to the real satisfaction of any Man's Conscience. For it is agreed on all hands, that our Religion is a revealed Religion; and that this Revelation was made by Christ and his Apostles: and that this Revelation, as to Matters necessary to Salvation, is contained in the Books of the New Testament. What satisfaction then can it be to any Man's Conscience, to be told, such a Church tells me this and that, and the other Point were the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles? As will appear by this short Representation. You pretend to no new Revelations of Matter of Doctrine? *No.* You have the Books of this Revelation? *Yes.* Are they not legible? *Yes.* But you cannot understand them. Let me try; It is for God's sake I must believe, and therefore I cannot be satisfied till I see his Word. *What! will you not believe the Church which delivers you the Word?* I pray excuse me. A Man brings me a Letter from my Father, about matter of great Consequence to me; he tells me, I need not look into the Letter it self, for he was authorized by my Father to tell me his Meaning: Altho' I believe he dealt faithfully in bringing me the true Letter; Do you think I will trust him for the Meaning of it? *No;* I will open it, if it be only to see, whether he had such Authority from him or not. And I know, if my Father was pleased to write to me about Matters of such Importance, he would write in such a manner that I might understand him; and if any Difficulties arise in Point of Law, I will take the Advice of those who are most fit and able to direct me. But after all, I must know what my Father would have me to do from his own Words, and not from the Mouth of the Messenger. Or if he tells me he hath Authority to deliver other things by Word of Mouth, not contained in the Letter, which I am equally bound to believe with what I can find in it; can any one think I will believe him, unless it appears by the Letter it self that my Father gave him such Authority? Let him tell me never so much, how long he hath been my Father's Servant, and how faithful he hath been to him, and how much he hath done and suffered for him, and what a number of Certificates he can produce, from time to time, of his good Behaviour; yet all this can give me no Satisfaction, as long as the Letter he brings is confessed to be my Father's own Hand-writing; and that it was purposely sent to direct me what I was to do in a Matter that he knew to be of the greatest Concernment in the World to me. Can I imagine one so wise and careful, should omit setting down in his own Letter such important Things, and leave them to the discretion of one that may either mistake his Meaning, or have some Interest to carry on different from mine? And therefore all

all the fair Pretences or Motives in the World, shall never make me believe any thing to be his Mind for me to do, in a Matter which relates to my Welfare, but what I find under his own Hand.

It is to very little purpose to quote *S. Augustin's Motives about the Church*, Pag. 67. unless it be made appear that they belong only to the *Church of Rome*; and that they prove the Church *Infallible* in all she teaches. Our Faith depends on the Word of God, as it is contained in Scripture: this Scripture is conveyed down by the Church; but the Church still is but the Messenger which brings the Letter, by which we are directed what to believe and practise in order to Salvation.

We do by no means think *the Word of God is made by writing*, as he suggests; but we are sure it is the Word of God which is written, which we can never be of any Tradition. *We do not look out for a fallible Judg, to be sure to have an end of our Differences*: But we hate to be imposed on, by a pretence to an Infallible Judg, who instead of ending Differences, make more. *We do not think it Judgment to affirm, that giving Honour to God, is not giving Honour to God*: But we have not such deep Understandings to comprehend how God should be honoured by the breaking his Commandments.

It is not Judgment in our Opinion to think, *That because only one could redeem us, no Body besides can pray for us*: But it is no great Wisdom and Judgment, if God hath appointed but one Advocate in Heaven, for us to appoint him more; or to make our Addresses to our Fellow-Creatures in Heaven, when he hath commanded us to do it to his Son. We do not believe *that the Body and Blood of Christ can now be separated, or he die again*: But when Christ instituted a Sacrament to set forth the shedding of his Blood, that it is meer Fancy to think his Blood being in his Body, doth answer the Ends of it. The Apostles no doubt understood Christ's meaning in what he said, and have so well instructed his Church therein, that we have no reason to believe he meant *the substantial Change of his Body*, in the Institution of a Sacrament. Now on which side Judgment and Reason lies, these very Instances discover. And we desire no greater Liberty in these Matters, than to have our Judgments sway'd by the strongest Reason; and that I hope is not *building on Sand*.

The Replier saith; *The Infallible Church is as visible as the Sun*, We are then *wondrous unlucky* indeed that cannot see it: I have often rubbed my Eyes, and looked over and over, where they tell me it is to be seen, and I can yet see nothing like it; although I should be as glad to see it as another. I have heard of a blind Man, who pretended to have such a sagacity with his Fingers, that he could feel Colours; and he proceeded so far in it, that some *Vertuoso's* believed him, and were ready to form a Theory of Colours from the subtilty of the blind Man's Fingers; but before they had accomplish'd it, the Trick was discovered. An Infallible Judg of all Controversies looks to me just like it; He is to determine Controversies, not by *seeing*, but by a kind of *feeling*. If he produces Reason, we may judg as well as he; if he doth not, he must feel them out; which is so different a way from the proceeding of the rest of Mankind, that for my part, I must be content rather to grope in the darkness of common Reason, than be directed by the Light of this invisible *Sunshine*.

The Defender here comes in with his *Dish* and his *Stand*; which are Metaphors somewhat too mean for such a Subject, and are apt to turn one's Stomach more than Repetition. The Question is, Whether those who allow the use of our Judgments in the choice of a Church, have Reason to find

find fault with it in other things; because the Difficulties about an Infallible Church, are as great as about any other Point in Religion.

The Replier again saith; *The Church is a Noon-day Light.* Then, what *Cimmerians* are we? Tully questioned, Whether *some God, or Nature, or the Situation of the Place, hindred a whole Nation that they could never see the Sun?* But our Modern Geographers put an end to this Dispute, telling us, there are no People in the World who cannot see the Sun at some time or other. And we are apt to think, if there were such a Sun-shine of the Churches Infallibility, we should be able to discern it, unless the Light of it may be thought to daze our Eyes; for, we are as willing to find it as they; but the Difficulties about it are such as we cannot conquer. And there need no *Telescopes* to find out the Sun.

Pag. 75.

But the Defender will not yield that there are any such Difficulties about the Churches Infallibility; for he hath but one thing to mind, and that no Difficulty neither, where, or which the Church is. I hope when he hath considered the former Discourses, he will not think it so easy a matter to find out the Church he talketh of, viz. One Infallible Catholick Church.

But the Difficulties about Scripture are greater; as about the Canon, Translation, and Sense of it.

The Question proceeds upon a Person who in earnest desires to satisfy himself in this Matter; Whether in order to his Salvation, he must follow the Directions of Scripture, or the Church? And I doubt not to make it appear, that the Difficulties are greater about the Church than the Scripture. That which deceives Persons is, that they rather consider the Difficulties after the Choice, than before. It is very true, those who trust the Church, have no more to do afterward, but to believe and do as she directs; for they are to examine no farther, whether it be true or false, right or wrong, Virtue or Vice, which is commanded; the Church is to be obey'd. But those who follow the Scripture, must not only read, and weigh, and consider it well; but when Doubts arise, must make fresh Applications to their Rule, and use the best Means for understanding it, by Prayer, Meditation, and the Assistance of Spiritual Guides. And this is far more agreeable to the Design of the Christian Religion, as it was taught by Christ and his Apostles.

But the Difficulties of the Choice are now to be consider'd; and let us consider what those are about the Church, and then compare them with those about the Scripture.

If I choose a Church for my Infallible Guide in the Way to Heaven, to which the Promises of Christ do belong, then there are these Difficulties, which I think impossible for my mind to get over.

(1.) I must exclude all other Churches in the Christian World from any share in these Promises. And either I must condemn them without hearing them, or examining the Grounds of their Exclusion, or I must be satisfied with the Reason of it; which I cannot be, till I am certain that Church hath justly shut out all other Churches, and challenged the Promises to her self alone.

(2.) I must be satisfied that Christ did intend one standing Visible Church to be my Director in the Way to Heaven. And for this purpose, I must examine all the places of Scripture produced to that end, and be Judge of the clearness and evidence of them, i. e. I must conquer the Difficulties about the Scripture, as to Canon, Translation, and Sense, before I can be satisfied that I am to make choice of a Church.

(3.) There is yet a harder Point to get over; Suppose a Church must be chosen: why the Church of Rome rather than any other? What is there in the

the Promises of Christ, which direct me to chuse that Church and no other? Suppose I were born in *Greece*, and there I was told, I must chuse a Church for my Guide to Heaven. If it must be so, I will chuse our own *Greek Church*; No, it must be the *Church of Rome*. What Reason or Colour is there for it? Is it said so in Scripture? No, not expressly. But what Consequence from Scripture will make me do it? *There are Promises made to the Church*. What then? Were not our Churches planted by the Apostles? Have not we had a constant Succession of Bishops in them? Have we not four Patriarchs in our Communion, and you but one? For what imaginable Reason then should you exclude our Churches from any share in the Promises of Christ?

But now as to the *Scripture*, we are to consider;

1. That no more is necessary as to particular Persons, than knowing the things necessary to their Salvation; which are easy to be known, and are clearly revealed in Scripture, if *S. Chrysostom* and *S. Augustine* may be believed.

2. That what Difficulties are objected about the Scripture, must be all of them resolved by him that believes the Church, (as is already observed); but the Difficulties about the Church's Infallibility, do not concern him that relies on Scripture.

3. That the general Consent of the Christian Church, is of far greater Advantage for the satisfaction of a Man's Mind, than the Authority of any one Church, as about the Integrity of the Copies, and the Canon of Scripture.

4. As to Translations, the Unlearned in all Churches must trust to those that are Learned for the particular examination of them; but in general, a private Person may be satisfied by these Considerations.

(1.) That Men will not go about to deceive others in a Matter wherein so many are concerned; and in which it is so easy to discover any wilful Fraud.

(2.) That since the Divisions of Christendom, there are Parties still at watch to discover the Faults committed by each other in a Work of so public a Nature.

(3.) That where a Translation hath been review'd with great care, after several Attempts, there is still greater Security as to the goodness of it. (And this is the Case of the present Translation of our Church, which was with wonderful care review'd and compared with the Original Languages, by the particular Direction of *K. James I.* and therefore deserves to be esteemed above such a Translation, which was never made out of the Original (as to the Old Testament) nor ever review'd and corrected by it. Which is the Case of the *Vulgar Latin*, and of such Translations which are made from it.)

I have said, that the Scripture may be a Rule without the Church, but the Church cannot without the Scriptures.

The Replier, like a fair Adversary, mentions that which looks like an Objection, viz. *That there was a Church before the Scriptures were written; and some Ages were passed before the Canon of Scripture was made and owned by the Church.* Reply p. 37.

To which I Answer; That when I said the Church cannot be a Rule without the Scripture, it was upon the supposition, that the Canon of Scripture had been long since owned by the Church, and that the Church derives its Infallibility from the Promises contained in the Scripture.

But the Defender goes another way to work; for, saith he, *The Scriptures*, Def. p. 27. *I say, may be a Rule without the Church; that is, without Faithful; for a Congregation of them is a Church.* What! in the Sense now before us, as it is taken for a Guide! Is every Congregation of the Faithful a Church in this Sense? Then, well-fare the Independents. And this, me-thinks, makes Infallibility sink very low.

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I do not say, *There could be no Church before Scripture*; nor *that they had then no Rule of Faith*; nor *that the Church depends on writing*; these are but mean Objections; but I still say, That where a Church challenges her Authority by the Scripture, it can signify nothing without it. Which is so plain, that I need not multiply words about it.

As to his *Church-Security*, we have considered it enough already; but it would make one mistrust a *Security* which is so often offered.

I said, that suppose Infallibility be found in Scripture, there is yet a harder Point to get over, viz. how the Promises relating to the Church in general, came to be appropriated to the Church of Rome.

Pag. 73.

From hence he infers, *That I have at last found the Promises of Infallibility to the Church there*. Is not this a rare Consequence? Suppose I should say, I know a Book of Controversy in the World, that hath very little of true Reasoning in it; but if it were to be found there, it doth not reach to the Point in hand. Doth this imply that I affirmed in the latter part, what I denied before? Is this finding out true Reasoning in the latter Period, which was not to be found in the former? There may be true Reasoning, when it is not to the purpose. So there might be Infallibility, and yet the Church of Rome not concerned in it. Suppose the Church of Jerusalem, as the Mother Church, might be Infallible by the Promises of Scripture; what would this be to the Church of Rome? But I never said, or thought, that there were any Promises of Infallibility made to any Church in Scripture: Promises of Divine Assistance and Indefeasibility, I grant, are made to the Church in general: but these are quite of another Nature from Promises of Infallibility, in delivering Matters of Faith in all Ages. Yet if this were granted, the Church of Rome, as it takes in all her Communion, hath no more reason to challenge it to her self, than Europe hath to be called *the Face of the whole Earth*.

Pag. 74.

As to his *Sandy Foundation*, I tell him in short, He that builds his Faith on the Word of God, builds on a Rock; and all other things will be found but *Sandy Foundations*.

(4.) The next thing laid to our Charge is, *That we draw our Arguments from Implications, and far-fetch'd Interpretations, at the same time that we deny plain and positive words*.

In Answer to this; (1.) It was shew'd, that in many of the Points in Difference, we have express words of Scripture for us. As, against the Worship of Images, and giving Divine Worship to any but God: and for giving the Eucharist in both kinds, and praying in a Language we understand.

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The Defender would have me produce the very Words, to shew that the Scripture saith No, to what their Church saith I, or contrariwise.

He talked much before, that we give the same Answer the old Hereticks did; and now I think he hath matched them. Shew us, say they, in Terms, the direct contrary to our Propositions; where the Son was said to be Consubstantial to the Father; or the Holy Ghost was a Divine Person; or the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God; or that there are two Natures in Christ after the Union. Will Reason and Consequences signify nothing, when founded on the Word of God?

But I need not this Answer, for I affirm that the words of the first and second Commandment, of the Institution of the Sacrament, *Drink ye all of this*; of S. Paul 14. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, against Publick Service in an unknown Tongue, are so plain and evident, that there is no Command of Scripture but may be avoided and turned another way as well as these. And herein we go not upon our own Fancies, but we have the

the concurrent Sense of the Christian Church in the best and most Primitive Ages, in every one of the Points here mentioned.

And whether we are right as to the sense of the second Commandment; and Pag. 38, 39. as to Divine Worship in general, as to Christ's Institution amounting to a Command, as to St. Paul's Discourse: Which the Replier insists upon, next to the Scripture it self, and the Force contained therein; we appeal to the Primitive Church, as the most indifferent Arbitrator between us.

(2.) I answered, That where words seem plain and positive, they may have a Metaphorical or Figurative Sense; as when God hath *Eyes and Ears*, &c. given him; and *the Rock was Christ*. And so in the Words, *This is my Body*; it was a Sacramental Expression, as the other was; and the other words are figurative, when the *Cup* is said to be *the New Testament in his Blood*: and St. Paul, notwithstanding those words, called it *Bread* after Consecration.

Here the *Defender* will not bite, the Light being too clear for him; but Def. p. 76. descants upon denying plain words, and so runs clear off from the Point, which seemed to be chiefly meant by the Paper.

But the Replier is a generous Adversary, and attacks what stands before Repl. p. 39. him. He endeavours to shew a Difference between God's having *Eyes and Ears*, &c. and those words, *This is my Body*, as to the receding from the literal Sense; because, saith he, there is an implication of impossibility in the one, but not in the other. But withal he grants, that if by this be meant the *Bread*, it would have implied an equal impossibility.

I am very glad to see this Point brought to so fair an Issue: For, if I do not prove by the general Consent of the Fathers, both of the *Greek and Latin Churches*, that by *This* the *Bread* is meant, I dare promise to become his *Profelyte*.

(5.) The last Thing objected is, *That our Church subsists only on the Pleasure of the Civil Magistrate, who may turn the Church which way he pleases.*

To this it was answered;

(1.) That the Rule of our Religion is unalterable, being the Word of God; tho' the Exercise of it be under the Regulation of the Laws of the Land.

(2.) That altho' we attribute the Supreme Jurisdiction to the King, yet we do not question but there are inviolable Rights of the Church which ought to be preserved against the Fancies of some, and the Usurpations of others.

The Replier Answers, *That our Religion is built on private Interpretations of* Repl. p. 41. *Scripture established by Law; and therefore if the Law be mutable, the Religion is mutable.*

The *Defender* desires I would make it appear, that the Holy Scripture is such Def. p. 78. a Foundation, as makes the Protestant Church unalterable; for the Letter of Scripture is common to all who bear the Name of Christians. And all Alterations of Religion are made upon pretence of Scripture.

To give a clear and distinct Answer, I shall lay down these Propositions.

(1.) That altho' Humane Laws be alterable, yet the Divine Law is unchangeable, and continues its Force on the Consciences of Men; so that no Humane Law can make that lawful which God hath forbidden, nor that unlawful which he hath commanded. Whatever Change therefore may happen as to the Laws of Men, the Law of God is still the same, and its Obligation cannot be taken off by any Laws of Men. As suppose God hath forbidden the Worship of Images, or of Saints, or of any Creature, upon Supposition that it is not a Creature; no Law in the World can make this lawful; because God's Authority is Superiour and Antecedent to Man's, and

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therefore cannot be superseded by an Act of Men. And this is one of the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, without which it could never have been practised, when the Laws of the Empire were against it. So, neither can Humane Laws make that true which is against the Word of God, nor that false which is agreeable to it. They can never make *Transubstantiation* a true Doctrine, if it were not so before; nor a *Purgatory* necessary to be believed, unless it be proved from Scripture to be so. So that the Foundation of our Religion, being the Word of God, and the Obligation of that on the Consciences of Men, it must remain the same, tho' Humane Laws be mutable. Howbeit, I do not deny the Magistrates Power *in making Laws for regulating the Publick Exercise of Religion*. But as we have cause to thank God for the establishment of the best Church in the Christian World by them among us; so we are unwilling to put *such Cases* as the Defender doth, when we enjoy our Religion as established by Law: And it would be interpreted to be a mistrust of his Majesty's Gracious Promise to protect it.

(2.) Although the Letter of Scripture be liable to Misinterpretations and Abuses, yet the true and genuine Sense of it may be understood; and then there is a great difference between false and mistaken Notions, and the proper Sense of Scripture. This is very strange Reasoning, if Men will infer that there can be no certainty as to the Sense of Scripture, because so many have misinterpreted it. Is it any Argument that the Constitution of our Government is not firm; or that Loyal Subjects cannot be certain of their Duty, because Men of ill Principles have run away with false Notions of a Fundamental Contract, and Coordinate Power? Is there no Certainty in Law, because Judges have been of different Opinions, and determined the same Cause several ways? Is there no Principle of Certainty in the World, because Men have been imposed upon, both by their Senses and Reason? If notwithstanding this, we must allow that we may judge truly of some Things, (or else we must all turn Scepticks) then we desire no more than to observe the same Rules and Caution in judging the Sense of Scripture, which we do as to our judgment of other Matters. In them we take notice of the Causes of Errors, the Circumstances of Things, the Difference of Objects, the Nature of the *Medium*, and accordingly pass our Judgment. And in Things too small for our view, or too remote, we make use of Glasses to help us; but all this while Men do not reason so weakly in these Matters. Do they say that some have been deceived by their Glasses and *Telescopes*; therefore there is no certainty in any of them, and they must all be laid aside; and whatever they talk of Spots in the Sun, and the unequal Surface of the Moon, they are all Fancies and *Chimera's* of giddy Brains, and no Men of sense can believe them? If Mankind do not argue at this rate in other things, how come they to be so fatally unreasonable about the Scripture? *The Letter of Scripture*, say they, *is used for this Fancy, and the other Mistake, and a third pleads it for down-right Heresy: Every one thinks he hath the Letter of Scripture for him; and upon that he grounds his Faith.* And what then? The natural Consequence is, that every one would fain have Scripture of his side. Doth it really follow from hence that no Body hath it? Or that there can be no certainty who hath it, and who hath it not? *But every one thinks he hath it.* And what follows? *Some or others must be deceived.* I grant it; *But who shall tell who is deceived, and who not?* I pray let me ask one Question; Are you willing to be deceived, or not? *Who is willing to be deceived?* Every one that will not take the pains to be undeceived, or to prevent being deceived. *What pains do you mean?* Such honest Industry and Diligence which every one ought to take, who pretends he searches for Truth in order to his

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Salvation. And I dare affirm, such shall never want Means to attain certainty as to the Sense of Scripture in what concerns their Salvation.

But suppose the Question be about *Churches*, how can the Church of *England* assure Men that is the true Sense of Scripture which is delivered by it?

I Answer;

(3.) The Church of *England* hath offered all reasonable Satisfaction to Mankind, that it doth follow the true Sense of Scripture.

And that by these ways;

1. By not locking up the Scripture from the view of the People, but leaving it free and open for all Persons to judg concerning the Doctrines here taught. Which argues a great assurance, that our Church is not afraid of any Opposition to be found to the Word of God in the Articles of our Religion. And the contrary is vehemently to be suspected, where Reading the Scripture is forbidden the People, as it is in the Church of *Rome*, if the Popes Authority signify any thing; for *Clement* the 8th, did revoke the Power of granting Licenses, which was allowed by *Pius* the 4th. And I do not see how any Confessor can justify his acting against the Pope's Authority.

2. By not pretending to deliver the Sense of Scripture on her own Authority. If she did require her Members to depend wholly upon her Sense, without examining themselves, that very thing would render her Authority suspicious with all Inquisitive Men, who always mistrust where there is too much Caution.

3. By her constant appealing to the Primitive Church ever since the Reformation, as the best Voucher for her keeping to the true Sense of Scripture. And in truth, one of the greatest Controversies between our Church and the Church of *Rome*, is not about the bare Letter of Scripture, but the best Interpreter of it. Our Church still contending, that the first and purest Ages of the Church, next to the Apostles Times, did certainly best understand the Sense and Meaning of Scripture; and the Church of *Rome* pretending, that the giving the true Sense of Scripture, belongs to the present *Catholick Church*, which they would be thought to be, against the plainest Evidence of Scripture and Reason. As appears by the foregoing Discourses.

The Defender's Cavil against the *Prayer* at the end of the Answer, would have held as well against *Amen*, if it had been added to it. But he was to answer all, and therefore the very *Prayer* could not escape his Confutation, or at least his putting an ill construction upon it; which was far from the Intention of him that made it, who thinks it a part of a good *Christian*, to be always a *Loyal Subject*.

As to the summing up the Evidence in his Conclusion, I shall not follow him in it, since I think the Cause so clear in the opening of it, that I shall leave it as it is, to the Reader's Judgment.

An ANSWER to the DEFENCE of the THIRD PAPER.

I Have now done as to matter of Reason and Argument; the third Paper chiefly relates to Matter of Fact: which, if I were mistaken in, even the brisk Defender of it, doth me that Right, to say, the Bishop of *Winchester* did mislead me. For the whole Body of my Answer, he saith, is in effect a Transcript from the Bishop's Preface; that I purloin his Arguments, with-

out Def. p. 111.

Pag. 86.

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Ib. 125.

Ibid.

Pag. 85.

out altering sometime so much as the property of his Words. That I have quoted him five times only in the Margin, and ought to have quoted him in almost every leaf of my Pamphlet. In short, if the Master had not eaten, the Man (saving Reverence) could not have vomited. This is a Taste of the Decency and Cleanliness of his Stile; especially in writing for Princes and great Ladies, who are not accustomed to such a sort of Courtship to others, in their Presence. But as coarse as the Complement is, it clears me from being the Author of any Mistakes, and lays the blame on the Bishop, who is not able to answer for himself. Yet, as if I had been the sole Contriver and Inventer of all, he bestows those civil and obliging Epithets upon me, of *disingenuous, foul-mouth'd, and shuffling*; one of a *virulent Genius, of spiteful Diligence and Irreverence to the Royal Family; of subtil Calumny, and sly Aspersions*; and he adds to these Ornaments of Speech, *that I have a Cloven Foot, and my Name is Legion*; and that my Answer is an *infamous Libel, a scurrilous saucy Pamphlet*. Is this indeed the Spirit of a *New Convert*? Is this the Meekness and Temper you intend to gain Profelites by, and to convert the Nation? He tells us in the beginning, that *Truth has a Language peculiar to it self*; I desire to be informed whether these be any of the Characters of it? And how the Language of *Reproach and Evil-speaking* may be distinguished from it? But Zeal in a new Convert is a terrible thing; for it not only burns but rages, like the Eruption of Mount *Ætna*, it fills the Air with noise and smoak; and throws out such a Torrent of liquid Fire, that there is no standing before it. The Answerer alone was too mean a Sacrifice for such a *Hector* in Controversy. All that standeth in his way must fall at his Feet. He calls me *Legion*, that he may be sure to have number enough to overcome. But he is a great Proficient indeed, if he be such an *Exorcist*, to cast out a whole *Legion* already. But he hopes it may be done *without Fasting and Prayer*.

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If the People continue stedfast to their Religion, they are the *Rabble*; and the only Friends I can perceive he allows us. *My good Friends the Rabble* in one place, and in another, *Our Author knows he has all the common People of his side*? What nothing of Honour, or Dignity, or Wit, or Sense, or Learning left of our side? Not so much as a *Poet*, unless it be *Robbin Wisdom*. I pray, Sir, when was it that all our *Friends* degenerated into the *Rabble*? Do you think that *Heresy*, as you call it, doth *ipso facto* degrade all Mankind, and turns all Orders of Men, even the House of Lords it self, to a meer *Rabble*? If all the common People be of our side, we have no Reason to be troubled at it; but there is another thing of our side, which you like worse, and that is *common sense*; which is more useful to the World than School-Divinity. But methinks he should not be angry with the common People, when he takes such pains to prove, *That the Kingdom of Heaven is not only for the Wise and Learned*; and that our *Saviour's Disciples were but poor Fishermen*; and we read but of one of his *Apostles who was bred up at the feet of Gamaliel*; and that poor People have Souls to save as precious in the sight of God as the grim *Logicians*. Would not any one take this for an Apology for the common People, rather than for the *Dutchess of York*? whose Wit and Understanding put her far beyond the need of such a mean Defence? Could she be vindicated in no other manner than by putting her into the rank of the Persons of the meanest Capacities? But this is another part of the *Decency* of this Defence. He had several pretty sayings, as he thought, upon this Subject, and therefore out they come, without regarding the Reflection implied in them on a Person of her Capacity as well as Dignity. And so he goes on in his Plea for the *Ignorant*, i. e. for the common People, as I am resolved to understand it. *Must they be damned unless they can make a regular Approach to Heaven in*

Pag. 93.

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Mood and Figure? Is there no entering there without a Syllogism? or ergoteering it with a Nego, Concedo, & Distinguo? This may pass for Wit and Eloquence among those I think he pleads for. And so I am content to let it go for the sake of my Friends, *the common People*. But this is somewhat an unusual way of defending, to plead for those he professes to despise, and in such a manner, as to reproach the Person he undertakes to defend.

From the *common People*, we come to *Church-Men*, to see how he uses them. And he hath soon found out a *Faction* among them, whom he charges with *juggling Designs*: but *Romantick Heroes* must be allowed to make Armies of a field of Thistles, and to encounter Wind-mills for Giants. He would fain be the Instrument to divide our Clergy, and to fill them with suspicions of one another. And to this end, he talks of Men of a *Latitudinarian Stamp*: For it goes a great way towards the making *Dissensions*, to be able to fasten a Name of Distinction among Brethren: This being to create Jealousies of each other. But there is nothing should make them more careful to avoid such Names of Distinction, than to observe how ready their common Enemies are to make use of them, to create Animosities by them: Which hath made this worthy Gentleman to start this different Character of Church-men among us; as tho' there were any who were not true to the Principles of the Church of England as by Law established: If he knows them, he is better acquainted with them than the Answerer is; for he professes to know none such. But who then are these Men of the *Latitudinarian Stamp*? To speak in his own Language, they are a sort of *Ergoteers*, who are for a *Concedo* rather than a *Nego*. And now I hope they are well explained. Or, in other words of his, *They are*, saith he, *for drawing the Non-conformists to their Party*: i. e. they are for having no Non-conformists. And is this their Crime? *But they would take the Headship of the Church out of the King's Hands*. How is that possible? They would (by his own description) be glad to see Differences lessened, and all that agree in the same Doctrine, to be one entire Body. But this is that which their Enemies fear; and this Politician hath too much discovered: for then such a Party would be wanting, which might be plaid upon the Church of England, or be brought to joyn with others against it. But how this should touch the *Kings Supremacy* I cannot imagine. As for his desiring *Loyal Subjects* to consider this matter; I hope they will, and the more for his desiring it; and assure themselves, that they have no cause to apprehend any *juggling Designs* of their Brethren; who, I hope, will always shew themselves to be *Loyal Subjects*, and dutiful Sons of the Church of England.

The next he falls upon, is, the worthy Answerer of the *Bishop of Condom's* *Exposition*, and him he charges with *picking up Stories* against him, and *wrapping them up with little Circumstances*. How many Fields doth he range for Game, to find Matter to fill up an Answer, and make it look big enough to be considered? But that Author hath so well acquitted himself in his Defence, as to all the little Objections made against him, that I can do the Reader no greater Kindness, than to refer him to it.

I must not say, *the poor Bishop of Winchester* is used unmercifully by him; for he calls him *that Prelate of rich Memory*. As though, like some Popes, he had been considerable for nothing, but for leaving a rich Nephew. But, as he was a Person of known Loyalty, Piety, and Learning; so he was of great Charity, and a publick Spirit, which he shewed both in his Life-time, and at his Death. Could nothing be said of him then but *that Prelate of rich Memory*? Or, he had a mind to tell us he was no Poet? Or, that he was out of the Temptation of changing his Religion for Bread?

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The Bishop of Worcester is charged with down-right Prevarication, *i. e.* being in his Heart for the Church of Rome, but for mean Reasons continuing in the Communion of the Church of England. Therefore, saith he, take him Top-
 Pag. 104, 105, &c. ham. And now what can I do more for the poor Bishop? The most he will allow him is, that he was a peaceable old Gentleman, who only desired to possess his Conscience and his Bishoprick in Peace without Offence to any Man, either of the Catholick Church, or that of England. Yet he hath so much kindness left for the poor Bishop, that for his sake he goes about to defend, that a
 108, 109. Man may be a true Member of the Church of England, who asserts both Churches to be so far Parts of the Catholick Church, that there is no Necessity of going from one Church to another to be saved.

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This is a very surprising Argument from a new Convert. Why might he not then have continued still in the Communion of this Church, tho' he might look on the Church of Rome as part of the Catholick Church? The Reason I gave against it was, that every true Member of this Church must own the Doctrine of it contained in the Articles and Homilies; which charge the Church of Rome with such Errors and unlawful Practices, as no Man who believes them to be such, can continue in the Communion of that Church; and therefore he must believe a Necessity of the forsaking of one Communion for the other; and that no true Member of this Church can, with a good Conscience, leave this Church and embrace the other.

Let us now see what a Talent he hath at Ergoteering. If this be true, saith he, then to be a Member of the Church of England, one must assert that either both Churches are not Parts of the Catholick, or that they are so Parts, that there is a necessity of going from one to another. He would be a strange Member of the Church of England, who should hold that both Churches are not Parts of the Catholick; for then he must deny that Parts are Parts; for every true Church is so far a Part of the Catholick Church. Therefore, I say, he must hold, tho' it be in some respects a Part of the Catholick Church; yet it may have so many Errors and Corruptions mixed with it, as may make it necessary for Salvation to leave it. The second, he saith, is Nonsense. How Nonsense? He doth well to hope that Men may be saved that do not understand Controversy; nor approach Heaven in Mood and Figure. A necessity of a Change, saith he, consists not with their being Parts; for Parts constitute one Whole, and leave not one and another to go to or from. We are not speaking of the Parts leaving one another; but of a Person leaving one Part to go to another. Suppose a Pestilential Disease rage in one part of the City, and not in another; may it not be necessary to leave one Part and go to the other, tho' they are both Parts of the same City, and do not remove from one to the other? But he saith, with great assurance, that necessity of Change makes it absolutely impossible for both Churches to be parts of the Catholick. Which plainly shews, he never understood the Terms of Communion with both Churches. For, no Church in the World can lay an Obligation upon a Man to be dishonest, *i. e.* to profess one thing, and to do another; which is Dissimulation and Hypocrisy. And no Church can oblige a Man to believe what is false, or to do what is unlawful; and rather than do either, he must forsake the Communion of that Church.

Thus I have given a sufficient taste of the Spirit and Reasoning of this Gentleman.

As to the main Design of the Third Paper, I declared that I considered it, as it was supposed to contain the Reasons and Motives of the Conversion of so great a Lady to the Church of Rome.

But this Gentleman hath now eased me of the necessity of further considering

dering it on that Account. For he declares, *That none of those Motives or* Pag. 90.
Reasons are to be found in the Paper of her Highness. Which he repeats
 several times. *She writ this Paper, not as to the Reasons she had her self* Ibid.
for changing, &c. As for the Reasons of it, they were only betwixt God and Ibid.
her own Soul, and the Priest with whom she spoke at last.

And so my Work is at an end as to her Paper. For I never intended
 to ransack the *private Papers, or secret Narratives* of great Persons. And
 I do not in the least question the Relation now given, from so great
 Authority as that he mentions of the Passages concerning Her; and
 therefore I have nothing more to say as to what relates to the *Person* of Page 112.
 the *Dutchess*.

But I shall take notice of what this Defender saith, which reflects on the
 Honour of the Church of *England*.

(1.) *The Pillars of the Church established by Law*, saith he, *are to be found* Pag. 94.
but broken Staffs by their own Concessions. What! is the Church of *Eng-*
land Felo de se? But how, I pray? For after all their undertaking to heal
 a wounded Conscience, they leave their *Profelytes* finally to the Scripture; as
 our *Physicians*, when they have emptied the Pockets of their Patients, with-
 out curing them, send them at last to *Tunbridg Waters, or the Air of Mont-*
pellier: As tho' the Scripture were looked on by us as a meer Help at
 a dead Lift, when we have nothing to say. One would think he had
 never read the Articles of the Church of *England*; for there he might
 have seen, that the Scripture is made the Rule and Ground of our Faith.
 And, I pray, whither should any Persons be directed under Trouble of
 Mind, but to the *Word of God*? Can any thing else give real Satisfaction?
 Must they go to an *Infallible Church*? But whence should they know it
 to be *Infallible*, but from the Scriptures? So that on all hands, Persons
 must go to the Scriptures if they will have Satisfaction. But this *Gentle-*
man talks like a meer Novice as to Matters of Faith, as tho' *believing*
were a new thing to him; and he did not yet know, that true Faith must
 be grounded on Divine Revelation, which the *Pillars of our Church* have
 always asserted to be contained only in the Scripture; and therefore
 whither can they send Persons but to the Scripture? But it seems he is
 got no farther than the *Collier's Faith*; he believes as the Church believes,
 and the Church believes as he believes; and by this he hopes to be too hard
 for a *Legion of Devils*.

(2.) He saith, *We are Reformed from the Vertues of good Living, i. e.* Pag. 98.
from the Devotions, Mortifications, Austerities, Humility and Charity, which
are practised in Catholick Countries, by the Example and Precept of that lean
mortified Apostle St. Martin Luther.

He knows we pretend not to *Canonize Saints*; and he may know, that
 a very great Man in the Church of *Rome*, once said, *That the new Saints*
they Canonized, would make one question the old Ones. We neither make a
Saint nor an *Apostle* of *Martin Luther*; and we know of no Authority he
 ever had in this Church. Our Church was reformed by it self, and nei-
 ther by *Luther* nor *Calvin*, whom he had mentioned as well as the other,
 but for his lean and mortified Aspect. But after all, *Luther* was as lean
 and mortified an *Apostle* as *Bishop Bonner*; but a Man of far greater
 worth, and fit for the Work he undertook, being of an undaunted Spirit.
 What a strange sort of Calumny is this, to upbraid our Church, as if it
 followed the *Example and Precept* of *Martin Luther*? He knows, how
 very easy it is for us to retort such things with mighty Advantage; when

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for more than an Age together, that Church was governed by such dissolute and profane *Heads* of the Church, that it is a shame to mention them; and all this by the confession of their own Writers. But as to *Luther's* Person, if his Crimes were his *Corpulency*, what became of all the *fat Abbots* and *Monks*? But they were no *Apostles*, or *Reformers*. I easily grant it. But must God chuse Instruments, as some do Horses, by their *fitness to run Races*. As to *Luthers Conversation*, it is justified by those who best knew him, and are Persons of undoubted Reputation; I mean, *Erasmus*, *Melancthon*, and *Camerarius*. And as to Matters in dispute, if he acted according to his Principles, his Fault lay in his Opinions, and not in acting according to them.

But whether our Church follow *Luther*, or not, it is objected, that we have reformed away the *Vertues of good Living*. God forbid. But I do not think there is any Church in the World, where the Necessity of good Living is more earnestly pressed. But I confess we of the Church of *England*, do think the Examples and Precepts of Christ and his Apostles, are to be our Rules for the *Vertues of good Living*. And according to them, I doubt not, but there are as great Examples of *Devotion*, *Mortification*, *Humility* and *Charity*, as in any place whatsoever. But I am afraid this Gentleman's Acquaintance did not lie much that way; nor doth he seem to be a very competent Judge of the Ways of good living, if he did not know how to distinguish between outward Appearances and true Christian *Vertues*. And according to his way of judging, the Disciples of the *Pharisees* did very much outdoe those of our *Blessed Saviour*; as appears by a Book we esteem very much, called the *New Testament*: But if I mention it to him, I am afraid he should think I am like the *Physicians*, who send their *Patients to Tunbridg-Wells*, or the *Air of Montpellier*.

Pag. 101.

(3.) That two of our Bishops, whereof one was *Primate of all England*, renounced and condemned two of the established *Articles of our Church*.

But what two *Articles* were these? It seems they wished we had kept *Confession*, which no doubt was commanded of God; and praying for the *Dead*, which was one of the ancient things of *Christianity*. But which of our 39 *Articles* did they renounce hereby? I think I have read and consider'd them, as much as this Gentleman, and I can find no such *Articles* against *Confession*, and praying for the *Dead*. Our Church, as appears by the Office of the Visitation of the Sick, doth not disallow of *Confession* in particular Cases, but the necessity of it in order to Forgiveness in all Cases. And if any Bishop asserted this, then he exceeded the Doctrine of our Church, but he renounced no Article of it. As to the other Point, we have an Article against the *Romish Doctrine of Purgatory*, Art. 22. but not a word concerning praying for the *Dead*, without respect to it. But he, out of his great skill in Controversy, believes, that *Prayer for the Dead*, and the *Romish Doctrine of Purgatory*, are the same. Whereas this relates to the deliverance of Souls out of *Purgatory*, by the Suffrages of the Living; which makes all the gainful Trade of *Masses for the Dead*, &c. but the other related to the *Day of Judgment*, as is known to all who are versed in the Writings of the Ancient Church. But this our Church wisely passes over; neither condemning it because so ancient, nor approving it because not grounded on *Scripture*, and therefore not necessary to be observed.

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(4.) But his great spite is at the Reformation of this Church; which, he saith, was erected on the Foundation of Lust, Sacrilege, and Usurpation. And that no Paint is capable of making lovely the hideous Face of the pretended Reformation.

These

These are severe Sayings, and might be requited with sharper, if such hard Words, and blustering Expressions, had any good effect on Mankind. But instead thereof, I shall gently wipe off the Dirt he hath thrown in the Face of our Church, that it may appear in its proper Colours.

And now this Gentleman sets himself to *Ergoteering*; and looks and talks like any grim Logician, Of the Causes which produced it, and the Effects which it produced. The Schism led the way to the Reformation, for breaking the Unity of Christ's Church, which was the Foundation of it; but the immediate Cause of this, which produced the Separation of Hen. 8. from the Church of Rome, was the refusal of the Pope to grant him a Divorce from his first Wife, and to gratify his Desires in a Dispensation for a second Marriage. Pag. 117.

Ergo, the first Cause of the Reformation, was the satisfying an inordinate and brutal Passion. But is he sure of this? If he be not, it is a horrible Calumny upon our Church, upon King Henry the 8th, and the whole Nation, as I shall presently shew. No, he confesses he cannot be sure of it: For, saith he, *no Man can carry it so high as the Original Cause with any certainty.* And at the same time he undertakes to demonstrate the immediate Cause to be Henry the Eighth's inordinate and brutal Passion. And afterwards affirms as confidently as if he had demonstrated it, That our Reformation was erected on the Foundations of Lust, Sacrilege, and Usurpation. Yet, saith he, *the King only knew whether it was Conscience or Love, or Love alone, which moved him to sue for a Divorce.* Then by his Favour, the King only could know what was the immediate Cause of that which he calls the Schism. Well! but he offers at some Probabilities that Lust was the true Cause. Is *Ergoteering* come to this already? But this we may say, if Conscience had any part in it, she had taken a long Nap of almost twenty Tears together before she awakened. Doth he think that Conscience doth not take a longer Nap than this, in some Men, and yet they pretend to have it truly awaken'd at last? What thinks he of late Converts? Cannot they be true, because Conscience hath slept so long in them? Must we conclude in such Cases, That some inordinate Passion gives Conscience a jog at last? So that it cannot be denied, saith he, that an inordinate and brutal Passion, had a great share at least in the production of the Schism. How! cannot be denied! I say, from his own words it ought to be denied, for he confesses none could know but the King himself; he never pretends that the King confessed it; How then cannot it be denied? Yea, how dare any one affirm it? Especially when the King himself declared in a Solemn Assembly, in these words, saith Hall, (as near, saith he, as I could carry them away) speaking of the dissatisfaction of his Conscience, — *For this only Cause, I protest before God, and in the Word of a Prince, I have asked Counsel of the greatest Clerks in Christendom; and for this Cause I have sent for this Legat, as a Man indifferent, only to know the Truth, and to settle my Conscience, and for none other Cause, as God can judg.* And both then, and afterwards, he declared, that his Scruples began upon the French Ambassador's making a Question about the Legitimacy of the Marriage, when the Match was proposed between the Duke of Orleance and his Daughter; and he affirms, That he moved it himself in Confession to the Bishop of Lincoln, and appeals to him concerning the Truth of it in open Court. Sanders himself doth not deny that the French Ambassador (whom he calls the Bishop of Tarbe, afterwards Card. Grammont; others say it was Anthony Sand. de Schism. Angl. l. i. p. 11.

K k k k k 2

Vesey,

Vesey, one of the Presidents of the Parliament of *Paris*) did start this Difficulty in the Debate about this Marriage of the King's Daughter; and he makes a set Speech for him, wherein he saith, *That the King's Marriage had an ill Report abroad*. But then he adds, *That this was done by the King's appointment, and that Card. Wolsey put him upon it*; but he produces no manner of Proofs concerning it, but only, *that it was so believed by the People at that time, who cursed the French Ambassador*. As tho' the suspicions of the People were of greater Authority than the solemn Protestation of the King himself.

Pag. 9.

Pag. 10.

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Page 10.

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Acworth. c.

Sander. 1. 2.

c. 14. 17.

But I think it may be demonstrated, as far as such things are capable of it, from *Sanders* his own Story, that the King's first Scruples, or *the jogging of his Conscience*, as our Author styles it, could not come from an inordinate Passion to *Ann Bolleyn*. For he makes *Card. Wolsey* the chief Instrument in the Intrigue. Let us then see what Accounts he gives of his *Motives* to undertake it. He not only takes notice of the great Discontent he took at the Emperor *Charles V.* the Queen's Nephew; but how studious he was upon the first intimation of the King's Scruples, to recommend to him the *Dutchess of Alencon* the King of *France's* Sister; and that when there were none present but *the King, Wolsey*, and the Confessor. Afterwards *Wolsey* was sent on a very splendid Ambassy into *France*, and had secret Instructions to carry on the Match with the King of *France's* Sister. But when he was at *Calais*, he received Orders from the King to manage other Matters as he was appointed, but not to say a word of that Match. At which, saith *Sanders*, *he was in a mighty rage, because he carried on the Divorce for nothing more, than to oblige the most Christian King wholly to himself by this Marriage*. How could this be, if from the beginning of his Scruples he knew the King designed to marry *Ann Bolleyn*? But *Sanders* thinks to come off with saying, *That Wolsey knew of the King's Love, but he thought he designed her only for his Concubine*. But this is plainly to contradict himself; for before he said, *That Wolsey knew from the beginning whom he intended to marry*. Besides, what Reason could there be, if the King had only a design to corrupt her, that he should put himself and the World to so much trouble to sue out a Divorce? For the Divorce was the main Thing aimed at in all the Negotiations at *Rome*; other Applications had been more proper, if his Design was only upon having her for a Concubine. But *she would not be corrupted*. If this were the Reason, he must again contradict himself, for he makes her a lewd vicious Woman. And it doth not seem so probable, if she had been such a Person as he describes her, that she would have put the King to so much trouble, and such a tedious method of proceeding, by so many Forms of Law. But again, *Sanders* saith, *when she returned from France, and was at Court, she found out what Wolsey designed*. Which makes it evident, by *Sanders* his own Words, that the Design of the Divorce was before the thoughts of *Ann Bolleyn*. And it seems very probable, that *Card. Wolsey* might carry on a Publick Design by it, to draw the King off from the Emperor, and to unite him with *France*. And the Pope at that time being highly displeased with the Emperor, he might think it no difficult thing to procure a *Dispensation*, the King of *France's* Interest being join'd with our King's. Some have written, *That the Pope himself was in this Intrigue at first*; but seeing no Proof of it, I dare not affirm it: It is sufficient for my purpose, that the first Design was laid quite another way. I confess afterwards, when *Wolsey* upon his return from *France*, saw how things

things were, like to go, he struck in with the King's Humour, as appears by the Letters of *Ann Bolleyn* to him: But yet carried himself so coldly afterwards in the Matter of the Divorce, that it proved one occasion of his Fall. *Thuanus*, being an Historian of great Judgment, saw the inconsistencies of *Sanders* his Relations; and therefore concludes that *Wolsey* was surprized with the Business of *Ann Bolleyn*, after he went into *France*, having notice sent him by his Friends; and that *Wolsey* wholly aimed at the *French Match*. *Mezeray* saith, *The Cardinal could not foresee the Love of Ann Bolleyn, but his Design was to be revenged on the Emperor; and he questions whether the King were smitten with her, till Wolsey was sent into France; when the King so unexpectedly forbade him to proceed in that Match, cum summo ejus dolore*, as *Sanders* confesses. From all this we see plainly, than since *Sanders* makes *Card. Wolsey* the great Contriver and Manager of this Business, the immediate Cause of the Schism could not be the Love of *Ann Bolleyn*. Pag. 22.

But we have other kind of Proofs concerning this Matter, besides *Sanders* his Inconsistencies, and those shall be from some of the greatest and most active Men of that Time, and some remarkable Circumstances.

The first is a Person of unquestionable Integrity, and accounted a Martyr for his Conscience at that Time; I mean *Sir Thomas More* then *Lord Chancellor*; who after he had delivered to the House of Commons the Original Papers of the Universities in favour of the Divorce, he then said, *That all Men should clearly perceive that the King hath not attempted this Matter of Will and Pleasure, as Strangers say, but only for the Discharge of his Conscience, and the Security of the Succession to the Crown*. Which was a reason alledged by the King himself; and seems to have been built on the Grounds which *Charles the Vth* assigned for breaking his Oath which he made to marry the *Lady Mary*, by the first Article of the Treaty at *Windsor*. *Lord Herbert* owns that the Emperor, to avoid the Force of this Treaty, had alledged something against the Marriage between the King and his Aunt: But another Author, who lived much nearer the Time, doth affirm, *That when the Match was debated in the Spanish Council, it was then said, That altho' the Match between the King and his Brother's Relict were not yet disputed, yet if the King should die without Issue Male, rather than the Kingdom should pass to Foreigners, the English Nation would dispute the Validity of the Marriage*. And to confirm this, in *Sir Henry Spelman's* Manuscript-Register of the Proceedings of the *Legatine Court* about the Divorce, subscribed by the three Notaries there present, the Witnesses deposed, *That at the time of the Marriage, the People said commonly, that it was unfit one Brother should marry the other Brother's Wife*. And *Archbishop Warham* then upon Oath declared, *That he told K. Henry the VIIIth, that the Marriage seem'd to him neither Honourable, nor well-pleasing to God*. And he confesses, *the People then murmur'd at it, but that the murmuring was quieted by the Pope's Dispensation*. So that all the Satisfaction that was given about it, arose from the Pope's extraordinary dispensing Power with the Laws of God. Which was a thing vehemently opposed by many in the Church of *Rome*; and the University of *Bononia* it self afterwards declared, *That the Match was abominable, and that the Pope himself could not dispense with it*; and this they say was, after they had read *Card. Cajetan's Defence of the Marriage*. The like was done by the University of *Padua*; besides many others which I shall not mention, and are easily to be seen. History of H. 8. p. 216. Servi Fidelis Responsio, &c.

So that the Succession to the Crown by this Match, must depend upon an extravagant Power in the Pope, which the *Roman Church* it self never owned; and the wisest Statesmen thought by no means fit to depend upon.

The

The notice of this Debate in the *Spanish* Council being sent over to Card. *Wolsey*, seems to have been the *first Occasion* taken of starting the Question about the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage; which *Wolsey*, out of a private Grudge to the Emperor, as well as for other Reasons, was not wanting to carry on, till he saw which way it was like to end. And the Pope himself was willing enough to grant the *Bull* for the *Divorce*, till he made a secret Peace with the Emperor: and it is easy to see that the Pope went forwards and backwards in the whole Affair, meerly as *politick Considerations* moved him. Which being fully known to so discerning a Prince as *Henry the VIII*, it gave him just occasion to question, whether that Authority were so Divine as was pretended, which in so great a Matter did not govern it self by any Rule of Conscience, but by Political Measures.

Lord Herb.
Pag. 219.

Pag. 217.

One remarkable Circumstance in this Matter ought not to be omitted, viz. That the King's Agent at *Rome* sent him word, *That the Pope's Advice was, that if the King's Conscience were satisfied, he should presently marry another Wife, and then prosecute the Suit; and that this was the only way for the King to attain his Desires.* But the King refused to do it. And when Card. *Wolsey* sent a Message to the King to the same purpose: the King replied, *If the Bull be naught, let it be so declared; and if it be good, it shall never be broken by any by-ways for me.* And when he objected the tediousness of the Suit, he answered, *Since he had Patience eighteen Years, he would stay yet four or five more, since the Opinion of all the Clerks of his Kingdom (besides two) were lately declared for him: Adding, That he had studied the Matter himself, and Writers of it; and that he found it was unlawful, DE JURE DIVINO, and undispensible.*

Thus we have found the King himself declaring in Publick and Private, his real dissatisfaction in Point of Conscience; and that it was no inordinate Affection to *Anne Bolleyn* which put him upon it: and the same attested by *Sir Tho. More*, and the Circumstances of Affairs. I now proceed to another Witness.

The next is Bishop *Bonner* himself, in his Preface to *Gardiner's Book of True Obedience*: For thus he begins; *Forasmuch as there be some, doubtless, now at this present, which think the Controversy between the King's Royal Majesty, and the Bishop of Rome, consisteth in this Point, for that his Majesty hath taken the most excellent and most noble Lady Ann to his Wife; whereas in very deed, notwithstanding, the Matter is far otherwise, and nothing so.* So that if Bishop *Bonner* may be believed, there was no such immediate Cause of the Schism, as the Love to *Anne Bolleyn*. And withal he adds, *That this Book was published, that the World might understand what was the whole Voice and resolute Determination of the best and greatest learned Bishops, with all the Nobles and Commons of England; not only in the Cause of Matrimony, but also in defending the Gospel's Doctrine, i. e. against the Pope's usurped Authority over the Church.* Again, he saith, *That the King's Marriage was made, by the ripe Judgment, Authority, and Privilege of the most and principal Universities of the World; and then with the Consent of the whole Church of England.* And that the false pretended Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome was most justly abrogated; and that if there were no other Cause but this Marriage, the Bishop of Rome would content himself, i. e. if he might enjoy his Power and Revenues still; which, he saith, were so insupportable, that there lay the true Cause of the Breach: For his Revenues here were near as great as the King's; and his Tyranny was cruel and bitter, which he had exercised here under the Title of the Catholick Church, and the Authority of the Apostles, Peter and Paul; when notwithstanding he was a very ravening Wolf, dressed in Sheeps clothing, calling himself the Servant of Servants.

Servants. These are *Bonner's* words, as I have transcribed them, out of two several Translations, whereof one was published while he was Bishop of *London*.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Book, not only affirms the King's former Marriage to be unlawful, and the second to be just and lawful; but that he had the Consent of the Nation, and the Judgment of his Church, as well as foreign Learned Men for it. And afterwards he strenuously argues against the Pope's Authority here, as a meer Usurpation.

And the whole Clergy not only then owned the King's Supremacy, (*Fisher* excepted) but in the Book published by Authority, called, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man*, &c. The Pope's Authority was rejected as an Usurpation, and confuted by Scripture and Antiquity. *K. James I.* declares, *That there was a General and Catholick Conclusion of the whole Church of England in this Case.* And when some Persons suspected, that it all came from the King's Marriage, Bishop *Bonner* we see undertakes to assure the World it was no such thing. *Apol. for the Oath of Allegiance.*

The Separation was made then by a General Consent of the Nation, the King, and Church, and People, all concurring: and the Reasons inducing them to cast off the Popes Usurpation, were published to the World at that time. And those Reasons have no relation at all to the King's Marriage; and if they are good, as they thought they were, and this Gentleman saith not a word to disprove them, then the Foundation of the Disunion between the Church of *Rome* und Us, was not laid in the King's inordinate Passion, but on just and sufficient Reasons.

Thus it appears, that this Gentleman hath by no means proved two parts of his Assertion, viz. *That our Reformation was erected on the Foundations of Lust and Usurpation.*

But our grim Logician proceeds from Immediate and Original, to Conco- Pag. 118. mitant Causes; which, he saith, were *Revenge, Ambition, and Covetousness.* But the Skill of Logicians used to lie in proving; but this is not our Author's Talent, for not a word is produced to that purpose. If bold Sayings, and confident Declamations will do the Business, he is never unprovided; but if you expect any Reason from him, he begs your Pardon; he finds how ill the Character of a grim Logician suits with his Inclination. However, he takes a leap from Causes to Effects; and here he tells us, *the immediate Effects of this Schism, were Sacrilege, and a bloody Persecution, of such as denied the King's Supremacy in Matters wholly Spiritual, which no Layman, no King of Israel ever exercised.*

What the Supremacy was, is best understood by the Book published by the King's Order, and drawn up by the Bishops of that Time. By which it appears, that the main thing insisted on was, rejecting the Pope's Authority; and as to the positive Part, it lies in these things. 1. *In defending and Protecting the Church.* 2. *In overseeing the Bishops and Priests in the execution of their Office.* 3. *In Reforming the Church to the old Limits and pristine Estate of that Power which was given to them by Christ, and used in the Primitive Church.* For it is out of doubt, saith that Book, *that Christ's Faith was then most pure and firm, and the Scriptures of God were then best understood, and Vertue did then most abound and excel: And therefore it must needs follow, that the Customs and Ordinances then used and made, be more conform and agreeable unto the true Doctrine of Christ, and more conducing unto the edifying and benefit of the Church of Christ, than any Custom or Laws used or made by the Bishop of Rome, or any other addicted to that See and usurped Power since that time.*

This Book was published with the King's Declaration before it. And therefore we have reason to look on the Supremacy to be taken as it is there explained.

plained. And what is there now *so wholly Spiritual*, that no *Layman*, or *King of Israel*, ever exercised in this *Supremacy*? But this Writer never took the pains to search into these things, and therefore talks so at random about them.

As to the *Persecutions* that followed, it is well known that both sides blame *K. Hen. VIII.* for his Severity; and therefore this cannot be laid to the Charge of his Separation. For the other Effect of *Sacrilege*, I do not see how this follows from the Reformation: For although some Uses might cease by the Doctrines of it, as Monks to pray the Dead out of *Purgatory*; yet there were others to have employed the Church Lands about, as some of them were in founding *New Bishopricks*, &c. And I have nothing to say in justification of any Abuses committed that way; only that the King and Parliament could not discern the difference between greater and lesser as to the Point of *Sacrilege*; and since the Pope had shewed them the way, by granting *Bulls for the dissolution of the lesser Monasteries*, they thought, since the Pope's Power was taken away, they might with as little *Sacrilege* dissolve the rest. I will shut up this with the words of Archbishop *Laud*; *But if there have been any wilful and gross Errors, not so much in Opinion as Fact, (Sacrilege too often pretending to reform Superstition) that's the Crime of the Reformers, not of the Reformation, and they are long since gone to God to answer it, to whom I leave them.*

Conference,
Sect. 24.
p. 156.

Page. 120.

The Method I proposed for Satisfaction of Conscience about the Reformation, was to consider, Whether there were not sufficient cause for it? Whether there were not sufficient Authority? And whether the Proceedings of our Reformation were not justifiable by the Rules of Scripture, and the Ancient Church? He tells me, *he may safely join issue with me upon all three Points, and conclude in the Negative.* But upon second Thoughts, he finds he may much more safely let it alone: And very fairly would have me take it for granted, *That the Church of Rome cannot err in Matters of Faith*; (for that he must mean by the Church there) *and that our Church hath no Authority of Reforming her self*; and that our Proceedings were not justifiable according to the right interpretation of Scriptures by the Fathers and Councils. But if I will not allow his *Affirmations for Proofs*, for his part he will act the grim *Logician* no longer; and in truth, it becomes him so ill, that he doth well to give it over. When he will undertake to prove, that the Church of Rome is the *One Catholick and Infallible Church of Christ*, and answer what I have produced in the former Discourses, I will ease him of any farther Trouble; for then I will grant that our Reformation cannot be justified. But till then, I shall think it no want of *Humility* to conclude the Victory to be on our side. And I would desire him not to end with such a bare-faced Assertion of a thing so well known to be false, viz. *That there is not one Original Treatise written by a Protestant, which hath handled distinctly, and by it self, that Christian Vertue of Humility.* Since within a few Years (besides what hath been printed formerly) such a Book hath been published in London. But he doth well to bring it off with, *at least that I have seen or heard of*; for such Books have not lain much in the way of his Enquiries. Suppose we had not such particular Books, we think the *Holy Scripture* gives the best Rules and Examples of *Humility* of any Book in the World; but I am afraid he should look on his Case as desperate if I send him to the *Scripture*, since he saith, *Our Divines do that, as Physicians do with their Patients whom they think uncurable, send them at last to Tunbridg-Waters, or to the Air of Montpellier.*

B.

F I N I S.



A N

Alphabetical Table

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